IN PRAISE OF LATER ROMAN EMPERORS

THE PANEGYRICI LATINI

Introduction, Translation,
and Historical Commentary
with the Latin Text of R. A. B. Mynors

C. E. V. Nixon and
Barbara Saylor Rodgers

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d. m.

Paul J. Alexander

Vtriusque Magistro

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PREFACE

This book has been long in the making. In 1978, while teaching an undergraduate seminar on the Tetrarchy at Macquarie University, Ted Nixon became aware of the scantiness of the primary source material in English translation available to students and thereupon set about translating some of the Latin panegyrics for them (see *Ancient Society*, Resources for Teachers, vol. 8 [Sydney, 1978]). Far away, in Berkeley, California, in the selfsame year, Peter Brown suggested to Barbara Rodgers that the world would be grateful for the first English translation of the Gallic corpus of the Latin panegyrics. It was years before we learnt of each other's efforts, whereupon, at the American Philological Association convention in Toronto in December 1984, we decided to collaborate. Despite the vast distance between Sydney and Vermont, our disparate schedules, and the unavailability of electronic mail for most of the period, the project was completed in March 1992, with the authors still friends.

The division of the orations was Nixon's, although Rodgers insisted that as it had taken her years to understand Nazarius, she would not relinquish him. The results content both parties. Barbara Rodgers believes that they are a testimony to Ted Nixon's good judgment and her good fortune, as he has got most of the knotty historical problems and she has got the most challenging rhetoric. Ted Nixon concedes self-interest, as he has avoided Nazarius, but is regretful about the panegyric of 313. We have each read and argued over the other's work, and we have occasionally plagued colleagues for the elucidation of certain points. Needless to say, we remain responsible for all individual instances of error

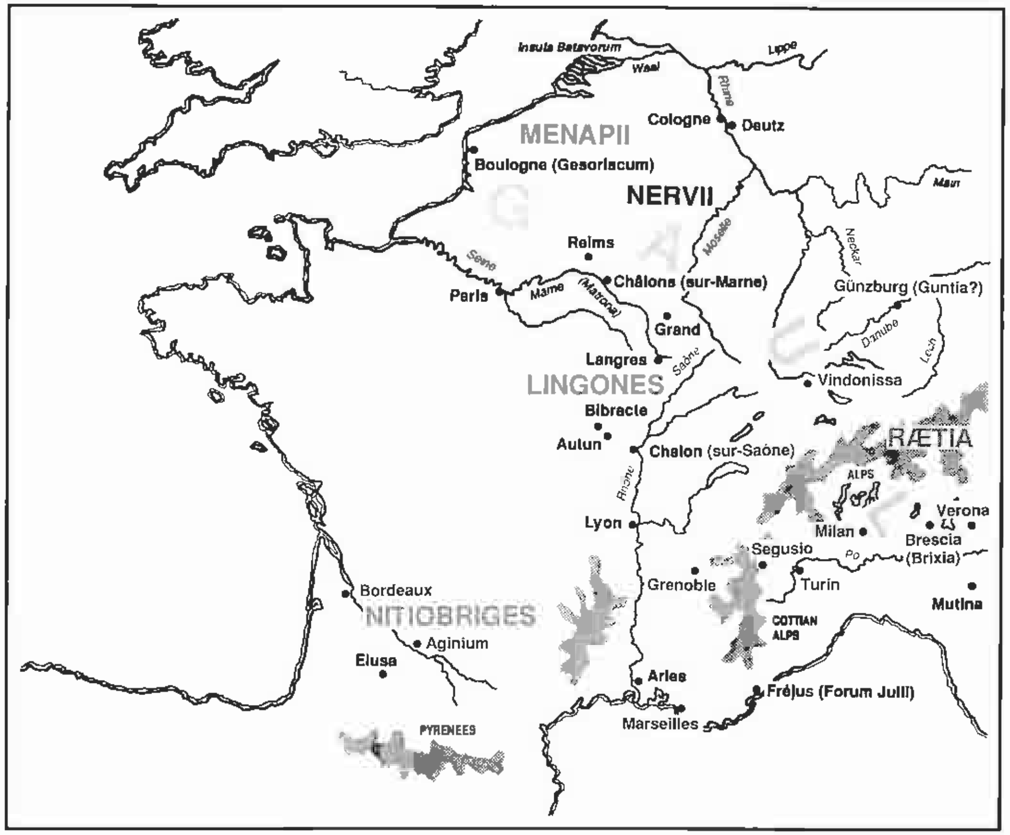
and obstinacy. In the Contents we have noted the authorship of each translation and commentary; the General Introduction is our joint effort, and although the curious may attempt to discover who wrote which part, we ourselves can no longer remember. Traces of a dialogue appear here and there in the notes, not only to the General Introduction but to the individual orations: it seemed neither possible nor desirable to eliminate all points of disagreement.

We wish to express our gratitude for a travel grant from the Dean's Fund of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Vermont, for research grants from Macquarie University, and for the sponsorship and patience of Mary Lamprech at the University of California Press.

It would be impossible to thank all those colleagues who have helped us over the years, and it is invidious to single out a few. Nevertheless, Ted Nixon would like to thank in particular Edwin Judge, whose acumen solved many a problem (and revealed more), and his students Bill Leadbetter and Michael Lennon. The hospitality of Wolfson College, Oxford, facilitated considerably the research involved in completing the project.

Barbara Rodgers owes something more than thanks to her colleagues in Vermont and friends elsewhere for their understanding and support. An especial colleague, her husband, Robert, knows well the tedium that the translation of late Latin rhetorical writing entails, as he has sat through a reading of several and argued with her points of rendition that only a dedicated Latinist would care about. She is grateful to her children, Eleanor and Cyrus, for understanding that not only does she need time for scholarly endeavors, but she sometimes needs a Macintosh more than they do.

New Haven, Vermont, and Sydney, N.S.W. Australia
June 1993



Gaul in Late Antiquity.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF THE GENRE

The word *panegyrikos*—relating to a *panegyris,* a public festival or assembly—goes back to Isocrates,[1] and the oration entitled *Panegyrikos* (sc. *Logos*) that he wrote for the Olympic festival in 380 B.C.E.[2] His stated purpose (3) was to offer political advice, namely, that the Greeks should unite against Persia, but much of his speech (21–99) is devoted to praise of Athens (and vilification of Sparta: 111–28) in justification of his contention that Athens, and not Sparta, should have the hegemony. While the term *panegyric,* when not used to refer to Isocrates' speech itself (e.g., Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.9, 10.4.4), long retained its original meaning of a speech composed for a festival, the salient features of Isocrates' *Panegyrikos* promoted the use of the term for eulogies and invectives in general (called ἐγκώμια [or ψόγοι] in Greek, *laudes* and *laudationes* [or *vituperationes*] in Latin).[3]

The shift is already apparent in Quintilian: *nec mirum, cum etiam in panegyricis petatur audientium favor, ubi emolumentum non in utilitate aliqua,*

1. A useful introduction to the genre is S. MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," in *Empire and Aftermath,* ed. T. A. Dorey (London, 1975) 143–205; see, too, the survey of K. Ziegler, "Panegyrikos," *RE* 18.3 (1949) 559–81.

2. Isocrates had predecessors—Gorgias and Lysias each delivered an *Olympiakos,* in 392 and 388 respectively—but it was his speech that gave its name to the genre.

3. Quint. *Inst.* 3.4.14–15.

sed in sola laude consistit (*Inst.* 3.8.9). And so while Pliny himself referred to his speech of thanks to Trajan for his consulship of 100 C.E. by the traditional term *gratiarum actio* (*Pan.* 1.4.1; *Ep.* 3.18.1), at some later stage the expanded, published version found the title that appears in the manuscripts, *Panegyricus*, and by late antiquity this term was freely applied to speeches and poems of praise—and sometimes vituperation.[4]

Speeches of praise belong to the category of epideictic oratory, or display oratory (*genus demonstrativum*), according to the ancient threefold classification, as distinct from *genus iudiciale* (δικανικόν) and *genus deliberativum* (δημηγορικόν).[5] Praise of individuals formed an important class of epideictic oratory, and once again it was Isocrates who provided the model (*Evagoras*). The speech in praise of a ruler (ὁ βασιλικὸς λόγος) was a particularly prominent phenomenon in the Hellenistic world. But formal praise of rulers or public figures is likely to take place wherever rhetoric flourishes, and Rome had its own independent tradition of *laudationes funebres*, or speeches of praise, pronounced at the funerals of great men.[6] They allegedly go back to the earliest days of the Republic,[7] and Cicero (*Brut.* 62) complains of the consequent falsification of history.

While Cicero regarded this *tertium genus* of oratory as preeminently Greek, limiting the Roman contribution to funeral oration and brief and unadorned testimonia (*De or.* 2.341–49)[8] with the rise of powerful individuals at Rome in the first century B.C.E. came praise of the living, and Cicero himself turned his talents to this field. His *Pro lege Manilia*

4. Lactant. *Div. inst.* 1.15.13; Symmachus *Ep.* 2.31; Jerome *De vir. ill.* 65; SHA, *Pesc. Nig.* 11.5, *Alex. Sev.* 35.1; Claud. 1 tit.; Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 1 tit., etc. Cf. A. Cameron, *Claudian* (Oxford, 1970) 255: "In theory the invective was simply an inversion of the panegyric, with each subdivision serving as an opening for vituperation instead of eulogy."

5. Cf. Cic. *Orat.* 37: *Isocrates fecit panegyricum . . . eius totius generis quod graece* ἐπιδεικτικὸν *nominatur;* Quint. *Inst.* 3.4.11–12: *Isocrates in omni genere inesse laudem ac vituperationem existimavit. est igitur, ut dixi, unum genus [orationis] quo laus ac vituperatio continetur, sed est appellatum a parte meliore laudativum: idem alii demonstrativum vocant;* [Anaximenes] *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* init.; Arist. *Rh.* 1.3; Menander Rhetor 1.331; MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," 143, with further references.

6. MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," 146ff. See also H. Leclerq, "Panégyrique," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne* 13:1 (1937) 1016–45.

7. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.17.2–3 (for Brutus); cf. Polyb. 6.53–54.

8. Cf. his disparagement of epideictic oratory as *genus . . . proprium sophistarum, pompae quam pugnae aptius, gymnasiis et palaestra dicatum, spretum et pulsum foro* (*Orat.* 42).

(*De imperio Cn. Pompeii*) and *Pro Marcello* exercised a great influence on subsequent Latin oratory.[9]

With the Empire, there were numerous occasions when panegyrics were appropriate, and enormous numbers of them must have been delivered, of which all but a handful have perished. Not all panegyrics were in praise of emperors; many will have been delivered to *privati* such as literary patrons (cf. the pseudo-Tibullan *Panegyricus Messallae*). Accident of survival, and perhaps a certain prejudice against the postclassical age, has sometimes led to an association of panegyric with late antiquity that is quite misleading. For example, it is clear that the *gratiarum actio* became panegyrical at an early stage. In the Republic, it was customary for consuls to deliver a speech of thanks to the *senatus populusque Romanus* for their consulship. By Augustus' day the incumbent thanked the gods, and Caesar (Ov. *Pont.* 4.4.35–39).[10] Pliny's *Panegyricus* merely happens to be the first of such speeches to have survived.

The fact that the next earliest speech after Pliny's *Panegyricus* in the "Gallic corpus" is dated to ca. 289 does not imply a long gap in the genre. Cornelius Fronto, for one, was active in the Antonine period, composing a panegyric of Antoninus' victory in Britain that was read in the late third century, and doubtless many others.[11] Handbooks or treatises on eulogistic rhetoric were compiled, setting out instructions for the composition of speeches for various occasions (see below), and this class of oratory must have occupied an important place in the schools that continued to flourish through all but the darkest days of the third century. Eumenius, for example, mentions the activities of his grandfather at Autun until the Maenian schools were closed (*Pan.* 9.17.3).

THE "GALLIC CORPUS": THE *XII PANEGYRICI LATINI*

In 1433 Johannes Aurispa discovered in Mainz a manuscript containing Pliny's *Panegyricus* and eleven other speeches of the same genre. That

9. See A. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," *RhM* 66 (1911) 513–72, for Cicero's influence on the Gallic panegyrics, although not all his alleged Ciceronian borrowings are persuasive; see below in the section "Language and Literary Character."

10. Ovid describes the procedure: a procession to the Capitol and a speech to the Senate, *ubi . . . egeris et meritas superis cum Caesare grates.*

11. *Pan.* 8.14.2 of 297; see commentary ad loc. (note 50).

manuscript has perished, but surviving copies of it preserve the collection, which is generally known as the *XII Panegyrici Latini*.[12]

Pliny's *Panegyric to Trajan* (100 C.E.), a speech of thanks (*gratiarum actio*) for his consulship, stands at its head and apparently served as a model. The remaining eleven orations are much later in date, ranging from 289 to 389 C.E., and are addressed to the emperors Maximian, Constantius I, Constantine, Julian, and Theodosius. Their authors, most of them anonymous, appear to have been natives of Gaul; most, if not all, were teachers of rhetoric; several had held, or were to hold, imperial office.[13] With two, or possibly three, exceptions, the speeches are in reverse chronological order in the manuscripts. The contents of the corpus, in manuscript order, is as follows (the manuscript headings are given first, then a brief description of each speech, with date):

1. Panegyricus Plinii dictus Traiano
   Gratiarum actio for consulship (100)
2. Finitus panegyricus primus Plinii. Incipit panegyricus Latini Pacati Drepani dictus Theodosio
   Upon the defeat of the usurper Magnus Maximus; delivered at Rome (389)
3. Finitus panegyricus Latini Pacati Drepani dictus d.n. Theodosio in urbe eterna Roma. Incipit gratiarum actio Mamertini de consulatu suo Iuliano imperatori
   Gratiarum actio of Claudius Mamertinus for his consulship; delivered at Constantinople (362)
4. Explicit oratio Mamertini. Incipit Nazarii dictus Constantino
   To celebrate the Quinquennalia of Constantine's sons; delivered by Nazarius at Rome (321)
5. Panegyricus Nazarii explicit. Incipiunt panegyrici diversorum VII. Incipit primus dictus Constantino
   Gratiarum actio to Constantine on behalf of Autun for tax relief; delivered at Trier (311)
6. Finit primus. Incipit secundus
   Addressed to Constantine on his Quinquennalia at Trier after the death of Maximian (310)
7. Finit secundus. Incipit tercius
   Epithalamium celebrating the marriage of Constantine to Maximian's daughter Fausta; delivered at Trier (307)

12. See E. Galletier, *Panégyriques latins* (Paris, 1949) 1: xxxviii–xl, for a brief account of the discovery of the text.

13. See the introductions to the individual panegyrics.

8. Finit tercius. Incipit quartus
   Panegyric to Constantius I on his *dies imperii* on the recovery of Britain; delivered at Trier (297?)
9. Finit quartus. Incipit quintus
   Speech of Eumenius on the restoration of the schools of Autun; delivered to the prefect of Lugdunensis I (298?)
10. Finitus quintus. Incipit sextus
    Panegyric of Mamertinus (?) to Maximian on Rome's birthday; delivered at Trier (289)
11. Eiusdem magistri †memet (Mamertini) genethliacus Maximiani Augusti
    A second panegyric of Mamertinus (?) to Maximian on his birthday; Trier (291)
12. Hic dictus est Constantino filio Constantii
    Panegyric to Constantine on his defeat of Maxentius; Trier (313)

The heading of the fifth speech reveals a core of seven speeches (viz. 5–11), apparently an early collection. Presumably it had at first but five[14] and was formed initially at Autun, for speeches 5, 6, 8, and 9 were delivered by orators from that city within the space of a few years (298–311), and two of the speeches (5 and 8) revolve about Autun's affairs. To ignore here the vexed question of the relative dates of 8 and 9,[15] speeches 5–9 appear in reverse chronological order; 10 and 11, delivered at Trier perhaps by the same orator, apparently from Trier (cf. 10.12.6 and Galletier 1: 6–7), seem to have been appended together in chronological order to form a collection of seven.[16] Later someone prefaced this collection with the speeches of Pacatus, Claudius Mamertinus, and Nazarius, preserving the reverse chronological order, and either he, or someone else, set Pliny's *Panegyricus* at the beginning. *Panegyric* 12, however, is isolated, for the heading *panegyrici diversorum VII* takes no account of it, nor has it been placed immediately before the first of these; evidently it was a later addition.[17]

14. W. Baehrens, "Zur quaestio Eumeniana," *RhM* 67 (1912) 313; Galletier, 1: xiii and xix.

15. See the introductions to the two orations.

16. There are variants on the reconstruction: see, for example, S. Brandt, *Eumenius von Augustodunum und die ihm zugeschriebenen Reden* (Freiburg and Tübingen, 1872) 34, who believes that the original corpus contained six orations (5 through 10 in the manuscript order).

17. For a similar analysis, drawing together the work of earlier scholars, see Galletier, 1: ix–xvi.

It is tempting to argue that Pacatus, the author of the latest panegyric in the collection, was its editor.[18] While nearly all the panegyrists are in debt to their predecessors in the corpus, Pacatus' debts are perhaps the heaviest and the most diverse. He borrows ideas and phraseology from all or almost all the other speeches in the collection, and in particular from *Panegyric* 12 of 313, which is neglected by the other two later orators, Nazarius in 321 and Claudius Mamertinus in 362.[19] This neglect is especially noteworthy in the case of Nazarius, for he and the panegyrist of 313 share the same central theme, Constantine's victory over Maxentius.[20] Moreover, Pacatus is deeply indebted both to Nazarius and Mamertinus,

18. As has been suggested, for example, by R. Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes* (Paris, 1906) 285–91, and endorsed, admittedly for different reasons, and less persuasively, by Galletier.

19. Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, 286–88, gives a selection of examples of Pacatus' debt to the panegyric of 313, but perhaps it is worth listing them more extensively (but still selectively) here.

- Pacatus 1.3, on the *rudis et incultus horror* of his Transalpine mode of speech, is modeled on *Pan.* 12.1.2.
- Pacatus 10.1, on the perpetual motion of divine beings; cf. *Pan.* 12.22.1–2 (itself perhaps indebted to *Pan.* 11.3.2 of 291).
- Pacatus 23.1, "complaining" of the emperor's behavior; cf. *Pan.* 12.9.2.
- Pacatus 24.1 *carnifici purpurato* and 31.1 *neglegentissimus vernula;* cf. *Pan.* 12.16.3 *vernula purpuratus.*
- Pacatus 30.2 *vexillum latrocinii civilis;* cf. *Pan.* 12.3.5 *civile latrocinium* and *Pan.* 8.16.2 of 297 *vexillarius latrocinii; Pan.* 12 also uses the word *latrocinium* at 17.1 and 21.3.
- Pacatus 31.1; the extended comparison between Theodosius and Maximus bears a striking conceptual (if not verbal) resemblance to that between Constantine and Maxentius in *Pan.* 12.4.3–4.
- Pacatus 34.4, the Save swallows up a nefarious enemy like the Tiber of *Pan.* 12.17.2 (but cf., too, Nazarius 30.1).
- [Pacatus 38.2 *peto Africum quam exhausi?* cf. *Pan.* 12.16.1 *Quippe omni Africa quam delere statuerat exhausta.*]
- Pacatus 45.4 *tu ipsius victoriae victor;* cf. *Pan.* 12.21.2 *iste victor non modo hostium, sed etiam victoriae suae* (ultimately derived from Cic. *Marc.* 12).
- Pacatus 46.1 explores the theme of *Pan.* 12.20.3 *O tandem felix civili, Roma, victoria* with similar exempla: Cinna, Marius, Sulla, and the Colline Gate.

20. See Galletier's footnotes for a handy confirmation of the complementary nature of the two speeches; e.g., 2: 128, 130, 132–33, 180–84, 186–88 (but N.B. pp. 189 and 191 where there is some rapprochement). Where there is some contact—for example, *Pan.* 12's *divino monitus instinctu* (11.4) and Nazarius' *divino instinctu* (17.1)—it can be explained satisfactorily by other means (cf. the *instinctu divinitatis* on the Arch of Constantine at Rome; *ILS* 694).

which implies that he admired their speeches and would consider them worthy of incorporation into such a collection.[21]

Pacatus was in all probability a professor of rhetoric at Bordeaux, like (perhaps) Nazarius, and thus in a good position to obtain access to the work of predecessors. Pliny, whose *Panegyricus* stands at the head of the collection as an exemplum, was a popular author in the late fourth century,[22] and it would not be surprising if that was when his speech was singled out for this honor. Be that as it may, the rationale for the collection was clearly literary: the speeches chosen served as models of their kind for students and practitioners of epideictic rhetoric. The collection's elements are thematically unconnected, except in the broadest sense, and chronologically disordered: it served no political or historical purpose. The corpus is a product of the late Gallic schools of rhetoric.

Gaul had long been a center of rhetoric. Juvenal, for instance, calls Gaul, with Africa, the nurse of advocates (7.147–49) and has eloquent Gaul teaching British pleaders (15.111). And it had maintained its primacy.[23] If the surviving evidence suggests that Autun and Trier had loomed large in the Tetrarchic and early Constantinian periods, it points to Bordeaux as the leading center later in the fourth century. Ausonius' *Professors of Bordeaux* may distort the picture, but Symmachus had learnt his rhetoric from a Bordelais teacher (*Ep.* 9.88, itself a noteworthy tribute to Gallic eloquence) and had sought a Gallic rhetor to instruct his son (*Ep.* 6.34).

As Roman authority and influence had penetrated Gaul from the coast, the Aedui, early allies and brothers of Rome, as the Aeduan panegyrists never tire of reminding their audiences,[24] took the lead in assimilating their ways to those of the imperialist intruder. An early manifestation of this was the Maenian schools, celebrated, it would seem, as early as the reign of Tiberius (*liberalibus studiis*, Tac. *Ann.* 3.43; 33 C.E.).

21. See, for example, Pacatus' conversion of Mamertinus' passage on Julian's elevation of philosophy (23.4) into extended praise of Theodosius' elevation of *amicitia* (16–17, esp. 16.2). Nazarius' description of the intervention of his *milites caelestes* on Constantine's behalf (14–15), with his reference to the Dioscuri (15.4ff.), has helped to shape Pacatus' account of the passage of Theodosius' soldiers over the Alps (39); Pacatus 34.2 is drawn from Nazarius 30.2. These examples can be multiplied.

22. For example, Symmachus modeled his letters, and even their arrangement, on Pliny's: nine books of private correspondence followed by a tenth of official (Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, 289).

23. See in general T. J. Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul* (London, 1920; reprint, Johannesburg, 1958).

24. See *Pan.* 8.21.2 *vetus illud Romanae fraternitatis nomen* and similar allusions in *Pan.* 6.22.4 and 5.2.4.

The Maenian schools were flourishing in the days of Eumenius' grandfather but were closed by the mid-third century (*Pan.* 9.17.2–3).[25] After some kind of revival, if not complete recovery,[26] the schools and city of Autun had to face a new challenge, the establishment of Trier as an imperial capital in the 280s.[27] Already in the *Panegyric* of 310 we sense Autun's envy of Trier, which was experiencing all the benefits of the imperial presence: a building boom, the attractions of employment in the imperial bureaucracy, and the like.[28] The orator invites the emperor to Autun and hopes for similar *beneficia* for his city (*Pan.* 6.22.1–7).

But Trier's political and material preeminence did not lead, as far as we know, to cultural preeminence. Trier remained an important strategic center in the fourth century, and indeed for long periods the residence of an emperor (Crispus, Constantine II, Constans, then again under Valentinian, Gratian, and Magnus Maximus). As such, it inevitably attracted imperial patronage, and its professors were paid state salaries at a higher rate than in other cities in accordance with a decree of Valentinian and Gratian (*Cod. Theod.* 13.3.11 of 376). But despite Ausonius' tribute, comparing its eloquence with that of Rome—*Aemula te Latiae decorat facundia linguae* ("Your eloquence, rival of the Latin tongue, is an adornment to you," *Mos.* 383)—Trier's schools and teachers do not appear to have made any great mark.[29] Perhaps, it may be contended, the imperial court was too close. At any rate it is clear that Bordeaux became the cultural and intellectual center of Gaul in the course of the fourth century.[30]

THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

The authors of the three latest speeches in the corpus are known from the manuscript headings. Surprisingly, however, the *panegyrici diversorum VII* are presented anonymously: surprising given that four of them at least (5, 6, 8, and 9), and possibly five (7), emanate from Autun and

25. Many believe that the date of the closing coincided with the sack of Autun in 269. See the Introduction to *Panegyric* 9, and notes 25 and 65 to that oration.

26. So, rightly, Galletier, 2: 113–14.

27. See *Pan.* 10.6.2ff. of 289 and commentary, note 27; and E. M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London, 1970) esp. 58–62 and 98–123.

28. See Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 58–62 and 98–123.

29. So, too, Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul*, 48.

30. Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul*, 46–48, and above, p. 7. Of course, there were many other centers of rhetorical teaching in Gaul; for a list of those known to us see M. L. Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome* (London, 1953) 146 and n. 49.

were delivered within little more than a decade of each other.[31] But in the body of one of the speeches there lurks the name of one Eumenius, who reproduces in full an imperial rescript addressed to himself (*Pan.* 9.14). Despite the discouragement of the manuscript *diversorum*, there have been persistent attempts to assign other speeches to Eumenius, the most extreme being that of Otto Seeck, who endowed him with all eight speeches in the second part of the corpus.[32] There will be few today who subscribe to this notion. Close examination of biographical details and style have convinced most scholars that the speeches are indeed *diversorum*. E. Galletier in his introduction gives a succinct summary of the controversy and outlines lucidly the features of the panegyrics that suggest that their authors "ont . . . des personnalités très différentes."[33] Another approach, that of A. Klotz,[34] was to try to differentiate between the panegyrics on the basis of the literary models used, but no definite conclusions as to authorship can be made on this criterion. Nor can the question be settled by examining the degree to which different panegyrics conform to the rules laid down in the handbooks attributed to Menander, instructive as such analysis may be.[35] In the end the case against single authorship rests largely on the biographical details that can be extracted from the panegyrics. The differences that emerge outweigh the congruities.

A qualification to the above conclusion is to embrace the view that *Panegyrics* 10 and 11 are by the same author, as the manuscript title *eiusdem magistri †Mamertini/memet . . .* would suggest. Opinion on this is divided, as

31. Cf. Galletier, 1: xvii.

32. "Studien zur Geschichte Diocletians und Constantins," *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 137 (1888) 713–26; cf. Seeck's "Eumenius," *RE* 6.1 (1907). Long before him, Livineius, in his edition of 1599, had attributed 5, 6, and 8 to Eumenius.

33. 1: xvi–xxv; see C. E. V. Nixon, "Latin Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period," in *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, ed. B. Croke and A. M. Emmett (Sydney, 1983) 91–92, for a brief summary of the biographical information; Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, app. 1, "L'origine du recueil des panégyriques," 270–91, attacks Seeck's position on historical grounds, rather than on considerations of style and personality; see, too, Baehrens, "Zur quaestio Eumeniana," 312–16.

34. Cited above, n. 9.

35. Cf. J. Mesk, "Zur Technik der lateinischen Panegyriker," *RhM* 67 (1912) 569–90. Mesk, like Klotz, undertook his study specifically to try to settle the question of single or multiple authorship, but admitted that analysis of rhetorical technique alone was insufficient for this task (p. 590). Nonetheless he felt that when added to the "factual," linguistic, and stylistic arguments of his predecessors the disparate approaches of the panegyrics to Menander's scheme strengthened the case for multiple authorship.

it is on the status of the name Mamertinus. While the latter not only is the reading of the best manuscript (H) but also appears in the Italian branch of the stemma (X2), *memet* is attested by the Codex Napocensis and has been inserted in the margin of H by a scribe. *Memet* may be a garbling of the name Mamertinus, but some would explain it, with Seeck, as a truncated abbreviation of the *magister*'s office, namely, *magistri mem⟨oriae⟩ et ⟨rhetoris latini⟩*. In this case, it could be suggested, the name Mamertinus was introduced from the *incipit* of *Panegyric* 3. The inclusion of the latter speech, the only speech in the collection delivered east of Rome (at Constantinople), in a parochial collection such as this, needs explanation. It may be that the name Mamertinus has a bearing on the issue (e.g., the two Mamertini were related), or perhaps the Gallic origin of Claudius Mamertinus is sufficient to account for the inclusion of his oration. One might argue that the style and substance of *Panegyrics* 10 and 11 are harmonious. Furthermore, the *magistri* of the manuscript heading of the latter fits the text, where the speaker refers to an honor received from the emperor that far exceeded his expectations (1.2). The chronological ordering of the two speeches, in contrast with the remainder of the *diversorum VII*, might point to a common origin. Why not at least believe the *eiusdem magistri* of the rubric, asks this school, if leaving the speaker's name and exact nature of his office open?[36] Alternatively, one might point out, inter alia, that historical infinitives occur in the panegyric of 291 but not in the earlier one, that the author of *Panegyric* 10 never uses *maiestas* as the equivalent of a pronoun, while he of *Panegyric* 11 does; equally, the author of *Panegyric* 11 never uses *numen* in place of a pronoun, while the author of *Panegyric* 10 nearly always does.[37] A mode of address is a basic element of style and is not likely to undergo radical change within the space of two years. The question of common authorship remains open.

THE PANEGYRISTS AND THE HANDBOOKS

It was mentioned above that handbooks or treatises on epideictic as well as other forms of rhetoric were compiled as a guide to orators,

36. Baehrens, "Zur quaestio Eumeniana," 312–13; and others. Aliter: H. Ruehl, *De XII panegyricis Latinis propaedeumata* (Greifswald, 1868); Brandt, *Eumenius*, 34; and R. Götze, "Quaestiones Eumenianae" (Diss., Halle, 1892) 7.

37. B. Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Historia* 35 (1986) 103–4 (appendix). The results of statistical analysis are worse than inconclusive on this question, yet they do suggest that Eumenius, at least, wrote quite differently from the rest. See, for instance, the table in S. M. Oberhelman and R. G. Hall, "Meter in Accentual Clausulae in Late Imperial Latin Prose," *CP* 80 (1985) 222–23.

and it would seem virtually certain that our panegyrists, many of them professional teachers of rhetoric (see below, p. 29), were familiar with such manuals. As had always been the case, the Greeks were foremost in theorizing,[38] and of particular interest to students of Latin panegyric are two treatises from the late Empire traditionally ascribed to Menander of Laodicea, particularly the section devoted to the βασιλικὸς λόγος.[39] Following on the work of earlier scholars,[40] J. Mesk analyzed the extent to which each speech in our corpus conformed to the schema and precepts set out in Menander's βασιλικὸς λόγος in order to decide the question of single or multiple authorship.[41] *Panegyric* 10, in his opinion, conforms so closely to Menander's schema that "dieser Rhetor hat also deutlich das Schema vor Augen."[42] Tabulation elucidates his point:

Menander	*Panegyric* 10
Prooimion:	Prooimion:
2–3: Amplification of subject	1.1–4: Amplification of subject
4–5: Comparison	2.1: Comparison with Hercules
6: Aporia	2.2: *Vnde igitur ordiar?*
7–8: Fatherland, only if it is famous for something	2.2: Pannonia, famous for *virtus*
9–11: Family: if undistinguished, ignore it or say that the king is divine	2.3: *An divinam generis tui originem recensebo?*
12–15: Birth & upbringing, if there is anything wonderful; comparison with gods & heroes	2.4–5: Upbringing (no portents at birth) on the battlefield; comparison with Jupiter's infancy
(17–18: General remarks on putting in comparisons everywhere)	(Note comparisons throughout)
19–21: Deeds; start with war if king has acquired military renown	4.1–4: M is *fortis*; D *sapiens*; comparison with Jupiter's war against the Giants
Bravery, justice, temperance	The Bagaudae: M's *fortitudo, clementia*

38. See Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome*, 141; G. Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World: 300 B.C.–A.D. 300* (Princeton, 1972) chap. 9.

39. Edited with translation and commentary by D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford, 1981). They conclude (pp. xxxiv–xl) that the two treatises are by different authors but date to the late third or early fourth century.

40. O. Kehding, *De panegyricis Latinis capita quattuor* (Marburg, 1899); W. Pohlschmidt, *Quaestiones Themistianae* (Münster, 1908).

41. See above, p. 9 and n. 35.

42. Mesk, "Zur Technik der lateinischen Panegyriker," 573.

22: The king's and his enemies' traps and ambushes	5.1–2: German invasions; M's two strategems: *consilium* and battle
23–25: Description of battles, esp. if king partakes in battle; the king's appearance in armor; prosopopoieia	5.3–4: Battle description; M fights in battle; comparisons with nature 6.3: The emperor in armor; comparison with Jupiter
26: Other successes; wisdom	7.1–7: Amplification; more battles 8.1–6: Wisdom: comparison with Scipio & Diocletian
27: Philanthropy and justice	9.1–5: M & D are *largissimi, fortissimi*; *meliores/iustiores* than the Lacedaemonian kings 10.1–7: Their mutual *fides*; comparisons with Hercules & Alexander
28–34: Deeds in peace; government; subjects' happiness	11.1–7: *Fortuna:* their good government, subjects' happiness
35: Fortune	12.1–8: *Fortuna*: building a fleet; nature serves them
36: Wholesale comparisons	13.1–5: The emperors have recreated Rome; greater than Romulus & Remus; comparison with Hercules 14.1: M replaces all Republican heroes as a role-model
37–38: Conclusion: prosperity of realm; prayers; dynastic sentiments	14.1–5: Conclusion: dynastic sentiments; prayers; prosperity of empire

The earlier section of Pacatus' speech also seems to conform in general fashion to Menander's precepts. Other speakers, however, depart widely from them. Of course, the parallels adduced from Menander are not sufficient to demonstrate direct use of him by any of the panegyrists. His work is full of commonplaces, and it is likely that many other manuals and handbooks retailed similar advice. And they were not necessarily Greek ones. Quintilian, for instance, in a section of his *Institutio oratoria* on *laus hominum* (3.7.10ff.), has points in common with the panegyrics (treatment of country, parents, ancestry, et al.). In particular, he suggests two different principles of arrangement of material:

> Namque alias aetatis gradus gestarumque rerum ordinem sequi speciosius fuit, ut in primis annis laudaretur indoles, tum disciplinae, post hoc operum id est factorum dictorumque contextus; alias in species virtutum dividere laudem, fortitudinis, iustitiae, continentiae ceterarumque, ac singulis adsignare, quae secundum quamque earum gesta erunt. Utra sit autem harum via utilior, cum materia deliberabimus, dum sciamus gratiora esse audientibus, quae solus quis aut primus aut certe cum paucis fecisse dicetur.
>
> (3.7.15–16)

> It has sometimes proved the more effective course to trace a man's life and deeds in due chronological order, praising his natural gifts as a child, then his progress at school, and finally the whole course of his life, including words as well as deeds. At times on the other hand it is well to divide our praises, dealing separately with the various virtues, fortitude, justice, self-control and the rest of them and to assign to each virtue the deeds performed under its influence. We shall have to decide which of these two methods will be the more serviceable, according to the nature of the subject; but we must bear in mind the fact that what most pleases an audience is the celebration of deeds which our hero was the first or only man or at any rate one of the very few to perform.
>
> (Trans. Butler, Loeb edition)

As Galletier observes in his discussion of this passage,[43] several of the panegyrics (viz. those of 289, 297, 310, 311, 321, and 389) adopt the first, or biographical, method, that of 291 adopts the second, that of 297 a combination of the two, while the others do not really fit either mold. E. Vereecke, then, is right to insist that it has not been proved that the treatises of Menander were the model for the Gallic panegyrists,[44] although it is worth noting that his βασιλικὸς λόγος was well known in Byzantine times.[45] Vereecke also suggests that the parallels with Latin authors adduced by Klotz and others, chiefly from Cicero and Pliny, are less numerous and less striking than one might have expected if they had served as models.[46] This is surely true. More striking, indeed, are the borrowings of one panegyrist from another (see the individual introductions and commentaries).

In conclusion, as professional teachers of rhetoric most of our panegyrists can be expected to have been familiar not only with a wide range of Latin (and Greek?) literature but also with both Latin and Greek manuals

43. 1: xxxi.
44. "Le corpus des Panégyriques latins de l'époque tardive," *AntCl* 44 (1975) 141–60.
45. L. Previale, "Teoria e prassi del panegirico bizantino," *Emerita* 17 (1949) 72–105.
46. "Le corpus des Panégyriques latins," 151–53.

of rhetoric. They will have drawn for inspiration from a wide variety of sources.

LANGUAGE AND LITERARY CHARACTER

The Latin panegyrics in this collection continue a long tradition, and those who practiced the genre in late antiquity were accomplished students of Latin rhetoric. Although Cicero may have provided the principal school text, the students included in their efforts a generous admixture of silver Latin usages along with an occasional vulgar or late formulation; clearly their reading must often have embraced Pliny and later prose writers, including their near contemporaries. On the other hand, despite the affinities for silver Latin, these orators do not on the whole exhibit the striving for epigrammatic effect that one finds, for example, in Seneca or Tacitus. Although one can discover but few items of vocabulary or syntax that an accomplished stylist of Pliny's age might have deemed unacceptable, there is the occasional neologism or untoward construction. An exhaustive treatment of such instances is out of place here,[47] but a few examples may serve to indicate what late Latin usages there are.

Vocabulary and Diction

Neologisms. To take as an example one species of vocabulary, of 129 abstract nouns ending in *-tas*,[48] twelve[49] do not occur in extant writings of the golden age; of these, only one, *animositas*, is not found in silver Latin authors. In addition, some classical words are used with post-Augustan meanings: for example, *civitas* never means "the state," but "a city." And in the late Latin panegyrics, the word *divinitas* means "an emperor" as often as it means "a deity."[50]

47. There are studies dealing primarily with the panegyrists' language: e.g., the dissertations of Götze ("Quaestiones Eumenianae") and K. G. Chruzander ("De elocutione panegyricorum veterum Gallicanorum quaestiones" [Uppsala, 1897]).

48. Götze, "Quaestiones Eumenianae," 33–35, lists those from the eight earliest panegyrics only; the rest come from autopsy of *Panegyrics* 2, 3, and 4, supplemented by consultation of the reverse-spelling list in T. Janson, *A Concordance to the Latin Panegyrics* (Hildesheim and New York, 1979).

49. *Aequanimitas, animositas, captivitas, credulitas, densitas, diversitas, fraternitas, olivitas, popularitas, simplicitas, sinceritas, sublimitas*.

50. More often, actually: in panegyrics dated before 321 the word never means "a deity." See the chart in Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation," 102.

Very few words of any category are "unclassical." Omitting items of vocabulary found rarely in good authors or only in poets, or not until the time of Augustus, there are fewer than two dozen worthy of mention:[51]

ambitor (noun) 3.17.2 (not in *OLD*)
animositas 11.3.7 (not in *OLD*)
calumniosus 4.38.4
conlativus (ante- and post-class.) 4.18.6
comparco (ante- and post-class.) 2.32.5
constipatio 4.28.5 (not in *OLD*)
depraedatio 3.1.4 (also in Ennodius) (not in *OLD*)
devenusto 3.5.3
dispendiosus 4.5.6
incitatrix 4.34.1 (not in *OLD*)
incunctanter 2.12.3
inflammatrix 3.3.3 (also in Ammianus) (not in *OLD*)
interpolatrix 4.15.5 (not in *OLD*)
mutatorius (Christian as well as post-class.) 7.2.5 (not in *OLD*)
osor (ante- and post-class.) 2.20.5
ostentatrix 2.17.1
recreator 6.2.2
subservio (ante- and post-class.) 2.18.4
ultroneus 2.32.3

Examples from Nazarius (who had a fondness for feminine abstracts), Claudius Mamertinus, and Pacatus comprise over eighty percent of the list. Nevertheless, there are few instances in over two hundred pages of text.

K. Chruzander finds only sixteen words (all but two in the three latest orators, viz. Nazarius, Claudius Mamertinus, and Pacatus) that do not appear in extant Latin literature before their use in the *Panegyrici Latini*.[52] The panegyrists, like silver Latin authors, especially Tacitus, used poetic words (adjectives in particular) and collocutions; they employ some that cannot be found, even if only in single instances, in Cicero, Livy, or prose writers of the silver age. There are a number of others that may be described as rare but classical (e.g., *diritas, feritas, ostiatim, infitiator*). One may even create subcategories of these, such as words primarily Ciceronian (e.g., *communitas, depulsio*), words found in Cicero and again in

51. Most taken from the alphabetical listing in Chruzander, "De elocutione panegyricorum," 5–69.

52. See Chruzander, "De elocutione panegyricorum," 69–70. Some do not appear anywhere else.

much later writers or in technical writers (e.g., *distermino, soliditas*), *hapax legomena* in Cicero (if not elsewhere) (e.g., *adglutino, serenitas*).

Postclassical Constructions. Apart from vocabulary, the panegyrists exhibit occasional syntactical usages unfamiliar to the student of classical prose.[53] As an example of the changes in employment of pronouns, the most disconcerting is the use of the genitive of the personal pronoun, especially the reflexive, where one would expect the possessive adjective.[54] None of these untoward grammatical usages presents any difficulty in understanding. There is very little that one can label as vulgar Latin or a precursor to medieval Latin. One might say that the Gallic rhetors achieved silver Latin while aiming for Ciceronian, if indeed that was their aim. Ciceronian *hapax legomena* aside, classical limitations of vocabulary and construction often seem confining to those who would express themselves in the Latin tongue.[55]

Literary Allusions and Borrowings

In late antiquity, as now, the excellence of Cicero's and Virgil's writings was recognized by their use as paradigms for students of the language: an unkind fate, perhaps, for a culture's greatest literary monuments, but necessary for those who would learn well a language rather different from that which people ordinarily spoke. The orators paraphrased Virgil, alluded to him, or even quoted him outright; as one might expect, the *Aeneid* is the favored work, although the *Georgics* appear rather frequently as well, the *Eclogues* less so.[56] The author of *Panegyric* 12 is especially fond of Virgil, and Nazarius too finds several places to insinuate the poet: one would expect Virgilian allusions from orators who spoke about Constantine's recovery of Rome. Other poets are not so clearly known: there is an occasional nod in Horace's direction,[57] even a wholesale

53. Chruzander, "De elocutione panegyricorum," 83ff.

54. E.g., *praesentiam vestri* (10.13.4), *sui maiestate* (11.2.1), *intervulsa sui soliditate* (7.10.3), *in mei restitutione* (7.11.4), *a propriis ex origine sui sedibus* (6.6.2), *in illa sui sorte* (4.6.2). There are also places where one finds *nemo* instead of *nullus* (e.g., *nemo Romanus* at 8.16.3); cf. *nemo audax* in Symmachus *Or.* 1.6 and *neminem unum* (a collocution found in Livy and Tacitus) at 2.13.4; and three instances in the two latest panegyrics of *nullus* replacing *nemo*: *nullus refelleret* (3.5.1), *nullus adigebat* (2.2.2), *nullus habiturus sit* (2.27.1).

55. On classical limitations of vocabulary see E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (Darmstadt, 1958) 1: 189.

56. K. Schenkl, "Lectiones panegyricae," *WS* 3 (1881) 129–30, collects some references. See also the notes to the various panegyrics.

57. E.g., *Carm.* 2.1.22 at 9.2.4.

borrowing from Ovid.[58] While it would be pointless to deny that educated Gallic rhetoricians had read many poets other than Virgil, one cannot readily detect them flaunting such knowledge.

A student of Latin prose peruses Cicero for many reasons and when composing an oratorical exercise of praising or blaming should consult that authority first for suitable vehicles to convey his admiration or contempt. It is no surprise, then, that approximately three dozen echoes of the Ciceronian panegyric of Pompey, the oration in support of the Manilian law, may be found in nine, or perhaps ten, of the eleven late *Panegyrici*,[59] four of which (*Panegyrics* 9, 8, 6, and 12) have exordia modeled on this one of Cicero's.[60] There are also Cicero's three command performances in honor of Caesar, all useful references for one who would praise a ruler's civic arrangements, especially after some internal disruption. Of these, the orators especially esteemed the *Pro Marcello*:[61] more than a dozen allusions occur, in eight of the panegyrics.[62] If vilification was necessary, Cicero again supplies inspiration: there are eleven citations from the Catilinarian orations, eight from the Verrines. All together, there are echoes of about thirty different orations of Cicero and a number of philosophical works,[63] but only two of the oratorical treatises.[64]

58. *Pan.* 12.25.2–3 is modeled on Ov. *Met.* 15.746–61.

59. There are instances in all but *Panegyrics* 5 and 3, and there may actually be an echo of this oration at 3.4.3 (see note ad loc.). The panegyrists do not favor the oration on the consular provinces, although its topic is similar: there may be four citations in three of the orations (*Panegyrics* 11, 9, and 5). The earlier of these orations of Cicero is the better and justifiably more familiar to students.

60. *Man.* 1 echoed at 9.1.1 and 6.1.1; 2 at 8.1.2; 3 (the part about having more material than time) at 9.3.2–3, 8.1.1–5, 12.1.1.

61. Quite rightly, as the best of the three. There are four allusions to the oration for Deiotarus (in *Panegyrics* 11, 9, 8, 12) and one to the *Pro Ligario* (in *Panegyric* 6).

62. None in *Panegyrics* 9, 7, or 5, the three orations whose subject matter is farthest removed from treatment of internal strife; the epithalamium might have permitted treatment of the topic, but the orator chose not to mar the celebrations with forebodings; cf., however, the hint at 7.12.8.

63. *Fin.* 2.85 at 11.12.3; *Leg.* 1.52 at 4.23.2, 1.8 and 1.58 at 11.1.1 and 11.19.2 respectively; *N. D.* 1.49 at 4.23.2, 1.52 at 11.3.4, 2.61 at 9.7.1; *Off.* 1.57 and 1.59 at 4.10.2 and 4.13.3 respectively, 3.44 at 3.3.2; *Parad.* 6.3 at 3.10.3; *Rep.* 3.14 at 10.3.3; *Sen.* 42 at 4.5.1; *Tusc.* 1.4.3 at 11.8.5, 2.36 at 4.13.1, 2.47 at 11.19.2, (perhaps 4.29 at 12.4.3). There are fifteen passages cited; worth noting is that six each are found in Nazarius and the author of *Panegyric* 11.

64. In Nazarius and Claudius Mamertinus: *De or.* 1.13 at 3.9.3; *Orat.* 2 at 3.1.2 and 235 at 4.33.5.

One may find evidence of other classical prose models. The author of *Panegyric* 10 seems to have known Pliny's *Panegyricus* well: Klotz finds seven verbal likenesses.[65] He also discerns "eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit im Gedanken" between Pliny's *Panegyricus* 56 and *Panegyric* 11.15:[66] each passage contains commonplace observations on the wealth of material at the orator's disposal.[67] Other panegyrists also demonstrate some familiarity with the Plinian model.[68] It is interesting to discover Sallust in use: one may find echoes of the *Catilina* in *Panegyrics* 10 and 12 and of the *Iugurtha* in *Panegyrics* 6, 5, and 12.[69] The author of *Panegyric* 12 seems to have known Livy: 12.15.6 owes its sentiments and their phrasing to Livy 28.44.8. The panegyrist of Constantius may also have been familiar with Livy (8.16.4 recalls Livy 38.17.3),[70] and, because of the subject matter, with Fronto, whose praise of Marcus Aurelius he mentions at 8.14.2; the panegyrist of 310 seems to have known Tacitus' *Agricola*.[71] The Aeduan orators, who pride themselves on their city's long association with the Romans, refer to Caesar in the context of Gaul or Britain: it may be that knowledge of Caesar came from secondary sources such as Florus,[72] or, as I believe is more likely, that students of rhetoric were treated to great doses of Caesar's prose but found little opportunity actually to imitate it because of the disparity both in subject matter and more especially in genre between his commentaries and the extant late Roman orations. Even the skeptic, however, allows that *Panegyric* 12.6.1–2 (Caesar and Gomphi) derives from

65. Pliny *Pan.* 6.2 is echoed at 10.4.2, 6.3 at 10.3.1, 6.4 at 10.4.2, 8.3 at 10.4.2, 28.6 at 10.2.7, 47.4 at 10.7.4, 56.4 at 10.6.4.

66. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 535.

67. One should discount this as a direct borrowing, since Klotz has sought it out more for the sake of demonstrating that the authors of *Panegyrics* 10 and 11 must be the same than for proving familiarity with Pliny on the part of the author of *Panegyric* 11.

68. The authors of *Panegyrics* 6 and 7; see Brandt, *Eumenius*, 31, on *Panegyric* 5 and Pliny.

69. *Cat.* 10.1 at 10.8.1, 16.3 at 10.12.4, and 61.2 at 12.17.1; *Iug.* 72.2 at 6.18.2, 38.8 at 6.19.4, 29.5 at 5.11.1, and 21.2 at 12.5.6.

70. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 536, believes that *Pan.* 11.10 owes something to Livy 26.9; consequently, for the sake of the authorship argument, he is constrained to find Livian allusions in *Panegyric* 10; these are not compelling.

71. Cf. *Agr.* 12 (sunlight at night) with *Pan.* 6.9.3; see Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 553; B. Baldwin, "Tacitus, the *Panegyrici Latini*, and the *Historia Augusta*," *Eranos* 78 (1980) 175–78; and N. Baglivi, "Osservazioni su Paneg. VII(6),9," *Orpheus* 7 (1986) 329–37.

72. As Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 546, 554, believes may be the case.

the original, *Bellum civile* 3.80.1–81.2. In all considerations of models one must remember that although a clear echo or direct allusion provides firm evidence of what someone has read, lack of such echoes does not prove that an orator is unfamiliar with any given author. A good prose stylist should read Cicero, for example, to see how to construct a rounded period, not to copy out and rework specific passages: the better one has learnt the lesson, the more independent one should be of the model.

Technical Effects

Prose Rhythm. Classical Latin prose is marked by metrical rhythm, especially apparent at the ends of sentences and clauses. Cicero, the principal prose model for many generations subsequent to his own, especially favored for his clausulae the cretic trochee (or variant: e.g., *esse complures*, or *hostium potestate*, *Man.* 5) or a double cretic (or variant: *bello discedere*, or *deposci atque expeti*, *Man.* 5), and several other metrical combinations.[73] Accentual prose, while dependent on the word-accent, need not be ignored while writing metrical prose; thus accent and ictus may coincide to produce the cursus planus (*ésse complúres*, *Man.* 5), the cursus tardus (*béllo discédere*, *Man.* 5), and the cursus velox (*formídine liberátos*, *Man.* 16).[74] By the fourth century, what is called the cursus mixtus (prose marked by both word- and metrical accent) was a well-established phenomenon. The Gallic panegyrists all wrote both accentual and metrical clausulae, all but Eumenius at a rate of about 75 percent or better for each type.[75] Yet even Eumenius' numbers are not paltry (67.8 percent and 72.4 percent respectively), and a glance at his exordium will give examples of each sort of metrically resonant cursus:

facultáte vigísti	cursus planus	cretic-trochee
plerósque mirári	cursus planus	cretic-trochee
vídeor consecútus	cursus velox	ditrochee
iactáre malúerim	cursus tardus	cretic-tribrach

73. One may readily consult, among others, Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, 2: 926–40 (pp. 940–51 for the later periods); L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963) 156–60, with chart on p. 156; *OCD* 2, s.v. "Prose-Rhythm."

74. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, 2: 951, observes that the cursus planus and tardus are based upon the cretic, with the cursus velox upon the ditrochee.

75. See the table in Oberhelman and Hall, "Meter in Accentual Clausulae," 222–23.

Thus the panegyrists wrote as most of their contemporaries did, whose ears were tuned to both old and new; by the fifth century, however, metrical considerations ceased to matter.[76]

Rhetorical Devices. The Gallic rhetors were well skilled in the myriad devices employed to adorn elegant prose. Anaphora, for example, often but by no means always in threes, is essential; one of the first things that a student of rhetoric would have learnt was to write a tricolon with anaphora, such as Claudius Mamertinus' *nihil somno, nihil epulis, nihil otio tribuit* (3.14.3). One of the next things the student should observe, having perused Cicero, is that one should vary the basic form: one can use closely related words (e.g., *nullum, nulla, nihil*; cf. 2.32.5), one can avoid the tricolon crescendo (Cicero often makes the second member the longest), and one can employ two members, or more than three. There are many examples in Nazarius (e.g., 4.3.1–3: six instances of the interrogative pronoun in different cases and genders; 4.7.4: *illa*, the unnamed divine force, five times; 4.9.1: *ferebas* bis) and in others (e.g., 5.11.3: *quantum ... quam necessarium ... quam utile*; 10.6.3: *Vidimus te, Caesar, eodem die* bis). It is worth noting how successfully the various panegyrists have applied the technique.

One may discover upon scrutiny all of the rhetorical devices mentioned by writers of grammars and handbooks. For example, the panegyrist of 310 employs litotes (6.10.1), an extremely common instance of metonymy (Mars for war at 6.12.2; also found at 8.15.3 and 4.7.1), and aposiopesis (6.21.5; cf. Eumenius at 9.13.2). The author of *Panegyric* 10 uses a variation of the timeworn metaphor of the ship of state (10.4.2); he is not above an obvious and easy chiasmus, as at 10.5.4 (*cuncti Chaibones Erulique cuncti*); *Panegyric* 8.1.3 has a much nicer one (*licet dicendo aequare non possem, possem tamen vel censere numerando*). Antonomasia is frequent throughout; there are specific instances in Pacatus: for instance, the three plural proper nouns at 2.1.4 indicating Roman orators, or the characterization of Maximus as *ille Falaris* (2.29.4) or of Marcellinus as *illa belli civilis Megaera* (2.35.1). Of course, all circumlocutions such as "Your Majesty" are examples of the same thing. The author of the epithalamium employs prosopopoeia twice, in a long address by Rome to Maximian (7.10.5–11.4) and in a brief exchange between Maximian and Jupiter (7.12.6). The author of *Panegyric* 8 relates what Constantius' soldiers said to each other (8.14.5), Claudius Mamertinus reproduces an internal monologue (3.17.4),

76. In addition to the works cited, see R. G. Hall and S. M. Oberhelman, "Internal Clausulae in Late Latin Prose as Evidence for the Displacement of Metre by Word-Stress," *CQ* 36 (1986) 508–26 (with bibliography).

and Pacatus (2.38.2–3) not only gives Maximus a monologue but has four personified virtues converse with Fortune (2.40.3).

Naturally, some authors were fonder of certain devices than others; one may find in *Panegyric* 12, for example, apostrophe at sections 7.1, 8.2, 9.3–6, 10.3, 18.1–2, 20.3–21.3, and 23.1–2.[77] This same man included in his panegyric two extended antitheses (12.4.2–5 and 25.1–4), multiple interrogative sentences (Galletier counts thirty-seven), and much else that could have been omitted. Galletier, who discusses this orator's lack of either moderation or taste (2: 118–19), especially dislikes the two-page digression (12.11–13) on the formation of manacles from the swords of those who surrendered ("L'exemple le plus typique de cette absence de goût est l'insipide développement qu'il a consacré aux suites de la victoire de Vérone," 2: 118). In fairness to this panegyrist, Pacatus' contrast of Theodosius' barbarian soldiers with Cleopatra's Egyptians (2.32.3–33.5) and his disquisition on suicide (2.41.3–42.3) are no less intrusive and tedious. In fairness to both panegyrists, even the most careful stylists may occasionally be guilty of the same sort of excess (Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 70–72). *Panegyric* 12.4 is also especially worthy of mention for its multiplicity of rhetorical devices: asyndeton, an allusion to Virgil, two interrogative sentences, and the lengthy antithesis prefaced with a long preterition.[78] Finally, one may note soon thereafter an instance of paronomasia (involving *nomen/numen*) at 12.5.5.[79]

Commonplaces and Exempla

The content of these orations is traditional to the point of being formulaic. To judge from Menander's advice (see "The Panegyrists and the Handbooks" above), an aporetic pause was de rigueur, yet few of the orators actually used the device. The panegyrist of 289 (10.2.2–7) tried and rejected several subjects as a means of getting around the emperor's lack of distinguished family history; the orator of 310 (6.14.1–3) pauses for advice before discussing Maximian's rebellion; Pacatus stops thrice before a rehearsal of the elder Theodosius' military career (2.5.2) and

77. In contrast, the author of the *genethliacus* has one, the more effective for its uniqueness: *Sancte Iuppiter et Hercules bone* (11.16.2). See also 8.3.1 (addressed in the vocative are *ver, tempus, kalendae Martiae*).

78. Preterition is an essential of rhetorical composition. Other examples may be found at 11.5.3–4 (another panegyrist's offering of virtuosity in excess, the passage contains seven different verbal expressions for "not mention"), 4.8.3, 3.6.1, 2.14.3.

79. Cl. Mamertinus contrasts *honos/onus* at 3.1.4.

yet again before he describes Maximus' misdeeds (2.24.4). More often, a *captatio benevolentiae* questions the speaker's capacity to discharge his responsibilities.[80] Even formulae, however, need not always be used: Nazarius omitted the formality of an apology usually expected when a provincial addressed Romans.[81] Yet Nazarius did not entirely forego the apologetic, although he confined his remarks to the difficulty of a subject that eluded the capacity of anyone (4.2.7–3.3). No doubt it was a topos by Pericles' day (Thuc. 2.35). In the imperial period, necessity played a part in the orator's defense of his own inadequacies: the praising had to be done whether or not one felt oneself capable of doing it. The modesty (not the necessity) is sham, as Ausonius argues (*Praef.* 4.9ff.):

scribere me Augustus iubet et mea carmina poscit
 paene rogans: blando vis latet imperio.
non habeo ingenium, Caesar sed iussit: habebo.
 cur me posse negem, posse quod ille putat?
invalidas vires ipse excitat et iuvat idem,
 qui iubet: obsequium sufficit esse meum.
non tutum renuisse deo.

The Emperor bids me write, and asks for my verse—nay, almost begs for it; power is masked under a courteous command. I have no skill to write, but Caesar has bidden me; well, I will have it. Why should I deny that I can do what he thinks that I can do? He by his own influence stirs up my feeble power, and he who bids me aids me as well: it is enough for me to obey. It is not safe to disoblige a god.

(Trans. White)

One may compare Constantius' panegyrist (8.1.5): *haereo prorsus et stupeo, et praeter illam ex otio meo tarditatem tanta rerum mole deterreor, ut hoc uno nitar hortatu quod ex quantacumque desidia quamvis maxime orationi imparem* ⟨*parem*⟩[82] *facit Caesar auditor.*[83]

80. See exordia to *Panegyrics* 8, 9, 6, 12, 3, 2. T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces* (Stockholm, 1964) 124–41, discusses the commonplace under the heading "Incompetence."

81. If Nazarius was in fact a visitor from a province. For self-deprecatory remarks, see *Pan.* 2.1.2–4 (Pacatus at Rome); 3.1.2 and 2.3–5 (Cl. Mamertinus at Constantinople); 12.1.1–5 (Anonymous in 313, after Constantine has been treated to Roman oratory).

82. Addition of Livineius.

83. Cf. also Juv. 1.79–80: *si natura negat, facit indignatio versum / qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus; Pan.* 9.15.1 and 5.

Certain commonplace themes recur:[84] a ruler was expected, for example, to display the four cardinal virtues—justice, temperance, bravery, foresight (cf. Menander *Second Treatise* 373 ἀρεταὶ δὲ τέσσαρές εἰσιν, ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις).[85] The orators affirmed fitness to rule by a variety of motifs: unwillingness to be elected (*recusatio*);[86] the difficulty of the emperor's task;[87] military ability (*virtus*); a working arrangement with the gods (*pietas, felicitas*); proper attitudes toward subjects (*providentia*), colleagues (*concordia*), and enemies native (*clementia*) and foreign (*virtus* and *felicitas* again); the dynastic principle if there was an heir,[88] otherwise the principle of adlection of the fittest;[89] if possible, both. Although the orators indulged in a certain amount of moralizing, especially by comparing the emperor to a less satisfactory predecessor or rival (e.g., 6.14.3–6; esp. 4.10, moralizing *tout simple*), they had little advice to offer

84. See the section "The Function of Panegyric and the Relationship of the Authors to the Court" below. For discussions of some of these themes, see also Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, chap. 2, "Les panégyristes et la politique impériale"; M. P. Charlesworth, "The Virtues of a Roman Emperor," *PBA* 23 (1937) 105–35; id., "*Pietas* and *Victoria*," *JRS* 33 (1943) 1–10; J. Béranger, "Le refus du pouvoir," *MH* 5 (1943) 178–96; id., *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat* (Basel, 1953), esp. 137–284 (with bibliography); F. Burdeau, "L'empereur d'après les panégyriques latins," in *Aspects de l'empire romain*, ed. F. Burdeau, N. Charbonnel, and M. Humbert (Paris, 1964) 1–60; R. Seager, "Some Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrics, The Demands of Propaganda and the Dynamics of Literary Composition," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983 [1984]) 129–65.

85. Cf. *Pan.* 11.19.2 (*fortitudo, continentia, iustitia, sapientia*); 7.3.4 and 4.1–5 (*continentia, fortitudo, iustitia, prudentia*); 6.6.1 (*misericordia, iustitia, providentia;* with *fortitudo* covered by the events alluded to in 6.6.2–4); 3.5.4 (*aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, providentia*) and 21.4 (*iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia, prudentia*); 2.40.3 (*Constantia, Patientia, Prudentia, Fortitudo*).

86. *Pan.* 7.11.5–6, 6.8.4, 2.11.1–12.1. Although Ammianus (20.4.15–18) reports that Julian was reluctant to assume the title of Augustus forced upon him by his soldiers, Cl. Mamertinus does not avail himself of this standard theme, probably because he wants to avoid even a hint that Julian had been a usurper. Julian's attitude toward the succession, as reported by Ammianus, displayed all the traditional elements: see J. Béranger, "Julien l'Apostat et l'hérédité du pouvoir impérial," in *Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium 1970*, Antiquitas 4.10 (Bonn, 1972) 75–93.

87. *Pan.* 10.3.3–4, 7.11.5–12.3, 3.13.3, 2.11.5.

88. The panegyrist of 307 explicitly rejects Diocletian's system: *Pan.* 7.2.2 and 2.5. Cf. the arguments that the panegyrist of 310 employs to distinguish Constantine from his (merely elected) colleagues: 6.2.5–4.1.

89. *Pan.* 10.3.1 and 4.1. An emperor chosen from outside the current or previous ruling family would nevertheless expect his son(s), if any, to succeed him: *Pan.* 10.14.1, 2.11.4 and 45.3.

a ruler, unless that advice be disguised as praise for something the ruler was actually not, or in blaming an adversary for a vice that the present ruler shared (a risky proposition). Also seldom exploited is the device of irony, which one might readily expect from such attentive students of Ciceronian manner. Claudius Mamertinus, of all the orators the one who probably felt most at ease with his emperor, resorts to irony to introduce Constantius' illogical fears about his cousin (3.5.2). But genuine irony is found more often in conjunction with freedom of speech than in productions intended for the ears of an absolute ruler; one may substitute litotes (6.10.1), especially if one rectifies it immediately (6.10.2). The orators preserved a pretense of free speech primarily in the device of "scolding" their emperor for temerarious or otherwise inconvenient or inappropriate behavior (e.g., 7.8.9ff., 6.8.4, 12.2.5ff., 12.9.2ff., 2.23.1); all such criticism, like that which reminds the emperor that the gods (or soldiers) sometimes intervene against his wishes (e.g., 6.20.3–4 and its echo, 2.44.2), masks a compliment.

The orators had handbooks for content as well as for form (see "The Panegyrists and the Handbooks" above). For example, a compendium of Ciceronian phrases might be useful upon occasion. Surely there were also works such as Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* or Aurelius Victor's *De viris illustribus* for perusal by those in need of exempla, which were at a premium in a genre that called for frequent favorable comparison of the ruler to gods and men alike. One era of the distant past that had proven invaluable to panegyrists was the mythological time of the Golden Age, which they either described (10.11.3, 11.15.3–4, 6.21ff.) or named outright (9.18.5). Excepting instances in Eumenius' oration, Greek mythology is best represented by Hercules (*Pan.* 10 and 11, in honor of Maximian Herculius).[90]

Republican figures occur in all the panegyrics, but Pacatus especially favors Republican exempla and uses several that are not found in his extant predecessors. Men who were noteworthy for like things are often found grouped together (e.g., Roman statesmen at 10.14.2; eloquent Romans at 2.1.4; military figures, especially of the Second Punic War, are popular).[91]

90. Figures from Greek history appear rarely anyway: the Spartan twin kings (Heraclids) at 10.9.4–10.2 are an appropriate subject for comparison with Maximian; Socrates is cited once for his wisdom (9.16.2); Alexander the Great symbolizes military success (10.10.3, 12.5.1, 2.8.4 and 5) and beauty (6.17.2); Xerxes, the type of a tyrant, is known for excess (8.7.1, 6.13.4) and distance (12.10.1).

91. See C. E. V. Nixon, "The Use of the Past by the Gallic Panegyrists," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke, B. Croke, R. Mortley, and A. Emmett

There are few actual details about Republican history. Two orators characterize Republican Rome as a time when the Empire, thanks to practice in several wars, had a good fleet (11.19.5, 8.11.3). Claudius Mamertinus comments on the machinations involved in popular election to high office (3.19.1–2).[92] Civil war, traditionally an abomination (12.20–21, 5.4.3, 2.46.1–4), is in general a Republican institution.[93] On the topic of provincial history, orators from Autun alluded to their ancestors' role in the conquest of Gaul and their ancient status as brothers of the Roman people (5.2.4, 5.3.1–4; 6.22.4; 8.21.2; 9.4.1). But except for these few instances and handbook figures such as Scipio Africanus, the panegyrists, especially those of the Tetrarchs and Constantine, do not find much need to mention the Republic.

Most of the orators have even less to say about former emperors. One recurrent rule of panegyric is that rivals of the honorand are not to be named and must be alluded to, if at all, only in the most derogatory of terms (e.g., as robbers, bandits, pirates, wild animals).[94] *Panegyrics* 10, 11, and 8 deal with the usurper(s) in Britain; *Panegyric* 6 with the problem of Maximian's refusal to stay in retirement; *Panegyrics* 12 and 4 with the overthrow of Maxentius at Rome; *Panegyric* 2 with that of Magnus Maximus in Gaul. Usurpation, characterized if possible as the rebellion of one man alone, or with only madmen for supporters, is the closest that most panegyrists come to treatment of civil war in the imperial age. But even legitimate former emperors claim little of the panegyrists' attention, and again, usually in comparisons. Emperors of the first and second centuries are, like the kings of early Rome, useful as stock figures (e.g., the good ruler, the tyrant, the warrior). Third-century emperors before the Tetrarchs do not appear at all, with three exceptions: two are used to date events, and one is Claudius II, whom Constantine claimed as an ancestor.[95]

Nobbs (Potts Point, NSW, 1990) 1–36; in his appendix Nixon groups exempla into broad chronological periods.

92. In evident imitation, Symmachus (*Or.* 1.9 and 4.7), and Ausonius (*Grat. act.* 3 and 9) have similar things to say about Republican elections.

93. The author of the *gratiarum actio* to Constantine, while speaking of Autun's attempt to secede from the *imperium Galliarum*, mentions with regret the losses suffered at Châlons when Aurelian recovered Gaul from Tetricus (*Pan.* 5.4.3). The panegyrist of 313 briefly mentions civil strife at Verona sometime in the recent past (12.8.1).

94. See D. Lassandro, "La demonizzazione del nemico politico nei Panegyrici Latini," *CISA* 7 (1981) 237–49. Pacatus, however, names Maximus nine times.

95. Previous emperors named or adequately described are the following, in chronological order: Augustus (7.11.2, 12.10.1, 3.9.2, 2.11.6 and 33.3); Gaius (6.13.4);

There are few intimations that Rome had a recent history: Verona witnessed a battle (besides the one included in Constantine's campaign to capture Italy) in some civil war (12.8.1), and three orators alluded in varying degrees of obliqueness to the *imperium Galliarum* (8.10.1, 9.4.1, 5.4.2–3). *Panegyrics* 9 and 5 contain considerable information, necessary to their authors' theses, about the local history and conditions of Autun. Under conditions of absolute present security, the orators allow that insecurity once existed when the Empire's boundaries were liable to invasion (10.7.3–5, 8.18.1–2, 9.18.4, 6.11.1–3 on vaguely identified "earlier times"; 3.4.1 on Constantius' neglect). It was the present, though, that really mattered in these panegyrics.

THE FUNCTION OF PANEGYRIC AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE AUTHORS TO THE COURT

When Pliny spoke, in an age in which, it could be alleged, *principatus ac libertas* were married (Tac. *Agr.* 3), he could flatter himself that he was not only encouraging the current emperor in his virtues but showing future rulers the way to similar renown by setting an exemplar before them (Pliny *Ep.* 3.18). But by the fourth century the balance between citizen (or senator) and emperor had altered, and the spectacle of an independent speaker advising his emperor might seem unthinkable.

The panegyrics in the Gallic corpus are in the main display pieces for grand occasions at court,[96] celebrating imperial anniversaries (4, 6, 8, 10), military victories (2, 8, 12), birthdays (11), marriages (7), political coups (6), and the like. Even where a speech cannot be connected specifically with such a celebration, it is clear that it was delivered before an important audience of emperor, courtiers, and imperial officials, as in the case of *Panegyric* 5, a speech of thanks for tax concessions (2.1), or at least before

Titus (2.11.6); Nerva (2.11.6); Trajan (2.11.6); Hadrian (2.11.6); Antoninus Pius (8.14.2, 2.11.6); L. Verus (4.24.6); Gallienus (8.10.1); Claudius Gothicus (6.2.2, 5.4.2–3); Probus (8.18.3); Diocletian (7.9.5, 6.15.4); Maximian (7.11.1–4, 6.15.6, 12.3.4); Severus and Galerius (12.3.4); Constantius I (instances too many to cite; see *Panegyrics* 7, 6, 5, 12, 4); Nepotianus and Silvanus were unsuccessful usurpers (3.13.3). See the observations of Nixon, "Use of the Past," 5–6, on the belief current among most late rhetoricians that the ancient past was superior to the more recent.

96. See Nixon, "Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period," and now G. Sabbah, "De la rhétorique à la communication politique," *BAGB* 4 (1984) 363–88, esp. 371–72.

a prominent official such as the governor of a province (*Pan.* 9.1.1: *vir perfectissimus*).[97]

Scholars have sometimes suggested that the Gallic panegyrics are school products, that the speeches we have were not actually delivered.[98] Yet there is a wealth of evidence to confirm that speeches were given on such occasions: for example, the letters of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius;[99] and the very existence of such handbooks as Menander's presupposes the practice. Our speakers refer to speeches of their own or of others celebrating imperial exploits (e.g., 11.5.1, 8.1.5, 12.1.3, et saepe), to the emperor's presence (e.g., 8.1.1, 6.14.1) and on one occasion his absence (4.3.1), the composition of the audience (5.2.1, 12.1.3), and so on. There is surely no real reason to suspect their authenticity in this respect. Nor is it likely that they were polished up or amplified after delivery, as Pliny's *Panegyricus* was. Unlike his, the Gallic panegyrics, with one exception, the latest in date (*Pan.* 2, of 389), are short and would seem not to have been elaborated. Why believe that they had rough edges when delivered before such august audiences on ceremonial occasions, and that they needed subsequent revision? It is better to assume that the corpus is a collection of speeches actually delivered, substantially in their present form. With a few exceptions (*Pan.* 9 at Autun or Lyon, 4 and 2 at Rome, and 3 at Constantinople), they will all have been delivered at the imperial court at Trier, as internal references make clear.

The delivery of these panegyrics, then, was part of a wider ceremonial occasion. Sabine MacCormack has demonstrated most instructively the close relationship between the two, emphasizing inter alia the theatrical element in the panegyric and tracing the way in which ceremonial increasingly came to dictate the shape of panegyric.[100] Before her, René Pichon had written,[101] contrasting the Gallic panegyrics with their predecessors:

97. For a list of the occasions on which panegyrics might be delivered, see H. Mattingly, "The Imperial Vota," *PBA* 36 (1950) 155–95; 37 (1951) 211–68.

98. For example, M. Durry, *Pline le Jeune: Panégyrique de Trajan* (Paris, 1938) 4 n. 6, of *Pan.* 11(3).

99. C. R. Haines, 1: 302: a *laudatio* of Antoninus delivered by Fronto in the Senate as consul designate, and then again as consul; 142, 2: *encomia* uttered by Greek speakers at Naples, before Antoninus (one presumes) and Marcus; 110: speeches of Fronto in the Senate in praise of Hadrian; et al.

100. S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), esp. 1–14, "The World of the Panegyrists."

101. *Écrivains profanes*, 43.

> Représentons-nous au contraire quand et comment ont été prononcés les Panégyriques gallo-romains. C'est un jour de fête officielle: l'Empereur célèbre l'anniversaire de sa naissance, ou de son avènement, ou de la fondation de Rome; ou bien il préside, représenté par un de ses fonctionnaires, à l'ouverture d'une école. Il s'agit de le complimenter, et rien que de le complimenter. Le discours du rhéteur est une pièce nécessaire de la cérémonie, au même titre que le déploiement des soldats de la garde impériale, la décoration du palais ou les jeux offerts au peuple. Ce qu'on réclame de lui, ce ne sont pas des idées sérieuses sur des sujets pratiques: le jour ne s'y prête pas, et l'Empereur, au surplus, croit n'avoir pas besoin qu'on lui en suggère; on attend seulement que l'éclat de sa parole donne à la solennité un nouvel embellissement, une nouvelle parure.

This is an important truth, but it is less than the whole truth. Such praises were not merely empty formulae that had no connection with reality, as Ulrike Asche has shown recently.[102] And their ceremonial setting does not mean they were devoid of political content or significance. But what was the relationship of the panegyrist to the imperial court? The period of the Tetrarchy and the early years of Constantine is a shadowy one. In the absence of a detailed narrative history the Gallic panegyrics, along with Lactantius *De mortibus persecutorum*, loom larger than such sources normally would. It is of some importance to try to establish the status of the panegyrics and the relationship of their authors to the imperial government. How dependent upon the court are the panegyrists, and what is the function of their speeches?

In contrast to Pichon, others have seen the Gallic panegyrics as highly political in character. Johannes Straub stresses their quasi-official nature and political significance,[103] and more recently MacCormack, while insisting on the ceremonial importance of the genre, has averred that "these panegyrics were all used as a medium to announce imperial programmes and policies,"[104] and frequently refers to them as "an instrument of (political) propaganda," or the like.[105] This is an overstatement. Generalization here is dangerous. It would be hard to deny that in some cases a panegyrist appears to be publicizing material at the behest, or at least with the encouragement, of the court; an obvious example is *Panegyric* 6 (310), with its fictitious genealogy establishing Constantine's descent from Claudius II, and its account of the downfall of his father-in-law, Maximian. But in other cases it is hard to believe that the court would be much concerned with the details of a speech, for example, *Panegyric* 4 of 321, which is in large part a narrative of Constantine's invasion of Italy a decade before, or *Panegyric* 5, thanking Constantine for relieving Autun of some of its tax burden.

Examination of the careers of the speakers, insofar as this is possible,[106] reveals that while four or five have been in imperial service (the authors of 10, 11, 8, 9, and 6), with the exception of Claudius Mamertinus and the probable exception of the author of *Panegyric* 11, none of them was *currently* engaged in such service at the time of his panegyric.[107] Clearly they are not the equivalent of "press secretaries," indeed, not part of the imperial administration at all, and so their speeches are not *formally* official pronouncements on imperial policies or events of the day. Rather many of them are (the authors of 9, 6, 5, 4, and perhaps 12) or have been (the author of 8) professors of rhetoric (or conceivably law, in the case of the author of 6?) at Autun, Trier (?), and Bordeaux. Nonetheless, they are speaking at court on important ceremonial occasions. How did they get there? They could still have been commissioned, it is true, to announce and publicize imperial programs and policies.

Comparatively little is known of the process of selection of speakers, and almost nothing of their briefing.[108] But something can be said on the

102. *Roms Weltherrschaftsidee und Aussenpolitik in der Spätantike im Spiegel der Panegyrici Latini* (Bonn, 1983), reviewed, *JRS* 75 (1985) 254–56.

103. See "Konstantins Verzicht auf den Gang zum Kapitol," *Historia* 4 (1955) 298: "angesichts des *unbestreitbar offiziösen charakters* eines solchen publizistichen Werkes" (emphasis supplied).

104. "Latin Prose Panegyrics," 160.

105. MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," 146, 154; cf. pp. 159–66 passim; so, too, Galletier, 2: 114 ("quand on songe combien ces panégyriques officiels sont les reflets de la pensée impériale et les porte-paroles des princes . . ."); Burdeau, "L'empereur d'après les panégyriques latins," 5 ("Mais surtout ils sont des orateurs officiels . . . ce sont des courtisans, des flatteurs"); and now T. G. Elliott, "Constantine's Conversion: Do We Really Need It?" *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 421; and T. Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, Historia Einzelschrift 64 (Stuttgart, 1990), who regards the five Constantinian panegyrics in the corpus as "Dokumente der Propaganda Constantins, denn sie alle [including *Pan.* 5?] unterlagen thematischen Vorgaben der Kaiserlichen Kanzlei" (p. 11), although conceding qualified freedom to the speakers; on the latter, see now C. E. V. Nixon, "Constantinus Oriens Imperator: Propaganda and Panegyric," *Historia* 42 (1993) 229–46.

106. The material is set out in more detail in Nixon, "Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period," 91–92.

107. They are not "fonctionnaires de l'empire" (R. Pichon, "La politique de Constantin d'après les Panegyrici Latini," *CRAI*, 1906, 289) but former "fonctionnaires."

108. See Nixon, "Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period," 92 and n. 14.

subject of selection, and on the basis of this some inferences can perhaps be made about briefing. First of all, in many cases cities or individuals took the initiative. For an important ceremonial occasion like an emperor's *quinquennalia*, cities would send envoys to congratulate the emperor. On one such occasion,[109] the Senate of Autun took the opportunity to send a speaker to Trier to convey the city's thanks for a benefaction (5.1.1–2: *publicae gratulationis orator*). The speaker, a senator, had volunteered his services—indeed he had actually thought of delivering an impromptu speech of thanks to the emperor on the steps of his (temporary) residence in Autun at the time of the benefaction (1.3–5).[110] But in a case like this, the formal delivery of thanks for a *beneficium*, one would hardly expect the speaker to be briefed at court.

Formally, indeed, such speakers would be put on the program, if not by the emperor himself, at least in his name (6.1.1, 11.5.1, 8.5.3). But there are hints that this was often a response to a request. For instance, in the last example the speaker says *aliis haec permittente maiestate vestra celebrabo temporibus;* and *Panegyric* 12.1.1–4 shows that the speaker has brought himself forward. Most revealing is *Panegyric* 11.1.1. The speaker had prepared a speech for Maximian's *quinquennalia* that he had been unable to deliver, presumably because of the unexpected absence of the emperor; in its stead, he speaks in celebration of Maximian's birthday. But, he remarks, the undelivered speech will not be wasted:

> Neque enim orationis eius quam composueram facio iacturam, sed eam reservo ut quinquennio rursus exacto decennalibus tuis dicam, quoniam quidem lustris omnibus praedicandis communis oratio est.
>
> (11.1.3)

Nothing could reveal more clearly the standard nature of our panegyrics: they can be adapted readily to suit almost any occasion. The speakers are thorough professionals and would surely need a minimum of guidance "from above" in order to be able to compose an appropriate oration. They

109. For the occasion, see C. E. V. Nixon, "The Occasion and Date of Panegyric VIII(V), and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," *Antichthon* 14 (1980) 157–69.

110. Similarly, much later, when Pacatus made the long journey from Bordeaux to Rome to felicitate Theodosius on his victory over the usurper Maximus, whether he went on a private venture or was sent by some official body in Gaul (see the introduction to *Pan.* 2), it is clear that the initiative was not taken by the court.

Other speakers proffer thanks for favors (*Pan.* 3 to the emperor Julian for a consulship) or beg for them (Eumenius to or via the governor of Lugdunensis I for the restoration of the schools of Autun).

are not "court orators" but professional teachers. They put themselves forward in the hope of winning further renown—or indeed imperial preferment (6.23.3). But they do not enjoy imperial office at the time: they are not mouthpieces of the court. Note that the speaker commonly thought to be most in need of imperial briefing, while put on the program by the emperor, did not know until the last moment upon what day he was scheduled to perform, and discussed with *plerique* the desirability of altering his exordium when he found out (6.1.1). This suggests some distancing from the court and does not convey the impression that the contents of the speech were confidential before the moment of delivery, or intended to surprise, or indeed that this part of the ceremonial proceedings was tightly controlled by officialdom. If court "fonctionnaires" did deliver panegyrics (and why doubt it?), they have not survived in this corpus of speeches.[111] The Gallic panegyrics are the product of the schools. There is no need to conclude that there was much direct imperial input into them at all.

But while few of the panegyrists seem to have been commissioned to deliver their speeches, that is not to say that the court did not avail itself of the opportunity to offer suggestions, or that the speakers did not sometimes request some briefing. We simply do not have any explicit evidence on the subject. But it is surely clear from the above that announcement of imperial programs and policies was not an important function of our panegyrics, and that they were certainly not "instruments of propaganda" in any crude sense. On the other hand, we may assume that they reflected imperial wishes in a rather more subtle way. After all, the schools themselves were under imperial patronage.

Upon the death of a distinguished *praeceptor* of the Maenian schools in Autun, Constantius appointed as its new head, at a very handsome salary, Eumenius, *cuius eloquentiam et gravitatem morum ex actus nostri habemus administratione compertam* (9.14.3). Note that that initiative was taken by the emperor; Eumenius was ordered to exchange his secretarial post at court for one at Autun. This solicitude for the education of the youth of Gaul—*Merentur et Galli nostri ut eorum liberis, quorum vita in Augustodunensium oppido ingenuis artibus eruditur* (9.14.1)—was, of course, not entirely disinterested: *et ipsi adulescentes, qui hilaro consensu meum Constanti Caesaris ex Italia revertentis suscepere comitatum, ut eorum indoli consulere cupiamus.*

The imperial patronage of the schools is scarcely surprising, for the schools were the nursery or training ground for the imperial civil service, a recruiting ground for future officials and administrators. Another passage

111. Again, one must except the oration of Claudius Mamertinus.

from Eumenius illustrates this very well. In the context of his appointment as *praeceptor moderatorque* Eumenius says (9.5.4) that the emperors

> litterarum ... habuere dilectum, neque aliter quam si equestri turmae vel cohorti praetoriae consulendum foret, quem potissimum praeficerent sui arbitrii esse duxerunt, ne hi quos ad spem omnium tribunalium aut interdum ad stipendia cognitionum sacrarum aut fortasse ad ipsa palatii magisteria provehi oporteret, veluti repentino nubilo in mediis adulescentiae fluctibus deprehensi, incerta dicendi signa sequerentur.

The schools must have been especially important in Gaul, where the recent location of the court at Trier will have created a great demand for educated men. Indeed the panegyrist of 310 boasts of having trained large numbers of imperial officials (6.23.2).

What was the nature of the training they received? Eumenius has some instructive remarks to make on the educational goals of the schools that Constantius was so eager to restore. In stressing the importance of restoring the school buildings themselves he points to their situation, "in the very path of our most invincible princes as they arrive here" (9.9.2), "as if between the very eyes of the city, between the temple of Apollo and the Capitolium" (9.9.3). "Assuredly, your excellency [*vir perfectissime*; he addresses the governor of Lugdunensis], it is of importance to the fame which our great princes earn for their most frequent victories and triumphs *that the minds which are being carefully cultivated to sing their virtues* are honed not within private walls but in the public eye, and under the gaze of the city itself."[112] The schools of Gaul were in the service of the state. Not only did they provide the imperial government in Gaul with educated recruits; they inculcated the upper-class youth of Gaul with the right attitudes. The panegyrics themselves had their part to play in this process. They were influential not only as rhetorical exemplars but, inevitably, in helping to form the political attitudes of the elite of Gallic youth who would go into public service, in affecting their sense of history, indeed in molding their very historical knowledge. Brian Warmington has stressed the purely local and immediate nature of the "propaganda" in the

112. For an example of the method, see *Pan.* 9.20.1–3: a geography lesson, complete with maps; the spirit of the lesson is in keeping with those of yesteryear, when British maps were painted red: "Let the youth, moreover, see and gaze at every day in those porticos all lands and every sea and whatever cities, nations and tribes our most invincible princes are restoring in their piety, conquering by their valor, or holding fast by terror" (9.20.2).

panegyrics.[113] The point is well worth making, but we must not neglect the wider and more enduring influence of these speeches or underestimate their impact on the youth in the schools of Gaul.

The late Latin panegyrics are both manifestations of the political and intellectual control of the educated classes by the central government and an important tool in the process of that political and intellectual control: that is, in the education of youth.[114]

HISTORICAL VALUE

It has been observed above that our corpus of panegyrics was a product of the Gallic schools of rhetoric, and that the motive for the collection was literary, indeed pedagogical: the speeches were selected as admirable specimens of their rhetorical genre, and not for political or historical reasons. Furthermore, it is clear that they have not been tampered with, much less rewritten, to conform with later political or religious developments. For example, there is no attempt to revise the portrait of Maximian, who appears in various guises, now as brother and assistant of Diocletian (10 and 11), now as promoter and patron of Constantine and senior Augustus (7), where his reappearance is justified and praised by his panegyrist, and finally as traitor to Constantine, the rightful emperor (6). One might contrast Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* with its series of revisions, most notably of the behavior and character of Licinius. Nor is the importance of the young Constantine unduly inflated in comparison with his fellow rulers, nor have obsolete views been suppressed.[115] Nazarius, speaking in 321, portrays Maxentius as the aggressor against Constantine, presumably in line with the then official view of the matter. In the text of the panegyric of 313, however, Constantine appears as the aggressor, the bold (not to say brash) invader

113. "Aspects of Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini," *TAPA* 104 (1974) 371–84.

114. Johannes Straub, writing in Germany in 1939 of the importance of the panegyrics in the "politische Meinungsbildung der Jugend," *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1939; reprint, 1964) 148, comes closer to the mark than many. Nor can there be any quarrel with the statement of MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," 143, that "behind the surviving texts of Latin panegyrics there lay the formation of a specific intellectual environment, the harnessing of this environment to the needs of the court."

115. On specifics of Constantinian propaganda in the corpus, see B. Rodgers, "The Metamorphosis of Constantine," *CQ* 39 (1989) 233–46, and at length and in very different vein, Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus.*

of Italy, heedless alike of his advisers and the haruspices (2.4). The same panegyrist, aware, one presumes, of Constantine's changing religious attitudes, addresses a climactic prayer to an anonymous *summus rerum sator* (26.1). But no editorial brush eliminated Constantine's vision of Apollo from *Panegyric* 6.21.4ff.

The important consequence of this is that these speeches catch a moment of historical time: they are priceless historical documents reflecting the outlook of their day. Their ephemeral nature, indeed their very tendentiousness, is part of their value to us. Not here, as so often elsewhere, has the triumphant Constantinian dynasty effaced the point of view of its predecessors.

Their topicality and occasional function must also be stressed. It is all too easy to view them statically, out of historical context, as examples of time-hallowed techniques in imperial flattery, or keys to how the Romans viewed their emperor in late antiquity.[116] Of course, the conventional is an important element in them, but even apparently barren and historically meaningless topoi and formulae may be instructive. Recently Asche has analyzed the deft way in which the panegyrists adapted their traditional material to fit changed circumstances and how concepts are redefined as a result.[117]

But at the same time panegyric is not history, and anyone approaching these speeches as a source of historical information must take into consideration the nature of the genre and its conventions. For example, the panegyrist, in speaking at court on a ceremonial occasion, must focus on the *imperator praesens*. The Western location of the court in question means that the emperors in the East are scarcely mentioned, except in *Panegyrics* 10 and 11, where the concern is to emphasize the harmony between the rulers after a half century of civil war that was particularly disastrous for Gaul. Outside these two speeches, Diocletian is mentioned but twice by name (8.21.1, 9.21.2) and barely alluded to (cf., however, 7.9, 7.11.4, 6.15.4), Galerius once (9.21.2), and Maximinus Daia and Licinius never. No balanced view of the fortunes of the Empire can be expected. The virtues and exploits of that *imperator praesens* will be magnified and extolled, particularly as they affect Gaul and the West. His failures and difficulties will be glossed over. His enemies will not so much as be mentioned by name. The panegyrist's technique is an allusive one. MacCormack draws a nice distinction between "historical facts" and "facts as symbols and . . .

116. E.g., L. K. Born, "The Perfect Prince according to the Latin Panegyrists," *AJP* 55 (1934) 20–35; Burdeau, "L'empereur d'après les Panégyriques Latins."

117. *Roms Weltherrschaftsidee und Aussenpolitik.*

tokens of imperial majesty."[118] The aim of the speaker in narrating historical episodes such as a military campaign will be to illustrate a quality of the emperor, and not to inform the audience of the factual details. This lack of specific treatment is bound to frustrate, or tantalize. There must be much "reading between the lines." The partisanship will irritate. But as Galletier remarks, we usually have to contend rather with sins of omission than with outright lies.[119]

Nonetheless, there is a surprising amount of historical information to be gleaned from the panegyrics. In the absence of adequate narrative histories of the Tetrarchic and early Constantinian periods, where the work of Ammianus and Zosimus is lost, they are particularly valuable.[120] But even where such sources are available, panegyrics can be most illuminating in providing alternative points of view. For example, while Pacatus' panegyric is instructive in furnishing us with our most detailed account of Theodosius' final campaign against the usurper Magnus Maximus, it also obliges us to consider Maximus' rule and Theodosius' response to it from a Gallic point of view. And this is equally true of the earlier speeches. Not only do they deal with matters of central political importance, such as the relationships and power struggles between the Tetrarchs, and their military campaigns, but they bring out the specific concerns of the Gallic populace: the barbarian threat, the defense of the Rhine frontier, the impact of civil war and invasion on Autun and Trier, and the imperial response to these local problems (see the separate introductions to individual speeches for more specific treatment of such matters).

MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

As already noted, our texts of the *Panegyrici Latini* derive in large part from a manuscript, now lost, discovered by Johannes Aurispa in Mainz in 1433 (Moguntinus: M).[121] From a copy made by Aurispa, also lost,

118. "Latin Prose Panegyrics," 160.

119. Galletier, 1: xxv.

120. For example, see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) chap. 5, "Imperial Residences and Journeys," under Maximian, Constantius I, and Constantine.

121. This section of the General Introduction is designed largely to clarify the *sigla* to be found in the commentary. For full discussion see the editions of E. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1874), W. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1911), Galletier, 1: xxxviii–lv, R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1964), and V. Paladini and P. Fedeli (Rome, 1976), and the study of D. Lassandro, "I manoscritti H N A nella tradizione dei Panegyrici Latini," *BollClass* n.s. 15 (1967) 35–97. Michael Winterbottom has a brief review of the manuscript

are descended some twenty-seven Italian manuscripts, divided into two families (X1, X2). Independent of these, but also deriving from M, is a smaller group of manuscripts, the most notable of which is a fifteenth-century paper manuscript, in a German hand, which now resides in the British Library (Harleian 2480: H). It has been corrected by a near contemporary (h). Deriving from H is another fifteenth-century German manuscript, now at Cluj (Napocensis: N); a third member of the group was copied between 1455 and 1460 by the German theologian Johannes Hergot; it is now in the University library at Uppsala (A). The detailed examination of these three manuscripts by Lassandro has confirmed Mynors' judgment that N is derived from H, and that in turn A is derived from N.

The copy of M by Aurispa was evidently made in haste, and there can be no doubt that H provides a surer guide to the archetype than the Italian manuscripts descended from Aurispa's copy.[122] Nevertheless these *deteriores* (X1, X2), when in agreement against H, sometimes preserve the true reading of M. Furthermore, at times they furnish intelligent emendations, especially from the hand of the humanist corrector of Vaticanus 1775 (w).

Other traces of an ancient manuscript tradition are provided by the 1599 edition of Livineius, as he added as marginalia variant readings from the work of the Flemish scholar Franciscus Modius, who used a manuscript at the Benedictine abbey of St. Bertin at Saint-Omer: Bertinensis (Bert.).[123] The consensus is now that Bert. is cognate with M, and not descended from it.[124] More controversial is the status of the additional material, varying in length from a word or two to whole clauses, which is found only in Cuspinianus' Vienna edition of 1513 (Cusp.). The most lengthy addition, at *Panegyric* 11.7.6, conforms to the ancient conventions regulating clausulae but has nevertheless been rejected by some modern editors, Galletier, for example. But judgment should perhaps be made on the merits of each case separately. The more prudent view has been neatly summed up by Michael Winterbottom in his review of the edition of V. Paladini and P. Fedeli: "Not all new things

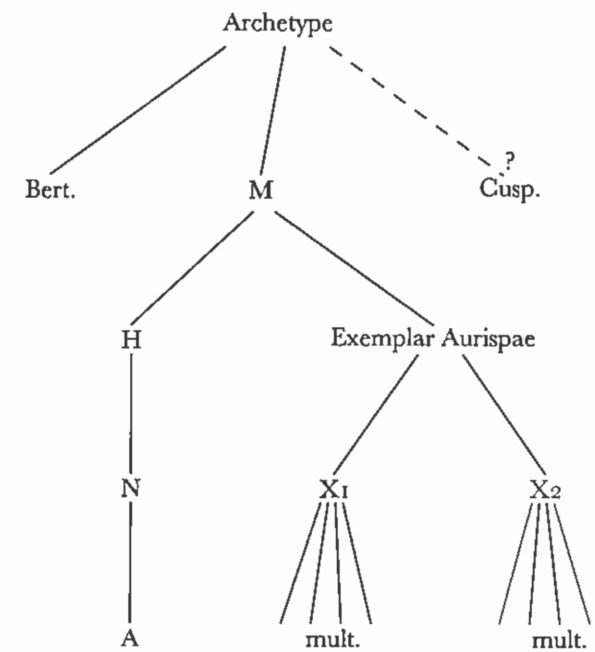
tradition, with bibliography, in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983) 289.

122. Cf. Galletier, 1: xlv–xlvi; Mynors, vii: "discrepantibus autem H et X, ubicumque habita ratione et sententiae et sermonis et numerorum diiudicare possumus, apparet longe saepius rectum servare H."

123. See Galletier, 1: xlix.

124. E. Baehrens, xix–xx; Galletier, 1: li; Mynors, viii.

in the Cuspinianus edition of 1513 can be the result of conjecture."[125] But the relationship to M of the unidentified manuscript(s?) that he used must remain a mystery.



TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

The translation is based upon the Oxford Classical Text edition of R. A. B. Mynors. The occasional departures from it are noted. The translation aims, as always, at the impossible: namely, to be faithful to the Latin in sentence structure and rhetorical style and at the same time to be lucid. Exordia pose the greatest challenge, and here it has sometimes proved necessary to break up some particularly long periods.

The commentary is primarily an historical one. There are some comments on textual problems, few on style. Mythological and other allusions are briefly explained. Imitations and parallel passages are noted, but there is no attempt at exhaustive treatment. The focus is squarely on the late Empire, and the contribution that the panegyrics make to our knowledge and understanding of this period.

125. "*Concedat laurea linguae*," *CR* 29 (1979) 234, characterizing the position of Mynors and Paladini and Fedeli.

THE PANEGYRICS

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

X

PANEGYRIC OF MAXIMIAN

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

Exceptionally, some of the manuscripts name the author of this and the following panegyric: Mamertinus.[1] The rubric of *Panegyric* 11 of the best manuscript[2] reads *eiusdem magistri Mamertim* [for *Mamertini*] *Genethliacus Maximiani Augusti* ("A birthday address in honor of Maximian Augustus by the same magister Mamertinus"), thus providing both a name and a link with the preceding speech. If two speeches by the same author were added as a unit to a preexisting corpus, it might explain why they appear, uncharacteristically for the corpus, in chronological order. Otto Seeck, seeking to demonstrate that all the early speeches are by Eumenius, preferred to accept the rubric of another manuscript, which reads *eiusdem magistri memet*, interpreting this as *magistri mem⟨oriae⟩ et ⟨rhetoris latini⟩*.[3] On the first view, *memet* is simply a corruption of an abbreviation of Mamertinus. Certainly considerations of content, while they in no way prove identity of authorship, do not stand in the way of that conclusion.

1. For a discussion that incorporates Rodgers' views, see the General Introduction, pp. 9–10; cf., too, Galletier, 1: xviii–xix; P. L. Schmidt, in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 8.5 (Munich, 1989) 165.

2. Harleian 2480 (H); see the General Introduction, pp.35–36.

3. "Eumenius," *RE* 6 (1909) 1112.

For example, *Panegyric* 11 refers to an *honor* bestowed upon him by Maximian that far exceeds his expectations (1.2); it may well be the post of *magister* referred to in the rubric of *Panegyric* 11 but not in that of *Panegyric* 10. At 1.2 and 5.1 the author reveals that he has spoken in Maximian's presence before.[4] On the other hand it must be admitted that certain modes of expression (most strikingly, perhaps, modes of addressing the emperors) set the two panegyrics apart (see the General Introduction, p. 10).

Little can be added to this. The speaker is a Gaul, probably from Trier. Not only is he very concerned about the security of the Rhine frontier (7); he also makes much of a barbarian raid in the vicinity of the city in which Maximian was invested with the consulship (6.2ff.), speaking as if he were there on that occasion ("we saw you . . .," 6.3).[5]

OCCASION AND DATE

The oration was pronounced at court, presumably in Trier (see above), on the occasion of Rome's birthday, 21 April. In what year? *Panegyric* 11 provides a terminus ante quem of sorts. It was delivered some time after Maximian had completed a *quinquennium* of rule (1.3), probably in the summer of 291.[6] It knows of three matters that are not referred to in *Panegyric* 10: victories over Sarmatians and Saracens (5.4, 7.1) and a winter meeting between Diocletian and Maximian at Milan (8.1ff.; cf. 11.1). The last may be dated to the winter of 290–291, for it is very recent (*proxime*, 8.1); the campaign against the Saracens was fought in 290, as Diocletian's movements make clear.[7] This suggests that the campaign against the Sarmatians fell in 289.

Panegyric 10.6.2 provides the terminus post quem, the barbarian incursion in the vicinity of Trier that interrupted Maximian's inauguration as consul. Maximian was consul in 287, 288, 290, and later. The irruption

4. See Galletier, 1: 5 n. 2, for a list of parallel passages in the two speeches.

5. The city in question is surely Trier, which was Maximian's usual residence when he was not in Italy; see E. M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London, 1970) esp. 58ff. and 98ff. See, further, commentary at 6.4 and 12.6.

6. See T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) 51 n. 52; and C. E. V. Nixon, "The 'Epiphany' of the Tetrarchs? An Examination of Mamertinus' Panegyric of 291," *TAPA* 111 (1981) 157–66 (arguing for 21 July).

7. Barnes, *New Empire*, 51; the law codes enable us to chart Diocletian's journey east from Sirmium, where he was on 11 January 290, to Antioch, Emesa, and Laodicea (6–25 May); he was back in Sirmium by 1 July; cf. *Pan.* 11.4.2.

took place in a year prior to that of the speech (cf. 7.1: "*that* year," not "this year").[8] The consulship of 290 can be eliminated (see above), so the choice lies between the consulships of 287 and 288. But the number of events that needs to be accommodated favors dating the memorable consular inauguration to 1 January 287 and the speech to 21 April 289. This would provide the following chronology:

summer 287:	Maximian's invasion of Germany (7.1 and commentary)
summer (and autumn?) 288:	meeting of Diocletian and Maximian (9.1–2)
	Diocletian's "recent" (*nuper*) campaign opposite the Raetian frontier (9.1)
	the activities of Maximian and his subordinates that led to the submission of Gennoboudes and his Franks (10.3–5; cf. 11.4)
summer 288–spring 289:	Maximian's year of shipbuilding (12.3ff.)

To make the consulship later than 287 or the speech earlier than 289 would seem to lead to embarrassing overcrowding.[9]

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Panegyric 10 adds considerably, if not always precisely, to our knowledge of the events of the early years of Diocletian and Maximian's reign, particularly in the West, events elsewhere reported sketchily or not at all (for example, the Germans' attack on Gaul, the barbarian raid on Trier, Maximian's crossing of the Rhine and invasion of Germany, his preparations for a naval expedition against Carausius). It also gives us a valuable insight into the relationship between Diocletian and Maximian, or at least how a contemporary speaking at the court of one of the Augusti conceived of it (cf. especially 3.1–4.2, which refers to Diocletian's appointment of Maximian, and 9–11).[10] The relationship is fraternal, and there is great emphasis on *concordia*. So emphatically does the speaker insist on this harmony that skeptical scholars such as Seeck, and, more recently, I. König, have suggested that all was not well between the Augusti, Seeck arguing that Diocletian had been forced to recognize Maximian as

8. Galletier, 1: 9.

9. So Galletier, 1: 9, and Barnes, *New Empire*, 57 and n. 48; W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (Paris, 1946) 31, leaves the matter open.

10. It is debatable to what extent the views expressed by the speaker incorporated "official" doctrines; see the General Introduction, p. 26f.

emperor after his initial military successes in the West, and König that the "Tetrarchy" was not a carefully thought-out scheme of Diocletian's but the consequence of a power-hungry Maximian's unilateral promotion of his son-in-law and protégé, Constantius, which forced Diocletian to promote a candidate of his own.[11] But given half a century of military coups and civil wars, in which Gaul was particularly badly affected, fears that two unrelated emperors might fall out are understandable, and a panegyrist's celebration of their friendship equally so. Nothing that is known of Maximian's career suggests disloyalty to Diocletian—rather, the reverse. Although reluctant, he fell in with Diocletian's plans for simultaneous abdication. All our sources stress the harmony of the relationship, and while in some cases this might be held merely to reflect the official view, it is hard to believe that the hostile contemporary Lactantius would have failed to mention any friction in his *De mortibus persecutorum*. Instead, he records their loyal friendship, their unanimity.[12]

MAXIMIAN AND THE GENESIS OF THE TETRARCHY

The full name of the emperor Maximian, known from inscriptions, coins, and papyri, was Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus. At some stage after his association with Diocletian in government he received the title Herculius (both the panegyrist at 13.3, and Aurelius Victor in *Caesares* 39.18 call it a cognomen), and Diocletian that of Iovius. The exact significance of this is debatable, and it is a question for which our panegyric is of no little importance. In some fashion or other Diocletian seems to have been claiming the special patronage of Jupiter, and Maximian that of Hercules. The terms are adjectival: "of Jupiter," "of Hercules"; the same label could be attached to military units (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.18, inscriptions, etc.) and, the panegyrist suggests (13.3), to the city of Rome. The subject has been treated frequently; see now F. Kolb, *Diocletian und die erste Tetrarchie* (Berlin, 1987) 88 n. 262, for a useful bibliography.

As well as constituting a claim to the powerful support of the Olympians, the names might appear to be intended to symbolize the

11. O. Seeck, "Die Erhebung des Maximianus zu Augustus," in *Commentationes Wolfflinianae* (Leipzig, 1891) 33–36; I. König, "Die Berufung des Constantius Chlorus und des Galerius zu Caesaren: Gedanken zur Entstehung der ersten Tetrarchie," *Chiron* 4 (1974) 567–76; cf. id., "Lactanz und das 'System' der Tetrarchie," *Labeo* 32 (1986) 180–93. See, further, commentary on 4.2 and 11.4.

12. *Mort. pers.* 8.1.

relationship between Diocletian and Maximian, Diocletian acting as a father figure to his Herculian assistant. Maximian's acquisition of the name Valerius suggests formal adoption by Diocletian, one would have expected as a son (so Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 64; cf. p. 222). But evidence for this is lacking. Malalas alone of the literary sources refers to Maximian "Herculianus" as the son of Diocletian (Dindorf, Bonn 306) and in doing so confuses him with Galerius, sending him against the Persians. Furthermore, the papyrus (*PLondon* 710) alleged by Seston to describe Maximian as *filius Augusti* does nothing of the kind, as Kolb has pointed out (*Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 44–45).[13]

If Maximian were ever officially designated "son of Diocletian," it could not have been for long, perhaps coinciding with a brief period when he was Caesar, not Augustus (see below). By 289 Mamertinus consistently calls the two rulers "brothers" (*fratres*: 1.5, 4.1, 9.1, 9.3, 10.6; cf. 13.2), and the (now lost) dedication of the Baths of Diocletian by Maximian reveals that this was still their formal relationship in 305–306: "He consecrated them to the name of Diocletian Augustus, his brother" (*ILS* 646). It is tempting to suggest that Maximian became a brother when he was promoted to Augustus (cf. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 20.3, who associates the title Caesar with a son). In any case the juxtaposition of the terms "brother" and "Herculius" both in Mamertinus (4.1–2) and Lactantius (*Mort. pers.* 8.1) demonstrates that contemporaries did not find them incompatible. Kolb has recently argued vigorously that Mamertinus treats Diocletian and Maximian as equals, and that the numismatic evidence confirms that this was the official position (*Diocletian und die erste Tetrarchie*, esp. chap. 5, "Iovius und Herculius: Die Funktion der sakralen Cognomina im tetrarchischen System"). In the *domus divina*, he claims, Jupiter is *summus pater* of both Diocletian and Maximian, the latter are brothers, and the Jovian-Herculian symbolism is not intended to mirror the Olympian relationship of Jupiter the master with Hercules his assistant (cf. commentary below, notes 18, 34, and 40).

But if so, Maximian was not always Diocletian's equal. Diocletian came to power after the death of Numerian (probably from illness or war wounds), the elimination of the praetorian prefect Aper, and a campaign

13. Later papyri, e.g., *PLondon* 712 and 715, dating from the consulship of Diocletian and Galerius Valerius Maximianus, 308 C.E., describe Diocletian as πατὴρ Αὐγουστῶν. Galerius was misidentified as Maximian by the original editors (B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri*, Greek Papyri, ser. 2 [Oxford, 1897] nos. 72 and 75), and the papyri misdated as a consequence, which may have contributed to the confusion.

against Carus' surviving son, Carinus, who had been given full powers to rule the West; after Carinus' assassination Diocletian was accepted by the leaderless army.[14] Yet what appeared to be just another third-century coup d'état eventually led to the establishment of a new system of government, the Tetrarchy, rule by four emperors unrelated by blood, which gave the Roman Empire twenty years of stable government, until it was undermined by the ambitious Constantine.

The promotion of Maximian, an old army comrade (cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.17), as co-ruler, marked the first step toward the Tetrarchy. Lactantius (*Mort. pers.* 18.5) sets out the purported system, putting the words into the mouth of Galerius (the dramatic date is 305): "The arrangement [*dispositio*] made by Diocletian himself ought to be maintained forever, namely, that there should be two of higher rank who should hold supreme authority, and likewise two of inferior rank to assist them." That is, there were two senior emperors, or Augusti, and two juniors, or Caesars. Many have assumed that Diocletian planned from the beginning that the Augusti should retire after a certain period and be succeeded by their Caesars, who in turn would appoint new Caesars to be their successors.[15]

But if there were such a system, it was put into practice only in stages—for instance, the Caesars Constantius and Galerius were not proclaimed till 293—and it has been questioned whether Diocletian had such a blueprint to remedy the ills of the Empire from the outset. W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, in particular, has seen the Tetrarchy as the result of ad hoc responses to a series of military and political challenges, and I. König, "Die Berufung des Constantius Chlorus und des Galerius zu Caesaren," A. Rousselle, "La chronologie de Maximien Hercule et le mythe de la tétrarchie," *DHA* 2 (1976) 445-66, and others have even seen it as the outcome of rivalry between the rulers. More recently König ("Lactanz und das 'System' der Tetrarchie," 180–93) has argued that the very notion of a tetrarchic system is the product of modern scholarship, that Lactantius' *dispositio* has been grossly overinterpreted.

In any case, the first step toward collegiate rule was the appointment of Maximian to the command of an expeditionary force with some kind of imperial powers in order to suppress the Bagaudae in Gaul, probably in 285 (see below, 3.3–4.3, and notes). But the details and chronology are not

14. For the events leading to Diocletian's accession see H. W. Bird, "Diocletian and the Deaths of Carus, Numerian and Carinus," *Latomus* 35 (1976) 127–32, and Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 10–21; see note 30 to *Pan.* 11.

15. For example, O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1921) 1: 1–41; H. Mattingly, *CAH*, 12: 325–26.

clear. Eutropius is alone in naming Maximian "Caesar," and no coins or papyri confirm the fact. Furthermore, inscriptions that appear to term Maximian "Caesar" are heavily restored or ambiguous (does "Caesar Augustus" imply that he was Caesar before becoming Augustus?) or may refer to Galerius (cf. W. Enßlin, "Maximianus 1 [Herculius]," *RE* 14.2 [1930] 2491–92; A. Pasqualini, *Massimiano "Herculius"* [Rome, 1979] 17–21). On the other hand, Ammianus (27.6.16, cited by Enßlin, 2490) explicitly states that Valentinian (I) was the only emperor, with the exception of Marcus Aurelius, to have appointed a colleague Augustus without first having named him Caesar. Assuming that he was well informed about the period, one might conclude that Maximian was Caesar for a short time before his promotion to Augustus.

The date of his appointment is a mystery. Kolb (*Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 24) has recently tabulated the results of previous studies, which range from April 285 to March 286, and analyzed the evidence anew. Accepting the arguments of A. Chastagnol, "Les années régnales de Maximien Hercule en Egypte et les fêtes vicennales du 20 novembre 303," *RN* [6] 9 (1967) 54–81, and Rousselle, "La chronologie de Maximien Hercule et le mythe de la tétrarchie," in favor of the period 10–31 December 285 (which are in themselves not compelling),[16] he advances an ingenious case for 13 December (pp. 28–31). He argues that all the precise dates in Lactantius *De mortibus persecutorum* 17–18.1 are mentioned for polemical reasons. The stages in Diocletian's punishment by God are marked symbolically by significant dates such as his *dies imperii*. His illness reached its height on 13 December 304; this date must therefore have had some special significance; it must be the *dies imperii* of Maximian. This is undoubtedly a good way to approach Lactantius, and the burden of knowledge imposed upon his readers may not be too heavy. On this view the campaign against the Bagaudae would have to be redated to the spring of 286, for *Panegyric* 10.3.3–4.2 is evidence that Maximian was Diocletian's colleague when he fought them (so, too, *Pan.* 7.8.3; for further discussion, see note 23 below).

Maximian's proclamation as Augustus is dated to 1 April 286, in the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* (*Chron. min.* 1.229; accepted by Barnes, *New Empire*, 4; doubted by Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 33–34, 49).

16. Kolb also argues (pp. 35–36) that if Maximian had been promoted before ca. October 285, Diocletian would have appointed him ordinary consul for 286. Admittedly Maximinus Daia and Severus had to wait two years (until 307) for their first consulships, but circumstances were rather different, as Constantius and Galerius had to establish their claims as Augusti; so the point is well taken.

Alexandrian coins confirm that he was Augustus before 28 August 286 (Kolb, pp. 51–52). But the circumstances are unknown. It would seem not unreasonable to suggest that his promotion was a reward for his success against the Bagaudae, and his annihilation of the German invaders of Gaul (*Pan.* 10.5). But the panegyric offers no help here, and it is possible to argue that he was appointed Augustus from the outset. Even if he were not, Diocletian may have planned to make him Augustus at some future time. It depends on whether one thinks that Diocletian had a clearly formulated plan for collegiate government or improvised as he went. The theocratic ideology relating the emperors to Jupiter and Hercules, which we find in *Panegyric* 10, represents a systematic attempt to justify dyarchy, but of course has no necessary implications for tetrarchy. Nonetheless, it suggests an evolution in Diocletian's thought about imperial rule.

Can the date and political context of the assumption of the cognomina Iovius and Herculius be established? E. Stein (and J.-R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* [Paris, 1959] 66), followed by H. M. D. Parker (*A History of the Roman World, 138–337*, 2d rev. ed. [London, 1958] 225), believed that it took place on the appointment of Maximian as Caesar, but this is to ignore Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 39.18), who tells us explicitly that it was some time after the campaign against the Bagaudae (*postea*). Seston (*Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 222, and "Iovius et Herculius ou l' 'épiphanie' des Tétrarques," *Historia* 1 [1950] 266) dates the innovation to 287 and sees in it an attempt to impose a divine order on the administering of the Empire, a "cosmic unity" that would automatically exclude any usurper from a place within the system. A usurper with such pretensions was Carausius (see below, note 42 on 12.1). Can the move be related to the revolt of Carausius, as he suggests?

Kolb has attempted to date the assumption of the cognomina to spring–summer 286 (*Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 63–66). He adduces two termini ante quos. The first is a bronze medallion (Gnecchi 2: pl. 124.1):

Obv.: Emperor, laur. l., w. naked torso and cape (?) over l. shoulder holding scepter in r. hand
IOVIO DIOCLETIANO AVG

Rev.: Maximian in military dress and Hercules nude, std. facing, heads turned toward each other, crowned by Victory
HERCVLIO MAXIMIANO AVG; in exergue AQ(S?)

This he takes to have been minted for Maximian's first consulship in 287. Gnecchi (2: 124) identifies the obverse portrait as Diocletian's—understandably, given the legend; and at first glance it looks like Diocletian

portrayed as Jupiter. Nevertheless, Kolb may well be right in seeing here a portrait of Maximian with lion skin, but the identification needs defending. But both the occasion for the minting and therefore the date must remain uncertain. Neither of the influential figures is wearing consular garb. More critically, the mint of Aquileia did not open for the production of regular coinage until the monetary reform of ca. 294. Furthermore, the type of mintmark on the medallion does not appear on the initial issues of *aes* from Aquileia, but only ca. 296, according to C. H. V. Sutherland (*RIC* VI, 313–14). Finally, the style of the obverse portrait looks post-reform.[17] The second terminus, the renaming of Perinthus as Heraclea before 13 October 286 (*Frag. Vat.* 284; T. Mommsen, "Die fünfzehn Münzstätten der fünfzehn diocletianischen Diöcesen," *ZfN* 15 [1887] 241; Enßlin, 2494), is a better datum but scarcely a conclusive one (cf. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 222 n. 2).

A more important claim is that whereas Hercules does not appear on the coinage during the sole reign of Diocletian, the Jovian-Herculian ideology is presented on the very first coins of Maximian as Augustus (Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 64). The claim depends on the detailed analysis by P. Bastien, *Le monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon: Dioclétien et ses corégents avant la réforme monétaire (285–294)* (Wetteren, 1972), of the pre-reform coinage of Diocletian and Maximian from the Lyon mint. As he follows Chastagnol's dating of the proclamation of Maximian as Augustus to 1 April 286, and of the "epiphany" of Jovius and Herculius to February 287 ("Les *Quinquennalia* des trois Césars (Crispus, Licinius II., Constantin II.) en 321," in *Romanitas-Christianitas*, ed. G. Wirth [Berlin, 1982] 367–74), Bastien himself is struck by the fact that the Hercules theme should be found on the coins right from the beginning of Maximian's career as Augustus (Bastien, *L'atelier de Lyon [Dioclétien]*, 34–35; Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 65). If Bastien's arrangement of the coins holds good,

17. Kolb (*Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 63) misdescribes the medallion, giving the obverse legend as IOVIO ET HERCVLIO. A better candidate for the commemoration of Maximian's first consulship, 287, is another bronze medallion, Gnecchi 2: 130, no. 24 (J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* [New York, 1944] pl. 14.7): obv.: Maximian, laur. in consular robes holding scepter IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG; rev.: frontal quadriga; two soldiers l. and r.; others in background; within, emperor holding branch, crowned by victory. PM TRI P; in exergue, COS PP. But there is no means of dating the piece, and, of course, there is no sign of Hercules. See, too, Gnecchi 1: pl. 5, nos. 1–2, gold medallions (or multiples), with elephant quadriga and rev. legend IMPP DIOCLETIANO ET MAXIMIANO CCSS (*sic*)—but, again, no IOVIVS or HERCVLIVS, and the type is more appropriate for the triumph of 303.

then there is every reason to conclude with Kolb that the Jovian-Herculian ideology is closely connected with the promotion of Maximian to Augustus some time before August 286.[18] In that case its connection with the revolt of Carausius will depend on whether the latter is dated to 286 or 287; unfortunately it seems impossible to decide between the two (see below, note 42, and the Introduction to *Panegyric* 8, with notes 46 and 47). Kolb has to fall back on his conviction that Diocletian planned all this when he appointed Maximian as Caesar in December 285 (p. 48). That John of Antioch implies that Maximian had the title Herculius before Carausius' revolt (frag. 164 = *FHG* IV, 601; cf. Kolb, p. 48 n. 129) does not help. John or his source may be using the term to distinguish between Maximian and Galerius.[19] But even if he is not, there is no guarantee that he uses such terms with any regard for, or knowledge of, chronological accuracy. In sum, Seston's case cannot be disproved.

It was not until 293, with the appointment of Constantius and Galerius as Caesars, that the Tetrarchy was achieved. There is some evidence to suggest that their appointment was not simultaneous (see commentary on *Pan.* 8.3.1). Whatever the truth of this, which obviously has implications for the debate about the degree of forward planning that went into the Tetrarchy, there is an intriguing problem connected with the symbolic relationship between the Tetrarchs.

Constantius was the "senior" Caesar, whether in priority of appointment or in age. He is mentioned before Galerius in all official documents (e.g., the preamble to the Edict on Maximum Prices), and this official order was preserved when the Caesars became Augusti (e.g., *PLondon* 974). It is as Lactantius (*Mort. pers.* 18.6) and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 8.5 and app. 4) relate: Galerius was last or fourth in rank as Caesar, and after the abdica-

18. The basis of the arrangement seems sound enough. The mintmarks on Bastien's first and second issues (*L'atelier de Lyon [Dioclétien]*: mid-285–1 April 286; spring–summer 286) appear to continue the system of Carus and Carinus (*officinae* A to D). There are changes with the third and fourth issues (end of 286; first half of 287); the mintmarks are the Greek letters A–D, with the addition of SML in the exergue in the fourth. And it is only in the latter issue that trabeate busts appear, presumably marking the third consulship of Diocletian (and the first of Maximian) in 287 (Bastien, 41). The consular busts are only of Diocletian (Bastien, cat. nos. 102–3, 105, 111); either examples of Maximian's have all disappeared or (less likely) there was a deliberate decision to honor the senior Augustus alone. Jovian reverse types are overwhelmingly, indeed almost exclusively, associated with Diocletian, and Herculian ones with Maximian.

19. As Kolb, p. 23, following Enßlin, 2493, argues (correctly) that Eutropius does at 9.20.3.

tion "it was necessary that Constantius be named senior [*prior*] Augustus" (*Mort. pers.* 20.1). Why, then, was Constantius "Herculius," and Galerius, the junior Caesar, "Iovius"? Presumably because of the identity of the Augusti who promoted them, but it appears to upset the symmetry of the Tetrarchy. One might be tempted to conclude that Diocletian had no such notion of a hierarchically organized tetrarchy when Constantius was appointed. It perhaps strengthens the argument that Constantius was appointed before Galerius, and raises questions about the role of Maximian in that appointment (cf. below, notes 34 and 38, and *Pan.* 8, note 8).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIAL CEREMONY

Many of the sources make Diocletian responsible for sweeping changes in court ceremony and ritual. Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 39.2–4) writes that Diocletian "was the first to covet, in addition to a gold-brocaded robe, an abundance of silk, purple, and jewels for his sandals. Although this went beyond what befitted a citizen [*plus quam civilia*] and betrayed a vain and extravagant cast of mind, it is of little importance beside the rest of his behavior. For he was the first of all since Caligula and Domitian to have himself called 'lord' in public, and 'adored' and addressed as a god." Eutropius 9.26 has a similar account, perhaps derived from the same source. He writes, among other things, that Diocletian "was the first to introduce into the Roman Empire the form of monarchical ritual instead of Roman liberty, and to order that he be 'adored,' when all before him were greeted [*salutarentur*]."

This description of Diocletian's innovations, as related by Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, used to be described as the "Orientalizing" of the Roman monarchy, and it was often viewed as a shrewd attempt to halt the seemingly endless round of rebellions and coups d'état by elevating the monarchy beyond the reach of the ambitious army officer. It has also been seen as marking the beginning of the "Byzantine" period, when the old Principate succumbed to un-Roman forms of despotism. In fact, these changes in imperial ceremony, ritual, and titulature were by no means a sudden innovation but on the contrary a gradual process that can be traced back, not to a despotic East, but to Diocletian's Roman predecessors; nor can this process be tied too closely to the problems that faced Roman emperors in the half century of civil wars that preceded Diocletian, for it was inherent in the Roman imperial system itself. For instance, extravagant titles had long been attached to emperors other than "tyrants" like Domitian. Trajan and Hadrian are called *sacratissimus princeps* (*ILS* 1374, 6472), and Hadrian *dominus noster* (*ILS* 7196, 8908).

Severan letters are *sacrae* (e.g., J.-L. Mourgues, "The So-Called Letter of Domitian at the End of the Lex Irnitana," *JRS* 77 [1987] 80 and n. 12), and so is his fisc (N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, vol. 2, *The Empire* [New York, 1955] 453). And so on. The classic study is that by A. Alföldi, first appearing in 1934, and now republished under the title *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche.*

Similarly, that striking feature of late Roman court ceremony, *adoratio* (see 10.6 below, with note 37, and *Pan.* 11.11), has a long history. Long offered to Achaemenid Persian royalty, it had no overtones of divinity worship, unlike in Greece, where one fell before the statues of deities, until Hellenistic monarchs altered the rules. At Rome both gods and men were recipients of this form of supplication. In the case of men it would normally be offered only by the socially inferior to their superiors, except in dire emergencies. Examples of the latter include P. Clodius going down on his knees to all the senators individually in a Senate meeting to urge them to vote against a bill (Cic. *Att.* 1.14.5), and Lucullus entreating Caesar for mercy in the same fashion (Suet. *Iul.* 20.4).

In the Empire, for obvious reasons, the practice became more common among the upper levels of society, and leaders in *adulatio* and flattery took to "adoring" their emperor: for example, L. Vitellius "adored" Caligula (Suet. *Vit.* 2.5). A familiar Roman *Tendenz* made such prostration an Oriental vice. In the "Principate" only *domini* like Caligula and Domitian encouraged it. *Moderatio* led most emperors to deprecate it; after Caligula a reaction set in, and Claudius formally forbade προσκύνησις (Dio 60.5.4). By the Dominate prostration before one's emperor as lord and master was de rigueur. But, as indicated above (n. 1), it was not a sudden innovation of Diocletian's. However, it had new features: it was compulsory, being required of men of rank, and even of members of the imperial family. Maxentius was held to be *superbus et contumax* for refusing to adore his father, Maximian, and father-in-law, Galerius (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 18.9). Conversely, Ambrose suggested that it was a mark of Valentinian II's humility that he would kiss his sisters: *immemor imperii, memor germanitatis* (*De ob. Val.* 36).

X. PANEGYRIC OF MAXIMIAN

O most sacred Emperor,[1] although on every festival day the honor 1
paid to you must equal that paid to things divine, it is especially on this most solemn and (since you are our Emperor) most joyful day that veneration of your divinity[2] must be joined with the reverence paid annually to the sacred City.

For it is indeed a true tradition that we have received concerning the 2
origin of that City: a foreign king founded there the first seat of your divinity, that sacred and venerable palace, but Hercules consecrated it
as a guest.[3] For neither is it a fable stemming from poetic license nor 3
mere belief based on the assertions of bygone eras, but a manifest and confirmed fact, as both the great altar of Hercules attests to this day, and

1. The term "most sacred Emperor" (*sacratissime imperator*) first appears in Statius (e.g., *Silv.*, *praef.* 2 and 3). By the late third century the most fulsome titles were regularly accorded the Roman emperor. He was *dominus noster*, "our lord," and these words, or their abbreviation, DN, frequently precede his name on documents, inscriptions, and coins (but not on those of Diocletian and Maximian). Coins were minted for Aurelian, Probus, and Carus as "god and lord" (*deus et dominus*). A bridge is repaired on the orders of the *divina maiestas* of Diocletian and Maximian (*ILS* 627). The emperor was "most sacred," and everything connected with him, his family, and the government was sacred as well. A copy of an imperial edict is "sacred," and the letters forming the mintmarks on many coins of the period commence SM . . ., that is, the "sacred mint" (*sacra moneta*). Rome, as the symbolic center of the Empire and seat of government, was not only the "eternal city" (1.4) but also the "sacred City" (1.1). On the development of imperial ceremony, see the Introduction, pp. 51–52.

2. *Numen* (divinity) is a hard word to translate. In "Republican" usage it regularly means "divine strength" (*vis divina*), and its use is confined to gods. But, as often, the Principate of Augustus seems to have been a watershed, and Vitruvius, in the preface to his book *On Architecture*, addresses Augustus thus: "when your divine intelligence [*mens*] and *numen* were striving to gain the right to command the world." Shortly after his death we find an altar to the *numen* of Augustus (*ILS* 154; *CIL* 11.3303). In the late Empire *numen tuum* (Your Divinity) appears as a form of address (e.g., SHA, *Heliogab.* 1.1). See W. Pötscher, "*Numen* und *Numen Augusti*," *ANRW* 2.16.1 (1978) 355–92.

3. For the story see Virg. *Aen.* 8.184ff.; Livy 1.7.4ff.

the Pinarian family, guardian of the cult of Hercules,[4] that that hero, the first of your family and name, approached the walls of Pallanteum as victor and, although the royal residence was then a mean abode, was received nevertheless with the utmost reverence, and that he laid the foundations of its future greatness, so that what was once the guest chamber of Hercules could be the home of the Caesars.[5]

4 It is therefore right that on this day on which the birth of the eternal City, mistress of nations, is celebrated by your piety,[6] we sing your praises, O invincible Emperor, yours above all, and give thanks to you. Your very upholding of your lineage and your own hidden force of character impart such generosity in honoring Rome's birthday that you celebrate
5 the foundation of that City as if you yourself were its founder. In truth, O most sacred Emperor, one might justifiably call you and your brother the founders of the Roman Empire, for you are, what is almost the same thing, its restorers,[7] and although this is the birthday of this City, which

4. This is not autopsy but borrowed knowledge. Servius Auctus, commenting on *Aen.* 8.271, writes: "There is a huge altar of Hercules, as we see even today [*sicut videmus hodieque*]." "Mamertinus"' knowledge of Roman topography is shaky. Elsewhere he locates the rostra in the Circus Maximus (*Pan.* 11.19.5)! Evidently he picked up the phrase via a chain of earlier Virgilian commentators—Julius Hyginus, Suetonius, Aemilius Asper, et al. (See, further, on 13.5.) Although other late authors refer to the Pinarii in conjunction with the cult of Hercules (e.g., Symmachus *Or.* 2.32: *Pinarios Hercules occuparit*), this is antiquarianism. The care of the cult had already passed to public slaves by 312 B.C.E. (Livy 1.7.4ff.; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.6.13; see R. M. Ogilvie, *Commentary on Livy Books* 1–5 [Oxford, 1965] ad 1.7.12). It is extremely unlikely that any branch of the gens survived to the speaker's day: there are no Pinarii in *PLRE* I or II. (The Pinarius Valens who is mentioned as a *parens* of the emperor Pupienus in SHA, *Max. Balb.* 4.4, 5.5, is historically extremely suspect. The last undoubtedly genuine Pinarius lived in the time of Trajan; M. Lambertz, "Pinarius 25," *RE* 20.2 [1950] 1406–7.) For an altar at Ostia dedicated to Hercules Invictus, possibly in the time of Maximian, see H. Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393–394 A.D.," *HThR* 38 (1945) 199–244; cf., too, 13.4 and note 48 below.

5. For Maximian's name and association with Hercules, see the Introduction.

6. Rome's birthday, 21 April, the Palilia (or Parilia), the feast of Pales, the tutelary deity of shepherds.

7. "Restorers" (*restitutores*): appropriate after the civil wars, invasions, and peasant uprising that had recently ravaged Gaul (4.3ff.) and elsewhere, the label was by now a traditional one. Its history is most easily followed on the

marks the origin of the Roman people, it is the first days of your rule which mark the beginning of its salvation.

For this reason, if now at Rome all the magistrates, pontiffs, and 2
priests venerate the temples of Hercules just as they venerate the fathers of the City and its supporting deities, because Hercules brought the booty gained at last from his victory from the river Ebro and the Ocean, witness of the setting sun, right to the Tyrrhenian pastures, and left his footprints on the heights of the Palatine for you who were to come, with what enthusiasm, then, is it appropriate for us, who are gazing upon you, a manifest god,[8] victor indeed over the whole world, but now actually in the process of overcoming in that selfsame western quarter, not the hideous shepherd with triple head, but a much more frightful monster,[9] not only to use all that we have of breath and voice in your praises, but even, if the subject calls for it, to exhaust them?

Where, then, shall I begin? Shall I recall, indeed, the services of your 2
native land to the State? For who doubts that for many centuries now, ever since its strength was added to the Roman name, while Italy indeed may have been the mistress of nations by virtue of the antiquity of her glory, Pannonia has been in valor?[10]

coinage. Marcus Aurelius was described as the "Restorer of Italy" after the barbarian irruption of the 160s, Septimius Severus as "Restorer of the City" after the civil wars of the 190s. By the third century the dimensions of the problem had increased. It was the *orbis terrarum* that had to be restored. Aurelian did it, and so is described as RESTITVTOR ORBIS, "Restorer of the World," on his coins, as is Probus, and Carus. Curiously, the coins of Diocletian and Maximian fail to make the claim, but it appears on their inscriptions; cf. *ILS* 617: *invictissimi principes nn. totius orbis restitutores.*

8. Manifest hyperbole. Diocletian and Maximian did not claim divinity and are not usually called gods, even in the panegyrics; see note 1 above; 2.3: "divine origin of your family" (but note *Pan.* 11.10.5); for this topic see B. Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Historia* 35 (1986) 69–104. For Maximian's early career and victories, see 2.3ff., and commentary. "Mamertinus" is in full flow here, and this "period" is worthy of Cicero, who was undoubtedly one of the most important of his models. His Latinity is, in fact, remarkably "classical" for the age, in style, syntax, and vocabulary.

9. I.e., Carausius, usurper in Britain; cf. 12.1.

10. Maximian was evidently born near Sirmium (modern Sremska Mitrovica), in Pannonia Inferior, for this is the best explanation of his building a palace near that city, where his parents "plied their mercenary work" (*exercebant opera mercenaria, Epit.* 40.10); in other words, they were hirelings—perhaps day

3 Or shall I recount the divine origin of your family, which you have attested not only by your immortal deeds, but also by the name which
4 you have inherited? Or shall I proclaim how you have been raised and taught on that frontier,[11] in that seat of the bravest of legions, midst the maneuvers of a vigorous youth and the clash of arms echoing your infant
5 cries?[12] Such things are invented about Jupiter, but in your case, Emperor, are true. Or shall I try to enumerate your exploits,[13] relating which were

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laborers, rather than shopkeepers, as Barnes suggests (*New Empire*, 32). All the sources agree that Maximian was of rustic origin.

Pannonia Inferior was soon to be divided into two, the north being named Valeria after Diocletian's daughter (Amm. Marc. 19.11.4), Galerius' wife (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.10: hence after 293, interpreted literally). The south became Pannonia Secunda. As well as being an important recruiting ground, Pannonia gave the state emperors such as Decius, Claudius, and Probus before Maximian. For the contribution of Illyricum, see R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (Oxford, 1971). He comments that panegyrists were usually discreetly silent about the humble origins of these emperors, and that this passage is exceptional (pp. 194–95).

11. The Danubian frontier. Not much is known about Maximian's early career. We appear to learn below (2.6) that he fought in the East as well, on the Euphrates. He, like his colleagues, is said to have been trained in the armies of Aurelian and Probus (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.28). All the sources agree in portraying him as a simple military man, fiercely loyal to Diocletian. Even Lactantius, hostile as he is, concedes this loyalty (*Mort. pers.* 8.1), although for him it is no virtue. "Mamertinus" labors the point (see esp. 9 below), and inevitably some modern scholars are skeptical (see the Introduction, pp. 43–44).

12. This is an allusion to Jupiter's birth. In order that he escape Saturn's infanticidal envy the Curetes danced and clashed their weapons to drown out the newborn's cries. The din accompanying Maximian's birth was from no mock fight. "Invented about Jupiter," because we depend on the poets and mythographers. A clever conceit.

13. Would that he had! We do not hear of these exploits elsewhere. How literally the passage is to be interpreted is open to question. As pointed out above, Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 39.28) tells us that, as we would expect, Maximian, like the other "Tetrarchs," had been trained in the armies of Aurelian and Probus. W. Enßlin ("Maximus," *RE* 14.2 [1930] 2487) is therefore entitled to suggest that this passage is without any real significance, and that it merely alludes to Aurelian's campaigns: as "Restorer of the World" he traversed the whole Empire, and Maximian was in the ranks. On the other hand, we hear specifically of Maximian's exploits on the Danube and the Rhine, and of the victories of Maximian's troops on Ocean's shore (below, 11.7). Are exploits on the Euphrates plausible? Carus had crossed the Euphrates, occupied Mesopotamia,

the first standards to inaugurate your imperial auspices, which the camps to receive you as their master, which the expeditions which led you in various directions, which the victories which exalted your reputation? Shall I traverse, in following in the footsteps of your enterprise, the whole 6
Danube frontier and the complete length of the Euphrates? Shall I wander the banks of the Rhine and Ocean's shore? But he who wishes to include all those achievements must wish for centuries for himself, and countless years, and as long a lifetime as you have deserved.

Therefore, to the profit of my speech, but at cost to my inclination, I 3
shall do what is most appropriate to this occasion. I shall omit the rest and seize above all upon what perhaps will seem astonishing to many, yet which is absolutely true, namely, that when you were summoned to restore the State by your kindred divinity Diocletian, you conferred more of a benefit than you received.[14] For imperial success must be judged neither by its outward appearance nor by its name. Your triumphal robes 2

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and captured Ctesiphon; after his death it appears likely that Mesopotamia remained in Roman hands (see notes 30 and 36 below). If so, then any fighting on the Euphrates predates Diocletian's accession. Of course, Maximian may simply have served there under Carus (see Barnes, *New Empire*, 33). Enßlin may be right in accounting for Maximian's promotion simply in terms of his old friendship with Diocletian (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.17; cf. *Pan.* 11.7.5 for their parallel *cursus*).

14. The date and place of Maximian's accession are uncertain, and the subject has attracted a great deal of debate. See the Introduction; Barnes, *New Empire*, 4, 28; Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 22. At any rate Maximian's first assignment was in the West, to fight against the Bagaudae (see below, 4.3). Eutropius says (9.20.3) he was sent as Caesar.

The adoption of Maximian and "division" of imperial duties was not unprecedented. Carus, a few years before, had left his son Carinus in Gaul as Caesar when he marched east against Persia; a century before Marcus Aurelius had shared power with his adoptive brother L. Verus. The novelty in Diocletian's case was that Maximian was not a blood relative. But Romans had always been in the habit of adopting sons when they lacked male heirs. There was never a "system" (A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* [Oxford, 1964] 1: 41) of adoption of the "best man" as heir to the throne, not even under Nerva and his successors, no matter what imperial propaganda might say. This was merely historical accident, a series of emperors without sons. When there came an emperor, undeniably a conscientious one, who had a son, that son (Commodus) was named his heir and successor, despite his manifest faults. Of course, the impulse for a childless man to adopt was naturally greater if he attained imperial

and consular fasces, your curule thrones, this glittering crowd of courtiers, that light which surrounds your divine head with a shining orb,[15] these are the trappings of your merits, very fine indeed, and most majestic.
3 But far greater are those services which you have rendered in place of thanks when the imperium was bestowed upon you: to admit into your heart the care of such a great state, and to take upon your shoulders the destiny of the whole world;[16] to forget yourself, to speak, and live for the people; to stand on such a lofty summit of human affairs as to gaze down, as it were, on every land and sea, and to survey in turn with eyes and mind where calm weather is assured, where storms threaten, to observe which governors emulate your justice, which commanders[17] maintain the

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power—indeed it was politically imperative. This shows the strength of the hereditary principle, not its weakness! (Cf. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 18.8.)

15. The "curule thrones" (*sellae curules*) were chairs of office inlaid with ivory, traditionally used by consuls and other magistrates. The "shining orb" is the *nimbus*, the "cloud" or halo of light that is a sign of divine power from Homer onward; cf. Herodian 1.7.5 on Commodus' appearance. This can be represented in art as a simple, round disc behind the head, as in the form familiar to us from Christian art, although it is pre-Christian in origin. But here "Mamertinus" is speaking of "trappings" (*ornamenta*), and in the context this suggests something more substantial, indeed something tangible. There can be little doubt that it is the radiate crown, which was intended to throw off the dazzling light that testified to supernatural power. In origin this was the attribute of the sun-god, and Helios is so depicted in Greek art. In the *Aeneid* (12.161–64) King Latinus "wears on his shining temples twice six golden rays [*aurati . . . radii*], a token of his ancestor the sun." Its divine implications were not forgotten (cf. Pliny *Pan.* 52.1 and the radiate crown of Sol Invictus on third-century coins).

16. Reminding us that there was no formal territorial division of the Roman Empire. *Imperium* is shared (*commune*, 9.4). This description of Maximian's powers and responsibilities, although colorfully expressed, reveals that he was sent to the West against the Bagaudae as a true imperial colleague of Diocletian; see Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 38–39, and above, note 14.

17. "Governors," "commanders": the use here of the words *iudices* and *duces* is of some interest. Under Diocletian's provincial reorganization the old provinces were divided, and instead of about fifty provinces there were now about a hundred. The evidence suggests this was a slow process—not necessarily unsystematic, but complex and time-consuming. The main motive was probably to increase administrative efficiency, but Diocletian did begin the practice of separating military and civil commands. This means that the chief duties of the provincial governor were now judicial and financial. In the early Empire these duties had often been divided, but earlier in the third century they began to

glory of your courage, to receive countless messengers from every quarter, 4
to send out just as many dispatches, to worry about so many cities and nations and provinces, to spend all one's nights and days in perpetual concern for the safety of all.

All these things you accepted when offered them by your best of 4
brothers: in this you acted courageously, he wisely. Nor did you put 2
your helping hand to the tiller[18] when a favoring breeze impelled the ship of state from the stern, but when only divine help was sufficient for its

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be combined. Diocletian completed the process (see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 1: 44). The normal name of the new governors was *praesides* (e.g., Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 7.4). The use of *iudices* here points to the old system and may suggest that by 288–289 Diocletian's innovations had not proceeded very far—or at least that the new terminology had not replaced the old in popular usage.

Strictly speaking, *duces* were military commanders without civil duties. It is often held that Diocletian separated military and civil commands in order to minimize the risk of military rebellion, but Jones (*Later Roman Empire*, 1: 45) observes that the "change apparently came late in the reign, and was only partially completed. Moreover some at any rate of the new *duces* commanded far larger concentrations of troops than any provincial governor had at his disposal for generations." He also declares (p. 44) that "military commanders (*duces*) of the Diocletianic period are in fact rarely attested." Yet here in 288/289 we have the term used as if it were the standard one. But perhaps the speaker is using the term loosely.

18. "Mamertinus" at first glance seems to give the classic statement of Maximian's relationship with Diocletian—he is like Hercules, Jove's divine helper. But he is a brother who works "at the side of the leader," and he is compared to a Hercules who restored heaven to the gods. Later in the speech Maximian is put on a level with Diocletian; cf. 9.4: *rem publicam pari sorte teneatis;* and 11.6.

Much is made of their harmonious relationship. Other sources paint a similar picture (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 8.1; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.28–29; Eutr. 9.27.1). Long ago Seeck was skeptical and suggested that Maximian was proclaimed Augustus against Diocletian's wishes (see the Introduction, pp. 43f.). Parker, *History of the Roman World*, 226, has followed suit, but the phrase in Hydatius at 286 C.E. (*Chron. min.* 1.229), *levatus est Maximianus imperator senior*, cannot bear the weight attached to it. It is regularly used for all types of accession, both controversial and undisputed (Aurelian; Tacitus; Constantine; Licinius "Carnunto"; Crispus, Licinius II, and Constantine II). Decisive is the entry at a.379 (*Chron. min.* 1.243): *levatus est Theodosius Aug. ab Augusto Gratiano.*

restoration after its collapse in former times,[19] and not even the help of one god sufficed; you came to the aid of the Roman name, as it faltered, at the side of the leader, with that same timely assistance as your Hercules once lent to your Jupiter, when he was beset with difficulties in his war with the Earthborn.[20] Hercules then gained a great part of the victory, and proved that he had not so much received heaven from the gods as restored it to them.

3 Was this not similar to that calamity of two-shaped monsters in our lands, I know not whether to say suppressed by your bravery, Caesar, or calmed by your mercy?[21] Inexperienced farmers sought military garb;

19. A general reference to the "third-century crisis," the period of political, military, and economic chaos that had plagued the Empire. The death of Carus and the civil war between Carinus and Diocletian had temporarily checked the recovery made by Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus; and Diocletian had to campaign on the Danube immediately after the battle of the Margus. The other problem area was Gaul. It had been afflicted by rebellion (cf. the *imperium Galliarum*), barbarian invasion, imperial expeditions against usurpers (cf. the seven-month siege of Autun), and peasant revolt. The latter was what required attention now.

It is noteworthy how rarely the earlier panegyrists make any specific reference to the recent past in Gaul. That was a painful memory, and a sensitive subject. For instance, while Diocletian and Maximian are pointedly praised for their *concordia*, neither the panegyric of 289 nor that of 291 contains a single reference to the separatist Gallic empire. In each case the speaker forgoes an opportunity to make an explicit contrast between the condition of Gaul before and after Diocletian and Maximian. Allusions to the former era are oblique (*Pan.* 11.5.3), brief (*Pan.* 11.16.2), and apologetic (below, 4.3–4).

20. I.e., the Giants, the sons of Earth and Uranus (Hes. *Theog.* 185). The war between the Giants and the Olympians, aided by Hercules, is a recurrent theme on coins and monuments of the Tetrarchic period; cf. the coins with Jupiter hurling a thunderbolt at a (kneeling) Giant, IOVI FVLGERATORI (*RIC* 6.165, 170 = Trier nos. 20, 56–57); see Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 108 and n. 325, for a similar type from Méaux. H. Wrede, "Eine tetrarchische Gigantomachie in Spalato," *JAC* 24 (1981) 67–70, has identified the figured decorations on the consoles beneath the cornice of the portal of the temple (of Jupiter) in Diocletian's palace at Spalato as illustrations of the Gigantomachy.

21. "Our lands," i.e., the Gauls (see below, 14.3). This passage refers to the Bagaudae, bands of brigands who roamed the countryside looting and pillaging (cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.17; Eutr. 9.20). As the text reveals, many of them had been peasant farmers or shepherds, who had abandoned farms and flocks when organized government in Gaul broke down, or when they could no longer cope

the plowman imitated the infantryman, the shepherd the cavalryman, the rustic ravager of his own crops the barbarian enemy. This I pass over 4
in haste, for I see that such are your dutiful feelings that you prefer that victory to be cast into oblivion rather than glorified.[22]

Look what followed. Scarcely was that unhappy outburst stilled when 5
immediately all the barbarian peoples threatened the destruction of the whole of Gaul, and not only the Burgundians and Alamanni, but also the Chaibones and Eruli, foremost of barbarians in might, most remote in their location, burst into these provinces in headlong assault.[23] What

with the crushing burden of taxes and debt. "Two-shaped" in that they were farmers and citizens on the one hand, but bandits and enemies on the other. See E. A. Thompson, "Peasant Revolts in Gaul and Spain," *P&P* 2 (1952) 11–23 (reprinted in *Studies in Ancient Society*, ed. M. I. Finley [London, 1974] 304–20); G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981) 478f. Thompson speaks of a conspiracy of silence with regard to this internal threat to the Gallo-Roman establishment. We hear little of "peasant" revolts in the sources, but he argues that they were common. We also hear little of the motives for revolt, and the aims of the rebels, perhaps not surprisingly, given the class bias of our sources. Although clearly embarrassed by the subject, "Mamertinus" at least knows and divulges something about the origins of the movement and does not dismiss the rebels as bandits *tout court*. Nor, apparently, did Maximianus; cf. *Pan.* 11.5.3 and 7.8.3 for further hints of mild treatment.

22. Traditionally emperors received no imperial salutations for victories over fellow citizens, although this policy was increasingly breached in the fourth century (see *Pan.* 2, note 166). As a consequence there is no record of Maximian's defeat of the Bagaudae in his imperial titulature. For a similar sentiment, see *Pan.* 2.24.2.

23. A suitably rhetorical account of a series of campaigns of evident significance. They occurred immediately (*statim*) after the suppression of the Bagaudae, according to Barnes (*New Empire*, 57) in late 285. Kolb, however, argues for the summer of 286. He rejects Mommsen's emendation in the *subscriptio* of *Frag. Vat.* 282 (11–12 February 286) of *Mediolani* to *Nicomediae* and attributes it to Maximian (*Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 42–43). He argues that Maximian would have had no time to travel from Gaul to North Italy between the campaign against the Bagaudae and the German invasions. Therefore he must have visited Milan on his way from Nicomedia to the West, and these two events must be dated respectively to the spring and summer of 286 (pp. 40–41). Maximian commanded as Caesar with full rights (cf. *triumphi ornamenta*, 5.2; 3.3–4.2; and the Introduction).

At this time the Burgundi occupied the valley of the Main, having apparently been pushed south by the Vandals. First mentioned by Pliny the Elder as a subdivision of the Vandals (*HN* 4.14.99), they had been engaged by Roman

god would have brought us such unhoped-for salvation had you not been
2 present? For you, Emperor, thinking that the war should be waged with the stratagems of your divine foresight rather than by force, let the rest of the enemy, whose great numbers were ruinous to them, fall prey to the extremes of famine, and to plague after famine, intending then to employ bands of troops to capture them to adorn your triumph. The Chaibones and Eruli, however, you destroyed by open warfare and at one blow, not deeming them worthy of destruction by a like cunning, and, so that your divine courage should not lack its customary exercise in the meanwhile,
3 used not the whole army for that battle, but only a few cohorts. For what need of a multitude when you yourself took part in the fray, when you

armies in recent years, for example under Probus, on the river Lech (Licus) in Raetia (Zosimus 1.68).

The Alamanni had first appeared on the Roman scene in 213 C.E. (Dio 77.13; cf. SHA, *Caracalla* 10.6) and by 283 had occupied the *campi decumates* between the Upper Rhine and the Danube. Under Gallienus they had invaded Italy itself (Zonar. 12.24; Eutr. 9.8.2; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33.3 and 35.2). Claudius II won a victory over them (*Epit.* 34.2, confirmed by coins and inscriptions). The Germans whom Probus fought evidently included Alamanni (cf. Zosimus 1.67; SHA, *Probus* 12.3, and 13.5ff.). The reason for their combined invasion is not clear, but their great numbers (indicated at 5.2) might suggest that they were seeking land, and not merely raiding. They may have been under pressure from other "barbarians." At any rate a campaign of attrition was needed against them.

The Chaibones and Eruli (Heruli) were apparently fewer in number and could be destroyed in pitched battle. The Chaibones are known solely from their mention here and in *Pan.* 11.7.2, unless scholars are right in connecting them with the Aviones of Tacitus (*Germ.* 40), who may have lived near the mouth of the Elbe. The Heruli are somewhat more familiar owing to their spectacular descent on the Black Sea littoral, the Balkans, and the Aegean, ca. 267–268, during which they sacked Athens and Corinth (cf. Dexippus *Scythica* frag. 24, Müller, *FHG* 3.682f. = frags. 6–7, Jacoby, *FGrH* 2A, no. 100; SHA, *Gallienus* 5.6, 13.6–10; SHA, *Claud.* 6.1–11.4; Zosimus 1.42–43, 45). Formidable sailors, they are held to have been Goths, and to have come originally from the Baltic sea region. In the fourth century an auxiliary unit in the palatine army was composed of Heruli (*Not. dign. occ.* 5.18, 162; 7.13).

Presumably this victory over the Germans, for which Maximian expected a triumph, is reflected in his titulature. Three German victories were commemorated between Maximian's proclamation and 293 (see T. D. Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns, A.D. 285–311," *Phoenix* 30 [1976] 176–78), of which this ought to be the first, the others being Diocletian's, when he invaded Germany from Raetia (9.1, below), and Maximian's, when he crossed the Rhine (7.1–2).

yourself did battle in each spot and over the whole of the battlefield, and you yourself ran to counter the foe everywhere, both where he resisted, and where he gave way and fled, and deceived equally your adversaries and your own troops, since neither did the barbarians suppose you to be one man nor were your soldiers able to follow you, I don't mean in a band and as your escort, but even with their eyes. Indeed you were borne over the whole field of battle in the fashion of a great river, swollen with winter
rain and snow, which is wont to flow wherever the plain extends. Thus 4
all the Chaibones, all the Eruli, were cut to pieces and slaughtered in such a massacre that the news of their extinction was brought to their wives and mothers left at home, not by some fugitive from the battle, but by the renown of your victory.

I pass over your countless battles and victories all over Gaul.[24] For 6
what speech could do justice to so many great exploits? I can in no way, 2
however, pass over in silence the day which inaugurated your consulship.[25] On that day you alone of all men brought it about that an occasion which had previously seemed fit only for the commencement of things could then for the first time be capable of seeing to their completion. The sun in only one of its courses—and that a very short one—saw you both beginning
your duties as consul and fulfilling the tasks of a commander. We saw 3
you, Caesar, on the very same day taking up vows on behalf of the State and incurring the debt of them being answered. For what you wished for the future you immediately accomplished, so that you seem to me to have anticipated the very help of the gods you implored, and to have done beforehand what they promised you. We saw you, Caesar,[26] on the same day both in the most splendid garb of peace and in the magnificent accoutrements of war.

I should say, with apologies to the gods, that not even Jupiter himself 4
changes the face of his own heavens, O Emperor, as swiftly and easily as you doffed the *toga praetexta* and put on the cuirass, laying down staff

24. Not against the Bagaudae, pace Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 68, and Galletier, 1: 29 n. 1, for this topic was dropped at 4.4; thus either continuing the subject of 5, as if there were much more that he could say, or referring to a more recent group of campaigns against the Franks; see below, 10.3 and 11.7.

25. I translate *primum consulatus tui* (MS H). The inferior manuscripts read *primi*—"your first consulship." At last we have a chronological datum. See the Introduction, pp. 42f.

26. A "nontechnical" term of address; Maximian was Augustus, not Caesar, in rank.

and seizing a spear, transporting yourself from the tribunal to the field of battle,[27] from the curule seat to horseback, and returning again from the fray in triumph, and filling the whole of this city, anxious at your sudden sortie against the enemy, with joy and exultation, with blazing altars[28] and
5 sacrificial perfumes kindled in honor of your divinity. Thus twice, both at the beginning and end of that day, were religious ceremonies celebrated with equal solemnity, in that vows were pledged to Jupiter for what was to come, and discharged by you for victory granted.

7 With such auspices for that year, what could follow except some
2 new and very great miracle? Indeed, could there have eventuated a greater one than that famous crossing of yours into Germany,[29] by which you first of all, Emperor, proved that there were no bounds to the
3 Roman Empire except those of your arms? For previously it seemed that Nature herself had mapped out the Rhine so that the Roman provinces might be protected from the savagery of the barbarian by
4 that boundary. And before your Principate who ever failed to offer thanks that Gaul was protected by that river? When did a long period of fine weather diminish the level of the Rhine without provoking our extreme fear? When did the Rhine floods rise without our feeling secure?

5 In just the same way, I believe, did the Euphrates[30] shelter that rich

27. Obviously the city in question lay uncomfortably close to the frontier. There can be little doubt that it is Trier (Trèves), familiar as an important administrative center, mint city, and intermittent imperial residence. The Rhine lay not far away (7.3–7, esp. 7.7). "Mamertinus" lived in the north of Gaul (12.5 and 14.3). It seems likely from these passages that "this city" is his home.

28. Reading *aris* instead of the OCT *auris*.

29. After the terrible invasions over the previous generation it appeared a "miracle" that the Romans were actually invading enemy territory! (Cf. 9.1.) In this passage, one of the most memorable in the whole speech, the speaker gives a vivid picture of the anxiety occasioned by dry weather and a drop in the water level of the Rhine. These big river frontiers were very imperfect barriers.

The speaker portrays the crossing as more than a punitive expedition or a raid to get prisoners and booty: "All that I see beyond the Rhine is Roman" (7.7). *Pan.* 11.5.3, 7.2, 16.1, adds nothing substantial, but 17.1–3 may describe the aftermath, with fighting between barbarian and barbarian; see *Pan.* 8.2.1 and note 6. One suspects from subsequent events that any occupation of barbarian territory beyond the Rhine was short-lived.

30. It is true that the Euphrates for long formed the frontier between Rome and Persia, but Carus had mounted an expedition that resulted in the conquest of Mesopotamia, the crossing of the Tigris, and the capture of Ctesiphon and

and fertile land of Syria in its embrace, so to speak, before the Persian realm voluntarily submitted itself to Diocletian. But he accomplished this in the manner of his Jupiter, at whose paternal nod all things tremble, and by the majesty of your name. You, however, invincible Emperor, have 6
tamed those wild and untamed nations by ravaging, battles, massacres, with fire and the sword. This is the lot of the race of Hercules, to owe what you claim to your courage. Since then our minds are carefree and unburdened. Let the Rhine dry up, and with its gentle current scarcely 7
move the smooth pebbles in its transparent shallows; there is no fear from that quarter: all that I see beyond the Rhine is Roman!

In the same way Carthage, that longtime rival and enemy of Roman 8
power in former days, was conquered by P. Scipio when by taking his army to Africa he recalled Hannibal from the ravaging of Italy. Had 2
you heard this, Emperor, or did you yourself perceive with your divine intelligence that the enemy could be utterly overthrown only if they were conquered in their own territory and not only lost the booty which they had captured, but themselves had to lament the capture of their wives and children and parents and all things dear to them? Whether you knew 3
and followed this example, or did it on your own initiative, in either case it was a very fine accomplishment. For those emulating great deeds deserve 4
no less praise than the authors themselves. Nay more, the enterprise of 5
something untried, however well conceived, is entrusted to Fortune, but

Seleucia (see note 13 above). With the death of Carus the Roman army retreated, but internal problems may have prevented the Persians from reclaiming their lost territory. For the revolt of Hormizd against his brother (or cousin) Bahram II see *Pan.* 11.17.2; Moses of Khorene, *History of the Armenians* 5.1.5 (trans. M. H. Dodgeon and S. N. C. Lieu, in *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars [A.D. 226–363]: A Documentary History* [London and New York, 1991] 112); and R. N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich, 1984) 304–5. Frye suggests that the Persians reoccupied territory in Mesopotamia that the Romans had occupied, but offers no evidence for his view. The speaker ignores Carus' campaign. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Diocletian went to war against Carus' elder son, and perhaps not so misleading if the Romans had failed to consolidate their new gains. It appears likely that Mesopotamia remained no-man's-land, although this is controversial, as some believe it was formally ceded by the Persians to Diocletian in 287 (see note 36). The words "the Persian realm voluntarily submitted itself" suggest that Diocletian took no initiative, and that there was no further fighting; indeed they point to some kind of agreement, but whether this involved actual transfer of Persian territory is another matter.

the reiteration and repetition of the same stratagem surely redounds to the fame of one's judgment.

6 And for this reason, most sacred Emperor, both of you are now greater than Scipio, for you imitated Africanus, and Diocletian imitated you.

9 For he recently attacked that part of Germany which lies opposite Raetia,[31] and by this victory extended the boundaries of Rome with a courage similar to yours. With what candor and friendly feeling did you report to his divinity all that you had done on behalf of these lands, when, coming together from opposite ends of the globe, you clasped invincible
2 hands![32] How trusting and fraternal was that conference! At it you

31. "Recently" (*nuper*) might point to the campaigning season of the year prior to the delivery of the panegyric. (Is 21 April too early for it to have been earlier in the same year?) The following passage suggests that the fraternal conference, despite the order, was before Diocletian's expedition, for he displayed "gifts from the Persians" and not "spoils won from the Germans." Maximian's spoils, proudly exhibited, are more likely to be those won as a result of his crossing into Germany than anything retrieved from the invaders.

An absolute chronology rests on events in the East (below, 10.6). The date and site of the meeting are unknown. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 29, hypothesizes Mainz, but his discussion is unsatisfactory. Unfortunately the codes do not reveal Diocletian's movements in 288–289. By 11 January 290, he was at Sirmium, presumably after an expedition in late 289 against the Sarmatians (see the Introduction, p. 42).

Diocletian's expedition against the Germans further illustrates the point that is spelled out repeatedly in the panegyric, that there is a sharing, not division, of power (cf. 9.4, 10.1, 11.1–2). In no sense was there a territorial partitioning of the Empire. Diocletian comes west to campaign when necessary, just as later he will campaign against the Sarmatians in 294, based at Sirmium (see *Pan.* 8, note 15), despite the sources' reiteration that Illyricum was Galerius' "territory." Similarly, Galerius will be summoned to the East to fight the Persians, and recent evidence buttresses Barnes's case ("Imperial Campaigns," 180ff.; cf. *New Empire*, 62) that Galerius campaigned in Egypt in 293–294; see J. R. Rea, R. P. Salomons, and K. A. Worp, "A Ration-Warrant for an *adiutor memoriae*," *YCS* 28 (1985) 101–13. Nonetheless, there is a growing expectation that Diocletian will normally be stationed somewhere in the East—Nicomedia is built up as a capital to rival Rome in magnificence (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 7.8–10) and the de facto territorial divisions are much clearer in the so-called Second Tetrarchy. But 14.4 ("The East makes this very same request") testifies not to Diocletian's being based in the East but to the reverse, to his mobility.

32. A common motif or symbol on the coinage of the third century, with legends such as *concordia militum* (harmony of the troops). Its appearance is

offered mutual examples of all the virtues and magnified each other in turn, which did not before seem possible, he by displaying to you gifts from the Persians, you by displaying to him spoils won from the Germans. But neither did your military virtues discourage him from generosity nor 3
did his wealth cause you to recoil from military endeavor.

Both of you are now most bountiful, both most brave, and because of this very similarity in your characters the harmony between you is ever increasing, and you are brothers in virtue, which is a surer tie than any tie of blood.[33] And so it happens that such a great empire is shared between 4
you without any rivalry; nor do you suffer there to be any distinction between you but plainly hold an equal share in the State, like those twin Lacedaemonian kings, the Heraclidae. However, you are better and more 5
just in this than they, for their mother compelled them to rule as peers in age and authority by craft, since she would confess to no one which she had given birth to first. You on the other hand rule in this fashion voluntarily, you whom not any resemblance of features, but rather resemblance of character, has made equal at the summit of affairs.[34]

usually sinister, testifying to lack of harmony, and civil war. Here, too? Some have thought that "Mamertinus" protests too much that the relationship was harmonious (9.1–10.2, 11.1–4); see the Introduction, pp. 43–44.

What prompted Diocletian to travel from the opposite end of the globe to meet Maximian? Presumably, after matters had been satisfactorily arranged in the East, Diocletian found that it was necessary to strengthen the Danube frontier (cf. *Pan.* 8.3.3), and it was high time to discuss with his colleague the problem of Carausius (see below, 11.4ff., and commentary). Diocletian and Maximian were to hold consultations from time to time; for example, in Milan in the winter of 290–291 (*Pan.* 11.8–11).

33. The rhetoric is in keeping with Diocletian's decision to proclaim Constantius and Galerius as Caesars in 293 to the exclusion of Maximian's son Maxentius, but of course it does not prove that at this stage Diocletian was thinking along these lines, and 14.1–2 implies that there will be a place for Maxentius in the imperial system.

34. Herodotus (6.52) explains the origin of the Spartan dual kingship in the birth of twin sons to Aristodemus, great-great-grandson of Hercules, and his wife Argeia. The Delphic oracle advised the Spartans to make both sons kings, but to give greater honor to the older; by observation of the mother's preference Eurysthenes was taken to have been born before his brother Procles. Herodotus adds that the brothers were always at odds, as were their descendants. Kolb (*Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 104) uses this passage to bolster his contention that Diocletian and Maximian ruled on equal footing, and that the

10 However, even if they could have discovered the distinction between them, it would have been less remarkable to have shared the government of a small region which has frequently been traversed in one day by the energetic traveler. But you, whose command is not confined by earthly boundaries but reaches the heavens, by sharing between you such great might and power, demonstrate a divine and truly immortal loyalty
2 which no covetousness disturbs. Yet you see, Emperor, that I cannot find anything with which to compare you in all antiquity unless it be
3 the example of the race of Hercules. For even Alexander the Great now seems insignificant to me for restoring his realm to the Indian king when so many kings, O Emperor, are your clients, when Gennoboudes recovered
4 his kingdom, thanks to you, indeed received it from you as a gift.[35] For what else did he seek by coming into your presence with all his people other than that he should reign at last with unimpaired authority, now
5 that he had appeased you? He displayed you repeatedly, I hear, to his people, and ordered them to rest their gaze upon you for a long time,
6 and to learn submissiveness, since he himself was subject to you. In the same manner the Great King of Persia,[36] who has never before deigned to

Iovius-Herculius cognomina did not signify a hierarchy (pp. 95ff.). This would solve the "problem" of Constantius Herculius apparently outranking Galerius Iovius (see the Introduction). In response to those arguing that this panegyric is a poor guide to the official position, as it is delivered to Maximian and may be expected to flatter him, Kolb replies that the coins demonstrate the equality of the two Augusti, and that they do reflect official views (pp. 102ff.).

"Not any resemblance of features": Later, in official portraiture, the Tetrarchs do lose their individuality and are depicted in idealized fashion (see P. Bastien, "Vers un portrait tétrarchique," *RBN* 124 [1978] 73–80).

35. *Pan.* 11.5.4, enumerating the recent victories of Diocletian and Maximian, has at this point "the Franks coming with their king to seek peace," which must be a reference to Gennoboudes. This identifies him as a Frank (*PLRE* I cites a Genobaudes, a Frank, for the year 388; Gregory of Tours *HF* 2.9). The Frankish kingdom was then situated on the right bank of the middle and lower Rhine. Gennoboudes now becomes a client king.

36. The "Great King" who, it is claimed, made supplication—i.e., performed προσκύνησις or *adoratio*—to Diocletian, bearing gifts and submitting to Rome, is Bahram II. Diocletian spent the summer of 286 in Palestine (Barnes, *New Empire*, 50–51), perhaps with a considerable military force. In 287 (the third year of Diocletian's reign), Armenian sources speak of an Armenian settlement. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 161–63, hypothesizes that Bahram anticipated a Roman invasion, which he was ill prepared to meet because of internal problems,

confess that he is but a man, makes supplication to your throws open the whole of his Kingdom to him, if he shou worthy to enter. He offers him, besides, marvelous things of var and sends him wild beasts of extraordinary beauty. Content to re the name of friend, he earns it by his submission.

Your harmony has this result, invincible princes, that even Fortune 11
responds to you with an equally great measure of success. For you rule the State with one mind, nor does the great distance which separates you hinder you from governing, so to speak, with right hands clasped. Thus, 2
although your doubled divinity increases your royal majesty, by your unanimity you retain the advantage of an undivided empire. Wherefore, 3
if it is not idly that the Greek poets promise to men who cultivate justice a twofold increase in their flocks and double yields from their orchards, now everything ought to be doubled for people everywhere whose masters so scrupulously nurture justice and harmony.

You indeed, Emperor, so earnestly hold that harmony is a virtue 4
that you have bound to you by ties of friendship and marriage even

and consequently made peace on terms that favored Rome, ceding Mesopotamia and allowing the restoration of a Roman puppet (Tiridates III) to the throne of at least part of Armenia (see Barnes, *New Empire*, 51, and n. 27; W. Felix, *Antike literarische Quellen zur Aussenpolitik des Sasanidenstaates* [Vienna, 1985] 106–7; Dodgeon and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*, 122. Moses of Khorene dates the restoration of Trdat, Tiridates III, to the third year of Diocletian's reign: viz. 287). W. Enßlin, *Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletian* (Munich, 1942) 12ff., denies the existence of a treaty at all. Felix (p. 105) points out that the panegyrist does not mention any actual surrender of territory by the Great King, and cites Amm. Marc. 17.5.6, Festus 25, and Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.33 in support of his argument that Mesopotamia was not yielded to Rome (see Enßlin, p. 42). The Paikuli inscription of Narses shows that Assuristan (Babylonia) at least was in Persian hands, but says nothing of Nisibis and Singara, which were probably held by the Romans (see Seston, p. 163). A peace treaty may have simply confirmed the status quo in Mesopotamia. But the panegyrist had something to boast of, for with a puppet on the Armenian throne and with control of the more populous parts of "Upper" Mesopotamia, Rome was in a strong position; *Pan.* 11.6.6 (291) claims the Tigris as Roman; cf. *Pan.* 8.3.3: *Partho quippe ultra Tigrim redacto.* It is the panegyrics that are the most important evidence for the Tigris rather than the Euphrates being the frontier before the invasion of Narses.

37. This is προσκύνησις or *adoratio*, falling on one's knees, prostrating oneself, hem- and sandal-kissing. See the Introduction, p. 52.

10 However, even if they could have discovered the distinction between
them, it would have been less remarkable to have shared the government
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the energetic traveler. But you, whose command is not confined by
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confess that he is but a man, makes supplication to your brother[37] and
throws open the whole of his Kingdom to him, if he should consider it
worthy to enter. He offers him, besides, marvelous things of various kinds 7
and sends him wild beasts of extraordinary beauty. Content to request
the name of friend, he earns it by his submission.
Your harmony has this result, invincible princes, that even Fortune 11
responds to you with an equally great measure of success. For you rule
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and consequently made peace on terms that favored Rome, ceding Mesopotamia and allowing the restoration of a Roman puppet (Tiridates III) to the throne of at least part of Armenia (see Barnes, *New Empire*, 51, and n. 27; W. Felix, *Antike literarische Quellen zur Aussenpolitik des Sasanidenstaates* [Vienna, 1985] 106–7; Dodgeon and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*, 122. Moses of Khorene dates the restoration of Trdat, Tiridates III, to the third year of Diocletian's reign: viz. 287). W. Enßlin, *Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletian* (Munich, 1942) 12ff., denies the existence of a treaty at all. Felix (p. 105) points out that the panegyrist does not mention any actual surrender of territory by the Great King, and cites Amm. Marc. 17.5.6, Festus 25, and Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.33 in support of his argument that Mesopotamia was not yielded to Rome (see Enßlin, p. 42). The Paikuli inscription of Narses shows that Assuristan (Babylonia) at least was in Persian hands, but says nothing of Nisibis and Singara, which were probably held by the Romans (see Seston, p. 163). A peace treaty may have simply confirmed the status quo in Mesopotamia. But the panegyrist had something to boast of, for with a puppet on the Armenian throne and with control of the more populous parts of "Upper" Mesopotamia, Rome was in a strong position; *Pan.* 11.6.6 (291) claims the Tigris as Roman; cf. *Pan.* 8.3.3: *Partho quippe ultra Tigrim redacto*. It is the panegyrics that are the most important evidence for the Tigris rather than the Euphrates being the frontier before the invasion of Narses.

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those who perform the highest office in your entourage,[38] thinking it a

38. This reference to marriage ties has caused a great deal of speculation. If the singular *officio* is to be taken literally, the "highest office" must refer to the praetorian prefecture. "Those who perform" and "leadership of such men" would then obscure the fact that the panegyrist had one man in mind. It must be admitted that the list of men known to be connected with Maximian is not long. Who is meant?

It is tempting to bring forward the name of Constantius, Constantine the Great's father, who married Theodora, Maximian's daughter or stepdaughter, and had six children by her, Constantine's half brothers (cf. Eutr. 9.22; *Epit.* 39.2, 40.12; Anon. Val. 1.2; Philostorgius *Hist. eccl.* 2.16[a]; Barnes, *New Empire*, 33, 125–26). These included a Eutropia and a Hannibalianus. This would have interesting political implications. The fourth-century epitomes and breviaria imply that Constantius' marriage with Theodora (and putting away of Helena) came upon his appointment as Caesar in 293 (Eutr. 9.22; *Epit.* 39.2; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.24–25), but they telescope the events of several years, including, perhaps, the appointment of the two Caesars, which may have been some months apart.

But if Constantius were indeed married to Theodora by 288–289, the date of our panegyric, then he had been Maximian's son-in-law for at least four years when he was promoted Caesar in 293. Was he also his praetorian prefect? There is no explicit evidence for his holding the post, but he had been governor of Dalmatia under Carus (SHA, *Carus* 17.6; Anon. Val. 1.2) and might well have been promoted in the interval. That he was serving in some influential capacity under Maximian before 293 is clear from *Pan.* 8.1.5–2.1. Nevertheless it is odd, if he were praetorian prefect, that Anon. Val. does not mention it. For the whole question see Barnes, pp. 125–26. If this view is accepted, Constantius would then be very much Maximian's man. As we have seen (in the Introduction), Constantius was the senior Caesar, i.e., senior to Galerius. Was the "Tetrarchy," far from being Diocletian's deliberate plan, his response to Maximian's initiative? Could it be that Maximian appointed his relative and protégé Caesar without consulting the senior Augustus? With his son-in-law as Caesar, and a young son by his wife, Eutropia, Maximian might be seen to be building a dynasty in the West. Was Diocletian's response to appoint his man Galerius Caesar a few months later? Were relations between Diocletian and Maximian less harmonious, or at least less paternal and filial, than contemporaries, terrified of a renewal of civil war, insist? So König (see the Introduction, pp. 43–44).

Another candidate (favored by *PLRE* I, Hannibalianus 3) is Afranius Hannibalianus, whom we know to have been a praetorian prefect (ca. 286–292). His claim rests on his holding of this office—one of the very few names we have in this period—and the fact that one of the sons of Constantius and Theodora was named Hannibalianus. How did he get this name? One possibility is that he

very fine thing to have them held to your side, not through the obsequiousness inspired by fear, but through pledges inspired by dutiful affection. Under the leadership of such men, although with the aid of your most favorable auspices, that pliant and treacherous race of barbarians was crushed as it deserved.[39] This is to your credit, Emperor, 5
yours, for even what is carried out by others originates with you. For 6
just as all useful things produced in the heavens or on land seem to come to pass for us through the agency of different divinities but nevertheless flow from the supreme creators, Jupiter, ruler of the heavens, and Hercules, pacifier of the Earth, so in all the most splendid exploits, even those carried out under the leadership of others, Diocletian makes †the decisions†,[40] and you carry them out. It is through 7

was the first husband of Eutropia, Theodora's mother, and that Constantius and Theodora named two of their children after their mother's grandparents Eutropia and Hannibalianus. But as Barnes points out (p. 33), *vota pietatis* ("pledges inspired by dutiful affection") is better explained in the person of a son-in-law than in that of the former husband of one's wife!

39. Presumably the Franks, who had this reputation; cf. SHA, *Firmus* 13.4: *Francis, quibus familiare est ridendo fidem frangere* ("the Franks, whose custom it is to break faith with a laugh"). It is commonly assumed (e.g., Galletier, 1: 34 n. 3) that they were now in alliance with Carausius. This is by no means certain (see N. Shiel, *The Episode of Carausius and Allectus*, BAR 40 [Oxford, 1977] 4), but in the list of Maximian's victories in *Pan.* 11.7.2 the phrase *domitis oppressa Francis bella piratica* might be held to bracket Carausius and the Franks.

The campaign against the Franks, not undertaken by Maximian in person ("under the leadership of such men": i.e., presumably Constantius), is a current one: Maximian's troops have now reached the ocean in victory—probably near the mouth of the Rhine. The extent of Carausius' holdings on the mainland is debated; see P. J. Casey, "Carausius and Allectus—Rulers in Gaul?" *Britannia* 8 (1977) 283–301 (though some of his conclusions seem rash); Shiel; and the commentary on *Pan.* 8.

If we date the speech to 289, the campaign against the Franks will have taken place in the summer of 288. Simultaneously a fleet was being prepared for the invasion of Britain in the following year, which may account for Maximian's delegation of the campaign against the Franks to others. (The fleet took almost a year to build: 12.4.)

40. Mynors prints *Diocletianus †facit* and notes "alius aliud supplet." Galletier supplies *initium.* The "translation" offered takes up the speaker's analogy with Jupiter, ruler of the heavens, and Hercules, pacifier of the earth, at the cost of making Maximian rather more subservient than he appears in other passages in the speech, as Kolb has demonstrated. Kolb insists that even if a supplement

your good fortune, through your felicity, Emperor, that your soldiers have already reached the Ocean in victory, and that already the receding waves have swallowed up the blood of enemies slain upon that shore.[41]

12 In what frame of mind is that pirate now, when he can see your armies on the point of penetrating that channel (which has been the only reason his death has been delayed until now)[42] and, forgetting their
2 ships, pursuing the receding sea where it gives way before them? What island more remote, what other Ocean, can he hope for now? By what means can he finally escape the punishment he owes the State unless he is swallowed up by the earth and devoured, or snatched away by some whirlwind onto inaccessible crags?

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like *initium* is adopted, Maximian is not to be seen as subordinate (*Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 97).

41. Maximian's forces had defeated Carausius' allies on the Continent but could not pursue them without a fleet. Carausius had commandeered all available ships (cf. *Pan.* 8.12.1).

42. The "pirate" is Carausius, who, like the Bagaudae, is never mentioned by name—standard treatment for a usurper. Eutropius (9.22.2) gives him a *regnum* of seven years and claims that after unsuccessful campaigns against him peace was made. His coins reveal his aspirations to make the Dyarchy a Triarchy: CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI (jugate busts) PAX AVGGG, the FRATRES SVI falling in with the terminology of Diocletian and Maximian. These coins, and a passage in Victor, may be held to confirm Eutropius' claim (*Caes.* 39.39: "To Carausius alone was *imperium* over his island conceded"). Victor gives him a six-year rule—Allectus lasted "a short time" before succumbing to Constantius. In fact after the failure of the expedition of 289 there was not much the central government could do about Carausius. But this is not to say it formally acknowledged him—Carausius refers to Diocletian and Maximian on his coins; Diocletian and Maximian do not reciprocate! Some of his coins give his name as M. Aurelius Maus[aeus] Carausius, but nothing guarantees that the first two were bestowed upon him by Diocletian or Maximian. For further information about Carausius and the invasion of Britain, see *Pan.* 8; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.20–21, 39–42; Eutr. 9.21–22.

Carausius was in fact killed by his henchman Allectus some time after the fall of Boulogne, which Constantius took in 293. For further discussion of the chronology see the Introduction to *Pan.* 8 and notes 46 and 47 to *Pan.* 8.12.2. Whether Carausius' mutiny be dated to 286 or 287, some time elapsed before Maximian was ready to deal with him; he had been too busy campaigning against the Bagaudae and the Germans.

The most beautiful fleets have been built, which are about to reach the 3
Ocean simultaneously via every river.[43] And not only have men vied with each other in laboring to finish them, but the rivers have risen suddenly to receive them as well. Throughout almost the whole year, O Emperor, 4
when you needed fine weather in order to construct the ships, to cut the beams, to encourage the morale of the craftsmen and to prevent their hands from slackening, almost no day was marred by rain. Winter itself 5
imitated the mildness of Spring. We have imagined that we no longer live in northern climes, but by some transference of stars or earth we have been experiencing the balminess of the southern sky.

This river of ours,[44] deprived for long of the nourishment of rains, 6
would not cope with ships but could carry down only the material for your naval construction. But behold! Suddenly when it was needful to launch the war craft, Earth put forth its copious springs for you; for you Jupiter poured forth rains in abundance; for you Ocean overflowed all the riverbanks. And so the boats, set in motion by only a light push from 7
their crews, made their way over waters which sustained them willingly, and for this auspicious beginning there was more need for a sea shanty than for actual effort. Thus anyone at all may easily perceive what great 8
success is likely to await you in this maritime venture, considering what a favorable bout of weather has already gratified you.[45]

Fortunate Rome, under leaders such as these (for it is right that we 13
finish this pious duty of speechmaking where we commenced); fortunate, I say, and much more fortunate than under your Remus and Romulus. For 2
they, although they were brothers and twins, quarreled nonetheless as to which would give you his name, and took separate hills and auspices. But

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43. Why did Maximian build his fleet inland, on rivers? This might suggest that Carausius controlled the Channel (see, for example, S. Johnson, *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore* [London, 1976] 104). Whether Carausius actually held territory in Gaul in 289, as Johnson and others believe, is disputed; 11.7 above might be held to imply that he did not. See, further, the Introduction to *Pan.* 8.

44. Almost certainly the Mosel, on which Trier stands (see the Introduction, p. 42).

45. The report one might have expected in *Pan.* 11 is nowhere to be found, a sure sign of disaster, as is the continuation of Carausius' island rule. An explanation is furnished, it is commonly argued, by the panegyrist of 297 (8.12.2): a storm destroyed the armada (so Galletier, 1: 43 and 92 n. 1)! That would presumably be the official story, told to mask some miscalculation or ineptitude on the part of Maximian. But there is reason to think that that passage may be an allusion to later events; see, further, *Pan.* 8 ad loc.

these preservers of yours, Rome (although your Empire is now greater by as much as the inhabited world is more extensive than the old *pomerium*), vie for you with no jealousy. These rulers, as soon as they return to you in triumph, wish to be conveyed in the one chariot,[46] to ascend the
3 Capitol together, to dwell on the Palatine together.[47] Use, I beseech you, the cognomen of each of your Emperors, since you are not compelled to make a choice. Now you may be called at the same time both Herculia and Iovia.

4 O Emperor, how much more majestic would that City now be, how much better would she celebrate this her birthday, if she were viewing you, surrounded by your Senate, on that famous citadel of Jupiter Capitolinus. Now, doubtless, her citizens are imagining that you are present by flocking to the temples to your divinities and following the practice instituted by our ancestors, by repeatedly invoking Jupiter Stator and Hercules Victor.[48]
5 For this name was once given that god by the man who defeated pirates in a merchant vessel, and heard, from Hercules himself, during his sleep, that he had won the victory with his help.[49] So it is, O most sacred Emperor, that for many centuries it has been among the duties of your divinity to overcome pirates.

But surely that day will soon dawn, when Rome sees you victorious, **14**
and, alert at your right hand, your son,[50] born with every endowment of talent for a study of the liberal arts, whom some lucky teacher awaits.[51]
It will be no great labor for him to encourage in this divine and immortal 2
scion a yearning for glory. It will not be necessary to put forward the examples of the Camilli, Maximi, Curii and Catones for imitation. Rather let him point out your deeds to the youth, and repeatedly and continually display you as living and best examples of the imperial system. Meanwhile, 3
mistress of nations, since state business keeps this most longed-for ruler in his Gallic realms, we beseech you, if it can be done, that you not be jealous of this city, on whom that man now confers a majesty similar to your own by celebrating your birthday with that customary magnificence which is your due. And you yourself, O Emperor, we beseech that even 4
when you have reestablished the security of the whole world, and when the mother of your Empire has received you, you will loosen from time to time with dutiful hands her clinging embrace. May you frequently make radiant with your presence these your provinces (I believe that the East makes this very same request of Diocletian), and may you render them, flourish though they may in the profoundest peace, even happier with the advent of your divinity. You perceive, O Emperor, how much power 5
there is in the heavenly benefits you have conferred upon us: we still enjoy your presence; we already long for your return.

46. A symbol of their harmony. They traveled thus to Milan in the winter of 290–291 (*Pan.* 11.11.3–4). This concern of the panegyrist for harmony is not absurd, but must be seen against a background of fifty years of political instability and civil war.

47. This wish, attributed to Diocletian and Maximian on who knows what grounds, demonstrates that "Mamertinus" at least considered it proper for the emperors to reside together in Rome, "the mother of your Empire" (14.4), "the eternal city" (1.4), and indeed assumed that as soon as conditions allowed they would do so (14.4). In this his expectations were disappointed. Diocletian and Maximian spent little time in Rome. Diocletian did celebrate his *vicennalia* there, on 20 November 303, but, "unable to bear the freedom of speech [*libertas*] of the Roman people, petulantly and peevishly burst away from the city" (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 17.2).

Maximian was undoubtedly present at the *vicennalia* too, although no source says so explicitly (see C. E. V. Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307 and Maximian's Visits to Rome," *Phoenix* 35 [1981] 70–76). Although based in the West, Maximian may not have visited Rome until 298 (but cf. Barnes, *New Empire*, 58, at 289–290). In the winter of 290–291 Diocletian and Maximian met and conferred in Milan, without going on to Rome (cf. *Pan.* 11.11–12). Milan, Trier, and even Aquileia saw more of him than Rome.

48. The Temple of Jupiter Stator was on the Via Sacra near the Arch of Titus, that of Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium; see E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, rev. ed. (London, 1968) 1: 534 and 472ff. respectively.

49. A very pointed reference to one Octavius Herrenus, whose story is told by Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.363 and by Macrob. *Sat.* 3.6.11.

50. Maxentius, his son by Eutropia. Is it fair to conclude that "Mamertinus" knows of no plans for a tetrarchy, or succession by adoption? Although he does not say so in as many words (perhaps because of Constantius' position; see above, on 11.4), he seems to imply that "this divine and immortal scion" will be groomed to succeed his father when he comes of age. We have no external evidence for his date of birth, but he is obviously still a small child in 288–289 (cf. Barnes, *New Empire*, 34, suggesting he was born ca. 283). Of course the speaker's lack of knowledge of any plans for a tetrarchy tell us nothing about Diocletian's intentions. There is no mention in *Pan.* 11 of Maxentius, which may suggest at least that Maximian was not voicing any dynastic hopes he may have entertained.

51. Does the orator drop a hint? It is not unlikely that "Mamertinus" was himself a teacher of rhetoric, and rhetors, of course, might well look forward to an appointment at court to tutor a prince—one thinks immediately of Lactantius and Crispus, and Ausonius and Gratian.

XI

GENETHLIACUS OF MAXIMIAN AUGUSTUS

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

The author of *Panegyric* 11 has usually been identified with the author of *Panegyric* 10, and the name Mamertinus assigned him/them. This commentator finds the name even more unlikely than the identity (see the section "The Question of Authorship" in the General Introduction) and will not call the present writer Mamertinus. Like many another practitioner of encomiastic oratory, this panegyrist has performed in the imperial presence (Maximian's) before (1.2, 5.1). Except for the clear indication given in the first section that the orator was an habitué of the speaker's platform (note that he had also composed an oration for Maximian's *quinquennalia*), there is no other reference to himself, not even a hint of his native city. Since Maximian celebrated his birthday with games (3.7), presumably the festivities were staged at Trier, the primary imperial residence in the northwest at this period.

OCCASION AND DATE

The date of the oration has invited much speculation. The orator states that he had composed an oration for Maximian's *quinquennalia* but never had occasion to deliver it (1.1). According to Eutropius 9.22.1,

Maximian became Augustus after a term as Caesar. His initial appointment fell in 285; his promotion probably occurred on 1 April 286, as in the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*.[1] Thus the *quinquennalia* that had passed fell either in 289 or in 290, depending upon whether Maximian calculated his *dies imperii* from the date of his appointment as Caesar or from his promotion to Augustus.[2] It is reasonable to suppose that the orator has missed the termination of the *quinquennalia* as well, no matter what their date, or he might have employed his unused oration then, assuming that there is no reason why an oration composed for the beginning of the *quinquennalia* cannot also be used at its end (the orator says that he is saving it for the *decennalia*).

The speaker refers to Maximian's journey to Milan in December 290 (2.4, 4.2, all of sections 8–12); by 18 February 291 the emperor was at Durocortorum (Reims),[3] no great distance from Trier. The only temporal clues come at 2.4 and 8.1, where the orator avers that the rulers' subjects recently (*nuper* and *proxime* respectively) had grounds for complaint in their worry over the winter journey to Milan. One cannot give a precise terminus to the adverbs *nuper* and *proxime*. The orator may fairly use these adverbs until at least the next journey, the next exploit of another type, or the next occurrence of the same season.

The oration is a birthday address, as the title *Genethliacus* and the pronouncement of the opening sentence (*natalis praedicatione*) indicate. There are, however, two points of dispute: the birthday itself and its date.[4] Roman emperors celebrated more than one kind of *natalis*: there were both the date of birth and the date of accession. The orator spoke on what he termed (according to MS H) Maximian's *genuinus natalis*, his date of birth, which he contrasted (2.2) with the *dies imperii* (also known as a *natalis imperii*). Editors, following a different manuscript tradition, have traditionally read *geminus* for *genuinus*; but the reading *geminus* poses a difficulty: one must explain how the rulers came to have a "twin birthday."

1. See A. Chastagnol, "Les années régnales de Maximien Hercule en Egypte et les fêtes vicennales du 20 novembre 303," *RN*[6] 9 (1967) 56 and n. 3; T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) 4 n. 5.

2. Cf. Barnes, *New Empire*, 4 nn. 5 and 6, 58 n. 52. On *quinquennalia* see further at note 5 of the commentary.

3. *Frag. Vat.* 315; see Barnes, *New Empire*, 58 n. 51.

4. The best recent treatments of the problem are by C. E. V. Nixon, "The 'Epiphany' of the Tetrarchs? An Examination of Mamertinus' Panegyric of 291," *TAPA* 111 (1981) 157–66, and F. Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie* (Berlin, 1987) 52–67. The argument followed here is Nixon's; see further at note 2.

Various solutions have been and continue to be proposed. If the emperors had happened to have been born on the same day of the year, someone of their contemporaries would have remarked upon the coincidence. O. Schäfer suggested that the emperors celebrated each other's birthday.[5] W. Seston argued that this twin birthday was the day on which Diocletian and Maximian assumed the titles Iovius and Herculius and that their joint epiphany was marked as another natal occasion.[6] E. Wistrand and C. E. V. Nixon have argued that one should preserve the reading *genuinus natalis* and give the phrase its natural interpretation.[7] This translation uses the reading *genuinus*: the orator is speaking on the anniversary of Maximian's birth.

Diocletian's birthday is now known (from *PBeatty Panopolis*) to be 22 December.[8] As noted above, if Maximian had happened to have been born on the same day, the panegyrist would surely have said something (or rather, quite a lot) about the coincidence. Many have accepted 21 July, which occurs as a day of imperial celebration (in the West) in the *Passio Marcelli centurionis* (*AB* 41 [1923] 257–87), as the day of the *geminus/genuinus natalis*, whatever their interpretation of the occasion.[9] T. D. Barnes,[10] however, believes that the portion of the *Passio Marcelli* in which the words *natalis genuini dominorum nostrorum*, etc., occur is an interpolation and that the authoritative portion of the document gives the occasion as the *diem festum imperatoris vestri*. This *dies festus* he interprets as Maximian's elevation to Caesar. But if Maximian still celebrated in the 290s his appointment as Caesar, one must conclude that he used this occasion, not 1 April, the date of his promotion to Augustus, as his *dies imperii*. It is without precedent for a ruler to have two. If 21 July 285 marked his accession, his *quinquennalia* fell on 21 July 289, and his first *lustrum* was completed in 290. The orator's unused oration would have been well out of date by 291, and the present occasion could be any time after Maximian's return from Milan until the end of 291. *Nuper* and *proxime* preclude 292. But

5. "Die beiden Panegyrici des Mamertinus und die Geschichte des Kaisers Maximianus Herculius" (Diss., Strassburg, 1914) 105.

6. "Iovius et Herculius ou l''épiphanie' des Tétrarques," *Historia* 1 (1950) 257–59.

7. E. Wistrand, "A Note on the *Geminus Natalis* of Emperor Maximian," *Eranos* 62 (1964) 131–45 (= *Opera selecta* [Lund, 1972] 427–41); Nixon, "'Epiphany' of the Tetrarchs?" 157–66.

8. See Barnes, *New Empire*, 30–31, for references and discussion.

9. See Galletier, 1: 11 ("plausible"), and Nixon, "'Epiphany' of the Tetrarchs?" 163.

10. *New Empire*, 4 n. 5 and 178 n. 16.

no source gives enough information about either Diocletian or Maximian to date this oration more closely in the year 291. Finally, it is not clear to me why a *dies festus* cannot be a birthday.[11]

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Compared to the earlier panegyric of Maximian, the present oration contributes little to an historical narrative. There are a few brief notices of the past two years' campaigns, specifically Diocletian's battles against the Sarmatians and Saracens in Pannonia and Syria respectively (4.2 and 7.1). Maximian had toured the towns of Gaul (4.2), a worthy if not newsworthy enterprise, both expensive for the host cities and a valuable opportunity for people who might never hope to see their petitions of any sort properly addressed except by an emperor in person. The orator adds a few details to old information at 5.3 and 7.1–2, the most interesting being the inclusion of the Franks with the "pirates" under Carausius, the usurper in Britain.[12] The orator includes a catalogue of the troubles that nations outside of the Empire have with each other, including a civil war in Sassanid Persia (17). Maximian has made no progress against Carausius, not that the speaker says as much. Near the very end (19.5), however, he predicts a naval victory, and this two years after the orator of 289 had foreseen the same event. The argument from silence is sufficient.

The panegyrist's avowed topic is not accomplishments but attributes, the emperors' *pietas* and *felicitas*.[13] The centerpiece of the panegyric is the rulers' descent on Milan in the winter of 290/291 (8–12). The bare facts, that the journey was undertaken in the dead of winter but felicitously completed (2.4, 4.2, 9.2), are less interesting than the reasons for the conference and its effect upon those fortunate enough to observe the two majesties together. The orator introduces the meeting with praise of the Dyarchs' generous and fraternal harmony (6–7). Interwoven with proclamations of unanimity one finds subtle arguments for Maximian's equality with his colleague (e.g., 6.7, 10.5, and 14.4, with notes), which may owe their inclusion to a number of causes, including the speaker's local pride. The oration is adorned with a number of Jovian/Herculian theological messages, most of which stress the rulers' divine parentage (2.3–4, 3.2, 3.4, 3.8). It is worthy of note that Jupiter, being Hercules' father, is Maximian's ancestor (3.2) as well as Diocletian's (3.4). While

11. See note 33 to *Pan.* 7.

12. See *Pan.* 10.11.4–12.8 with notes.

13. Advertised in every inscribed imperial title (PF); see 6.1 below and note.

imperial immortality is a given (6.4–5, 8.4), the panegyrist also turns ancestry into identity, the dominant principle of the second half of the speech (10.4–5, 13.5, 14.3–4). The equation shows not only that Iovius and Herculius are equivalent to their namesakes but that Maximian and Diocletian are equals.

In view of the date of the meeting at Milan Diocletian and Maximian must have considered what was to be done about Carausius. Two years later they announced the appointment of the two Caesars, their assistants. Two years is not too long a time to choose and test candidates, and Maximian, at least, needed assistance.[14] Although subsequent events make it reasonable to suppose that the emperors discussed the burdens of an unwieldy empire and addressed possible solutions, there is no way to tell.[15] A show of unanimity was the most immediate, and perhaps the only, aim of the conference. Most modern authorities infer that Diocletian considered his ultimate solution only afterward.[16]

14. Cf. Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 70–71.
15. See note 53.
16. Cf. T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981) 8.

XI. GENETHLIACUS OF MAXIMIAN AUGUSTUS

All men, most sacred Emperor, who sing praises and give thanks to 1
Your Majesties, attempt to repay you a debt (who is there who could succeed?); yet I feel that I in particular owe this duty[1] of respectful address because of what one might call an obligation of sacred interest: I intend to make good the expectation of the oration which I had prepared for the fifth anniversary of your accession by this encomium on your birthday,[2] and by scrupulous fulfillment of the debt discharge today the service of speaking which I had promised then. I had prayed, however, most sacred 2
Emperor, and hoped for something far less than the honor[3] which you

1. Cf. Cic. *Leg.* 1.8: *intellego equidem a me istum laborem iam diu postulari.*

2. The date is (probably) 21 July 291, after not only the beginning but the end of Maximian's fifth year of reign. Here, at 2.2, 19.1, and 19.3 I read *genuinus* for *geminus* of the printed text: see the Introduction. The idea of a birthday would pose no problem if the editors of the *Panegyrici* had followed the readings of MS H and printed *genuinus* (in the appropriate case) before each instance of *natalis*. The printed words *geminus natalis* (twin birthday) are intended to avoid the difficulties of the expression *genuinus natalis*, which is a rare, but attested, manner of indicating one's day of birth (see Nixon, "'Epiphany' of the Tetrarchs?" 163). Seston, "Iovius et Herculius," 257–59, argued that 21 July was the day on which Diocletian and Maximian assumed the titles Iovius and Herculius and that their joint epiphany was marked as another natal occasion. Galletier (1: 11, 50 n. 2; 2: suppl. note to vol. 1) and Chastagnol ("Les années régnales de Maximien Hercule," 59) have accepted the theory. Some time ago, Wistrand ("The *Geminus Natalis* of Emperor Maximian," 131–45 = *Opera selecta*, 427–41) effectively argued for a return to a more natural interpretation of the revelation of imperial divinity, and Nixon has more recently discussed the case with additional arguments and an autopsy of MS H.

3. This may provide an argument for Otto Seeck's conjecture (see the section "The Question of Authorship" in the General Introduction) that the words *magistri †memet* represent a corruption of *magistri mem⟨oriae⟩ et ⟨rhetoris latini⟩*. The speaker has clearly been awarded something, yet the honor of which he speaks cannot be merely an opportunity to speak again (his original wish), for the honor in question is greater than what he had wished for. The word *honor*, moreover, may indicate a public or administrative office, as at *Pan.* 3.1.3, 3.2.2, 3.22.2, of 362. Indeed, if the present author had displayed some of Claudius Mamertinus' effusive joy and delight in detailing the titles and particulars of his offices, we would not be reduced to speculation. Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste*

have conferred upon me (for why should I feel so much confidence in myself or conceive so shameless a desire as to dare to wish for as much as I have obtained by your judgment?). I repeat, I had prayed especially that you hear me again with the same regard with which you heard me before, since it seemed to me that the greatest reward for speaking in the presence
3 of so great a deity[4] was speaking itself. I rejoice, therefore, if it is right to confess it, that the attainment of my desire was delayed. For I shall not suffer the loss of the speech which I had composed, but I am saving it to deliver on your tenth anniversary when another five years have elapsed, since for any five-year anniversary the same oration will suffice.[5]

2 Indeed, unless each celebration of the days consecrated to you[6] blinds my senses in turn by its majesty, this day seems to me more distinguished and more worthy of honor, the day which first brought you forth into
2 the light.[7] Those days on which you assumed imperial power are sacred

Tetrarchie, 52–67, has a full discussion of the *natalis* question. He prefers *geminus* as a *lectio difficilior* and interprets it as the birthday of the *numen et imperator.*

4. I regularly translate *numen* as "deity." The panegyrists use the word not only as an objective term, as here, but in direct address. See the chart in B. Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Historia* 35 (1986) 104.

5. This entertaining suggestion is not true in all cases, but a remarkable temporal vagueness does suffuse certain surviving examples of the genre. For example, *Pan.* 5 was delivered when Constantine's fifth year had just come to an end (5.13.1–2); it is a *gratiarum actio* for the emperor's benefits to the city of Autun, and the speaker strays not at all from that topic to deliver praise for his ruler's other achievements. In 321, Nazarius spoke on the occasion of the Caesars' (Crispus and Constantinus) *quinquennalia* (*Pan.* 4.1.1; Crispus and Constantine II were made Caesars on 1 March 317), when Constantine's fifteenth year had been completed (*Pan.* 4.2.2). Aside from a few sentences about Crispus' military endeavors, Nazarius focuses on Constantine's liberation of Rome from Maxentius in 312 and events immediately thereafter. The emperors' five-year anniversaries were celebrated at both the commencement and the completion of the year; when there is no further indication that the whole five years or multiple thereof has elapsed, the word *quinquennalia* (or *decennalia* or whatever) means the beginning of the fifth (tenth, etc.) year.

6. This phrase (*dicatorum vobis dierum proxima quaeque veneratio*) refers not to any specific recent celebration but to the effect that each occasion has upon the speaker's sensibilities. The word *proxima* does not stand alone but with *quaeque*: "as each one [and there were many] comes round."

7. This sentence is enough to indicate that a physical birth is meant; the only other possible explanation is that the *lux* = *lux imperii/imperialis*, but that

and venerable because they proclaimed such rulers; but surely on your real birthdays were born those virtues with which you adorn the power itself. And as often, most sacred Emperor, as these days return with the 3
passing year, we observe them with the veneration due to you as well as to your deities,[8] since you prove that you are born of the gods by your 4
names, of course, but far more by your abilities. The force of divinity itself keeps the tireless movements and impulses of your abilities in motion,[9] a force which leads you on travels so extensive throughout the whole world which you rule, that it recently incited us, always anxious because of our affection for you, to take the liberty of a well-meant complaint, when with longing and love for you we followed your journeys,[10] on the very days of the winter solstice, through heaven's neighbors, the Alpine mountains with which Nature has fortified Italy, through their rocky places and dense snows harder than rocks, and we thought you suffered an injury of which in your strength you are not sensible.

Still, we have restored reason to our uneasy minds, and after thor- 3
ough investigation of the truth we realize why you never wish to remain at leisure. He assuredly would not allow it: I mean that heavenly founder, or 2
parent, of your family.[11] Now first of all, whatever is immortal does not know how to stand still, and eternity preserves itself by ceaseless motion.[12]

meaning would require the occasion to be the rulers' accession, the *dies imperii*. In the next breath the author contrasts the *dies imperii* and the *natalis*.

8. As opposed to the usual direct, or ambivalent, equation between emperors and *numina*, the word here includes the actual deities Jupiter and Hercules. This recognition notwithstanding, the orator does not avoid ambiguity, although he renounces it at the end of section 10, where Diocletian is seen to be the real Jupiter, and Maximian the real Hercules.

9. See 3.2 below, where the panegyrist discusses immortality and eternal motion.

10. Maximian and Diocletian met at Milan in the winter of 290/291. See below, 8–12. Mention of the winter solstice indicates that Maximian set out in December 290; what "recently" means is, as indicated in the Introduction to this oration, difficult to define precisely.

11. Jupiter. See Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation," 78.

12. The orator has reversed the causality; eternity is indicated, not preserved, by autokinesis; so Cic. *Tusc.* 1.66: "Thus whatever it is that has sensation, reasoning, life, and energy is heavenly and divine and therefore must be eternal. Nor can the very god who is perceived by us be perceived in any way other than as a kind of intelligence, independent and free, separate from any mortal matter, sensing and setting in motion all things and endowed with eternal motion";

3 Second, those parents of yours, who have given you both name and
empire,[13] are chiefly employed in the perpetual performance of tasks of
4 the highest importance. Indeed that god, Diocletian's ancestor,[14] besides
having expelled the Titans once from their occupation of heaven and
having engaged in war soon afterward against the two-formed monsters,[15]
governs with uninterrupted care his realm, peaceful though it is, and
revolves this enormous mass with tireless hand, and ever watchful pre-
5 serves the arrangement and succession of all things.[16] For it is not true
that he only bestirs himself on those occasions when he thunders and
hurls lightning bolts, but, if he has laid to rest the turbulent manifestations
of the elements, all the same he orders the Fates and exhales from his
peaceful breast those breezes which glide silently along, and hurries the
sun advancing opposite to the movement of heaven.[17]

Rep. 6.27ff. (= *Tusc.* 1.53ff.): "That which is always in motion is eternal, etc." (translation of Pl. *Phdr.* 245C); cf. *Sen.* 78. For other, and more philosophically accurate, versions of an emperor's constant activity and his divinity, see *Pan.* 12.22.1–2 (Constantine) and *Pan.* 2.10.1–2 (Theodosius).

13. The concept of rule by divine grace recurs in other panegyrics; see *Pan.* 4.2.6, 3.27.2; W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (Paris, 1946) 354–55; S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), 171–73. Diocletian was unique in relying upon not only the god's favor but the dynastic principle as well when he styled himself Iovius and his colleague Herculius. These adjectival appellations are not of the same order as an equation of oneself with a god.

14. *Auctor = progenitor* (exact generation unspecified): *TLL*, s.v. "auctor" IV.2, 1204.58–59.

15. An allusion to Jupiter's two contests for supreme power. The Titans were his father's siblings. If the context had something to do with Maximian's assistance (cf. *Pan.* 10.4.2), one might look for a veiled allusion to Carinus. The two-formed monsters were (1) the Giants of mythology, (2) the Bagaudae of panegyric (cf. *Pan.* 10.4.3).

16. Cf. Cic. *N. D.* 1.52: *sive in mundo deus inest aliquis qui regat, qui gubernet, qui cursus astrorum mutationes temporum rerum vicissitudines ordinesque conservet, terras et maria contemplans hominum commoda vitasque tueatur, ne ille est inplicatus molestis negotiis et operosis!* (Velleius the Epicurean on the Stoic god). The description of the Stoic god serves more than one panegyrist well, either to describe the distancing and power of both the supreme being and the emperor (cf. 14.2 below: *Iovis omnia esse* ⟨*plena*⟩, *id scilicet animo contemplatus, quamquam ipse Iuppiter summum caeli verticem teneat*, etc.) or to sympathize (sincerely, I imagine) with the emperor's less than enviable load of duties (e.g., *Pan.* 10.3.2–4).

17. Thus Phoebus describes some of his arduous journey to Phaethon: *nitor in adversum, nec me, qui cetera, vincit / impetus, et rapido contrarius evehor orbi* (Ov. *Met.*

And it is the same, Maximian, with your Hercules' power. I omit the 6
fact that while he was among men he pacified all lands and woods, freed
cities from merciless masters, even pulled down from the sky the winged
shafts of fearful birds, repressed too the fears of those below by abducting
their jailer;[18] surely after his adoption by the gods and marriage to Juventa[19]
he has been a no less constant advocate of excellence and promotes all
the works of brave men; in every contest he supports the more righteous
endeavors. Certainly during these days, when one celebrates the birth 7
of immortality,[20] we see him urge those summoned by the sacred games to
perform in stubborn rivalry many deeds like the Victor's[21] own. Most 8
sacred Emperor, both of your deities are so often employed in doing
something or getting something done that now we must set aside that
care which we felt on your behalf, since we see that you do not toil, but
imitate the gods who are your parents, and also since even the liveliness
of those regions which first cradled you calls forth the innate ardor of
your divine intelligence. For you were not born and raised in some quiet 9

2.72–73). (Another panegyrist uses the story of Phaethon actually to describe a young emperor; see *Pan.* 7.12.3.)

18. The first allusion is a general one, appropriate for Maximian's role in Gaul, to Hercules' reputation as a civilizer or peacemaker. Suppression of bad kings, whether Busiris (see Cic. *Rep.* 3.15 and Ov. *Met.* 9.182–83) or Carinus, is clearly laudable. The panegyrist selects the rest to illustrate that Hercules has removed objects of terror not only from earth but from sky and the underworld as well: he is a reassuring figure to both the living and the dead.

19. Hercules' is the first Greco-Roman instance of apotheosis and became an excellent example of the Roman Stoic ideal of service: see Cic. *Off.* 3.25. The orator's use of the spelling Iuventa for Hebe, the Greek goddess of youth, is rare for the usual Iuventas. He may have gotten it from Ovid (*Met.* 7.241; *Pont.* 1.10.12). The same form occurs in Tertullian and Ausonius (see *TLL*, s.v. I.C).

20. Schäfer, "Die beiden Panegyrici des Mamertinus," 36–37, followed by Nixon, "'Epiphany' of the Tetrarchs?" 162, suggests that Hercules' immortality is meant here, that Maximian was holding a festival for Hercules in conjunction with his birthday celebration. *Immortalitatis origo* is a very strange collocution but absolutely must not be taken literally (in Seston's sense: see note 2 above). To give immortality a beginning would contradict a basic condition of eternal existence as propounded by that philosophy to which this panegyrist apparently alludes in 3.2: Cic. *Rep.* 6.27 (*Tusc.* 1.54): *Principii autem nulla est origo; . . . motus principium . . . nec nasci potest nec mori.*

21. Cf. *Pan.* 10.13.4 with note 48: there was a temple at Rome dedicated to Hercules with this appellation.

part of the world, a land enfeebled by luxury, but in those provinces[22] whose border, exposed to the enemy (although a beaten one) and always arrayed in arms, has taught them the tireless habit of toil and patience, in provinces where all of life is military service, whose women even are braver than the men of other lands.[23]

4 Because of your ancestry and native education those things happen at which we often wonder, though occasionally in love's impatience we also feel apprehension: that we cannot count your travels, that you disdain to stay very long in the same place, that not only neither the charm of an area nor the renown of cities but not even the joy of your victories
2 keeps you back from your ceaseless course of accomplishments.[24] Syria had just seen him, then Pannonia received him.[25] You had just shed your luster upon the towns of Gaul when at once you passed over the summit of Hercules Monoecus.[26] You both, when we thought you busy in the East
3 and West, suddenly appeared [at Milan] in the lap of Italy. These are

22. Pannonia; cf. *Pan.* 10.2.2 with note ad loc.

23. The orator has fulfilled his obligations to the addressee's ancestry and native land, and in accordance with the usual advice: if the ancestry is undistinguished, make the ruler the offspring of a divinity. Praise the place of birth only if it is remarkable for something (Menander Rhetor *Second Treatise* 369–70). A border province is perfect for an emperor whose services and talents are primarily military.

24. For both style and sentiment see Cic. *Man.* 40: *Non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem*; and *Prov. cons.* 29: *Amoenitas eum, credo, locorum, urbium pulchritudo, hominum nationumque illarum humanitas et lepos, victoriae cupiditas, finium imperi propagatio retinet.* This topos is expanded by Symmachus *Or.* 1.15: *inter tot provincias partim situ amoenas partim pace iucundas aut urbium maiestate mirabiles aut populorum copiis redundantes sedem quoddammodo in ea parte posuisti, qua totius rei publicae ruina vergebat.* He continues through 1.16 in the same vein.

25. Diocletian had campaigned against the Sarmatians (east of the Danube, in Illyricum and Pannonia) in 289(?) and the Saracens who invaded Syria in 290 (the dates are probable; before the conference at Milan, anyway). See Barnes, *New Empire*, 51. The orator's specific notice of the Sarmatian campaign comes at 5.4; here he names Pannonia as Diocletian's residence for the latter half of 290, as attested by legislation given at Sirmium (cf. Barnes, p. 52).

26. On his way to Italy Maximian passed through Monaco, Arx Monoeci, named after Hercules. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.830; Luc. 1.408; Amm. Marc. 15.10.9. The toponym, as any reference to Hercules, serves the orator well.

the rewards which you win for the greatest deeds, this is the way that you celebrate triumphs in the consciousness of merits while you always put off the triumphal processions themselves by conquering,[27] because whatever illustrious things you are doing you immediately accomplish and hurry to something greater, so that while we are marveling at your traces and think that you are still in our sight, we suddenly hear of your distant miracles. All of your provinces, which you travel through with divine speed, do not 4
know from one moment to the next where you are: yet they do know that you have conquered everywhere.

But about your martial feats and victories, most sacred Emperor, 5
many men who were endowed with the greatest eloquence have often spoken, and once, when your divine opinion that I was worthy of your hearing allowed me that opportunity, I too praised your deeds as well as I could.[28] Today if it will have been my lot by Your Majesties' favor 2

27. Cf. Symmachus *Or.* 1.16. There may be some truth in the compliment: in 303 Diocletian and Maximian celebrated at Rome a joint triumph, long delayed, for their many victories: see C. E. V. Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307 and Maximian's Visits to Rome," *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 70–76.

28. With 1.2 above, this passage and what follows are usually cited as evidence that the same orator composed *Pan.* 10 and 11. He is not the only panegyrist to have spoken before an emperor more than once; cf. *Pan.* 8.1.5, 12.1.1. Symmachus delivered two orations to Valentinian. The list of accomplishments in the extended preterition does not tally exactly with the topics of *Pan.* 10 (see notes 25 and 35). A. Stadler, however, as part of an argument in favor of single authorship ("Die Autoren der anonymen gallischen Panegyrici" [Diss., Munich, 1912]), gives a chart (p. 20) that is meant to demonstrate that everything in this long preterition has been discussed by the panegyrist of 289. He wants to equate the words *Estis imperii Romani restitutores et vestri imperii primi dies sunt principes ad salutem* (*Pan.* 10.1.5) with *virtute vestra rem publicam dominatu saevissimo liberatam* (*Pan.* 11.5.1). This is not defensible. Restoration, new foundation, salvation, and the like were such standard features of imperial propaganda that they are found commonly on coins, as well as in panegyrics. In the context of the opening lines of *Pan.* 10, an oration given in honor of Rome's birthday, one does not look for a hidden meaning. Barnes's observations (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 5 and n. 21) on the implications of the language of *Pan.* 10 and 11 are more to the point; he cites 11.5.3 (as 11.5.1) and 10.3.1 (*ad restituendam rem publicam*) as "old clichés." Worse, although Diocletian's activities in Sarmatia (see notes 25 and 35) occurred after the date of *Pan.* 10, Stadler includes them with the invasion of Raetia and equates them with the operations in Raetia praised in the earlier panegyric, lest *Pan.* 10 appear to omit anything contained in this section of *Pan.* 11.

to speak of two things[29] which, unless I am mistaken, I have chosen as most appropriate on this occasion, I shall beg pardon for silence about the rest.

3 I do not, therefore, bring to mind the State liberated by your valor from savage despotism,[30] I do not speak of the provinces, provoked by

Incidentally, the events of the long preterition (5.3–4) have traditionally been interpreted as a summation of the contents of this speaker's earlier oration, and by that accounting must fall before the *quinquennalia:* the orator was unable to deliver his quinquennial oration, and this is his first opportunity to speak since then (1.1–3). In fact, there is no need to accept such an interpretation. The orator has praised the Dyarchs' deeds in the past (5.1–2) and does not wish to discuss military affairs at the present time (5.3–4); the dismissal of the whole category as a topic may include very recent events that he has not personally employed in a panegyric.

29. *Pietas* and *felicitas*. He begins the discussion in the next section.

30. No specific word of this in *Pan.* 10; it is a vague reference to the battle of the river Margus in 285. Here the emperor Carinus met Diocletian. Carinus was killed, although he may have won the battle first. The sources usually have Carinus' own side responsible for his death: see Eutr. 9.20.2; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.11; *Epit.* 38.8. Zosimus 1.73.1–2 has the deed occur while Carinus was pursuing the defeated troops of Sabinus Julianus, another usurper whom he had disposed of in northern Italy before he attempted to deal with Diocletian. The *Historia Augusta* (*Car.* 30.18.2; cf. 30.10) relates that Carinus fought many times against Diocletian and finally lost at the Margus; Zonaras (12.30) reports that Diocletian killed Carinus at Rome. H. W. Bird, "Diocletian and the Deaths of Carus, Numerian and Carinus," *Latomus* 35 (1976) 123–32, reconstructs a conspiracy involving Diocletian and Aper against Carus and Numerianus, and later Carinus. For a rebuttal see Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 11–18, who argues (1) that the length of time involved makes a conspiracy virtually impossible, as Carus apparently died in 283 and Numerianus not until a year later, (2) that a coverup of the emperor's death was not normal procedure during a usurpation, and (3) that Aper would not have been likely to destroy his own connection to imperial power, although Diocletian may well have perceived him as a threat to be removed.

Whether or not Diocletian conspired to murder any emperor in the East, he did rebel against Carinus. The panegyrist must therefore make Carinus, who was the legitimate emperor, a savage master in order to justify Diocletian's usurpation (without actually saying as much), in which he includes Maximian (the "your" in "your valor," as every "you" or "your" in this paragraph, is plural). Although Diocletian had not yet appointed him Caesar, Maximian must have been with him. The panegyrist must also imply that Diocletian won the battle, although he

the injustices of the preceding era, returned to obedience through your clemency,[31] I omit even the holidays celebrated with your victories and triumphs,[32] I do not mention trophies for victories over the Germans erected in the middle of the barbarians' territory,[33] I pass over the bound- 4
ary of Raetia extended by a sudden slaughter of the enemy,[34] I pass by Sarmatia's devastation and the Saracen subdued by the bonds of captivity,[35] I ignore even those things which were done by the fear of your arms as if accomplished by arms:[36] the Franks coming with their king[37] to seek peace and the Parthian soliciting your favor with wonderful gifts:[38] I propose for myself a new mode of speaking to show that, although I

cannot admit either that there was an armed conflict or that Diocletian had lost it.

31. "The provinces" are Gallic; he refers to the revolt of the Bagaudae (see *Pan.* 10.4.3 and commentary ad loc.).

32. This may refer to the planned triumphal procession of *Pan.* 10.5.2, to the inaugural day of Maximian's consulship (*Pan.* 10.6.2–5), to the joint consulship of the Augusti in 290, or it may be a more general summary of festal days. Cf. 4.3 above, where the orator asserts that the emperors are too busy for victory celebrations.

33. The expedition across the Rhine: see *Pan.* 10.7.2–9.1 and commentary ad loc.

34. Diocletian's invasion mentioned at *Pan.* 10.9.1: see commentary ad loc.

35. These campaigns are not mentioned in *Pan.* 10; the Saracen invasion was in 290, not long before the journey to Milan in the winter of 290/291 (see note 25 above). There is no other source for either undertaking, but the victories were enumerated in imperial titulature. Since in 301 (in the Edict on Maximum Prices) the title Sarmaticus Maximus is given to Diocletian four times, to Maximian thrice, and to the Caesars twice, the first two victories antedate 1 March 293, the date of the Caesars' appointment. At least one of those mentioned in 5.4 and 7.1 below is the one that Maximian shared; Diocletian's fourth appellation antedates Maximian's proclamation as Augustus in 286.

36. The military efficacy of fear is a commonplace that this panegyrist employs twice; the second instance comes at the end of section 13. For other parallels see note 72.

37. Gennoboudes: see *Pan.* 10.10.3–5 and commentary ad loc.

38. Alluded to at *Pan.* 10.9.2 and 10.6–7; see notes ad loc. The orator makes a great thing of this gesture by the Sassanid king Bahram II, with whom Diocletian had negotiated a treaty of peace. Bahram II had his own internal problems at this time: see 17.2 below.

seem not to speak of all the greatest things, there are nonetheless among your praises other things which are greater.[39]

6 What are these things? Your piety, most sacred Emperor, and your felicity.[40] Now first of all, how great is your piety toward the gods, whom you honor with altars, statues, temples, donations, with your own names and your images as well, and have made more sacred by the example
2 of your veneration! Now men truly understand what the power of the
3 gods is,[41] since you honor them at such expense.[42] Next, what is especially linked with the reverence for the immortal gods, with what great piety

39. Compare Cic. *Marc.* 6: *Quae* [Caesar's *res gestae*] *ego nisi ita magna esse fatear ut ea vix cuiusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim; sed tamen sunt alia maiora.* The same rejection of mundane and military glory is found in the second section of Eusebius' prologue to the *Laus Constantini:* "For popularizers pursue phrases crammed with puerile conceits and embrace an eloquence both saccharine and vulgar, since in order to please a mundane audience they must make pleasure their criterion and limit themselves to mundane accomplishments. But experts in universal wisdom itself, since they are acquainted with divine as well as mortal science, approve the choice of the Higher Power and have honored and exalted the sovereign's own godlike virtues and pious acts above his human ones, leaving it to lesser men to celebrate the lesser of his fine points" (trans. H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine* [Berkeley, 1976]).

40. Maximian may have been busy since 289, but there is nothing in the preceding list to show it. The orator does not mention that Maximian has proceeded no farther against Carausius, whose overthrow the panegyrist of 289 (*Pan.* 10.12.1–7) had confidently predicted, but he notes that the emperor had toured the towns of Gaul (4.2 above). The choice of topic, however, is not uncongenial for a birthday celebration. *Pietas* and *felicitas* are essential attributes for a successful emperor: *pietas* ensures the gods' support, which is manifested in the grant of *felicitas* (= military success). Note the regular appearance of PF (*pius, felix*) in the imperial titulature, especially on coins (see the Introduction, n. 13). See M. P. Charlesworth, "*Pietas and Victoria*," *JRS* 33 (1943) 1–10. This orator states the cause-and-effect relationship at 18.5 below.

41. The text reads *homines intellegunt . . . ac potestas deorum.* See Mynors' app. crit. for suggested restorations; I have translated that of W. Baehrens (*quae sit*), but any other would do as well. The general sense is clear.

42. Diocletian was an enthusiastic restorer of the state cult, or of anything traditional that still appeared useful (see E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* [Paris, 1959] 1: 76–77; S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* [London, 1985] 161–62).

you honor each other![43] For what ages ever saw such harmony in the highest power? What full or twin brothers share an undivided inheritance so fairly as you share the Roman world?

For this reason it is manifest that the souls of the rest of men are 4
earthbound and perishable, but yours are heavenly and eternal.[44] The 5
craftsmen of the meanest works disparage each other, some envy even a melodious voice;[45] nothing, in the end, is so cheap and so vulgar that those who share in it[46] lack the malicious pricks of envy: but your immortal soul is greater than any treasure, greater than any fortune, greater
than the Empire itself. The Rhine, the Danube, the Nile and the Tigris 6
with its twin the Euphrates and the two Oceans[47] where the sun sets and rises and whatever lands, rivers and shores are between them are as easily and readily common to you as the daylight which the eyes
rejoice is common to them. So your piety bestows on you a double 7
reward of divine power: each enjoys both his own command and his colleague's.

43. Here the orator leaves *pietas* in the religious sense and embraces it as a political idea. The Dyarchs' unanimity was an important theme of propaganda, which the orator develops at such length either because he has nothing martial to speak of or because Maximian and Diocletian had somehow given an impression of imperfectly harmonious relations, and he wished to reassure his audience. See the Introduction to *Pan.* 10, pp. 43–44.

44. A Stoic sentiment; see Cic. *Rep.* 6.25–29. The orator includes the rulers among the mass of human beings but attributes to them a spirit, or soul, of a different order. Again (cf. note 12 above), this may be a garbled version of what Cicero wrote: *infra autem eam* [sc. *Lunam*] *iam nihil est nisi mortale et caducum* praeter animos *munere deorum hominum generi datos* (*Rep.* 6.17; emphasis mine).

45. This commonplace is found first in Hesiod (*Op.* 24–26), who introduces it with the idea that strife (i.e., competitive spirit) is good for men.

46. The phrase is borrowed from Cicero, in the gruesome context of *Rosc. Am.* 71 (*denique nihil tam vile neque tam volgare est cuius partem ullam* [*parricidae*] *reliquerint*).

47. The rivers and oceans roughly mark out the boundaries of the Roman Empire, save for the southern one (which is loosely represented by the Nile). Note the boast of a Tigris frontier, which the orator owes to Diocletian's negotiations with Bahram II and restoration of Tiridates to the throne of Armenia; W. Felix, *Antike literarische Quellen zur Aussenpolitik des Sasanidenstaates* (Vienna, 1985) 106, limits this to the (upper) Tigris of the client kingdom, not to all of Mesopotamia: a reasonable explanation of oratorical exaggeration. See also note 36 to *Pan.* 10.

7 Those laurels from the conquered nations inhabiting Syria and from Raetia and Sarmatia[48] made you, Maximian, celebrate a triumph in pious
2 joy; and by the same token the destruction here of the Chaibones and Eruli and the victories across the Rhine and the wars with the pirates who were suppressed when the Franks were subdued[49] made Diocletian share
3 in your vows. The immortal gods cannot divide their favors between you: whatever is offered to one or the other belongs to both.
4 Surely all men would be struck dumb with admiration for you, even if the same father and same mother had inspired you to that harmony
5 of yours by Nature's laws. Yet how much more admirable or glorious it is that camps, that battles, that equal victories have made you brothers! While you have been indulging your valor, while you have been applauding in turn most glorious deeds, while you have been aiming side by side for the highest summit of fortune, you have mingled separate blood by
6 your affections. Your brotherhood is not of chance but of choice; everyone knows that unlike children are often born to the same parents, but the likeness of only the most certain brotherhood[50] reaches all the way up to the supreme power. Indeed it even overcomes the difference in your ages and makes older and younger equals by your mutual affection: now the saying
7 is false that only people of the same age enjoy doing things together.[51] We understand, most sacred rulers, that in you both, despite your difference in age, is a twin accord: you do not seem too vigorous to him nor he sluggish[52] to you, but you each imitate the other, you each aspire to the

48. Diocletian's triumphs over Saracens, Germans, and Sarmatians to which he has already alluded.

49. Maximian's victories in Gaul (*Pan.* 10.5.2–4) and in Germany (*Pan.* 10.7.2–7), as well as over Carausius' Frankish supporters (*Pan.* 10.11.4–7). "Wars with the pirates" links these Franks with Carausius. Maximian appears to have accomplished nothing further since this episode, already praised in 289.

50. The words "but of choice . . . brotherhood" exist only in the edition of Cuspinianus (1513), not in the manuscripts. Galletier omits them from his text; Mynors and Paladini and Fedeli print them (see Mynors, viii and app. crit. ad loc.; Galletier, 1: lii–liii).

51. A genuinely commonplace expression; the Greek version may be found in Pl. *Phdr.* 240C, for example.

52. It would be remarkable if Diocletian, who has at least two campaigns to his credit since the last panegyric, did appear a laggard compared to his colleague. To raise the possibility that Diocletian may be enfeebled, only to deny it, is to raise the possibility: this orator will make his own emperor appear more vigorous by whatever means he can.

other's years. Thus you both perform as if young, both as if older. Neither favors his own nature more; each wishes to be what his brother is.

For this reason, then, your impatient affection recently burst forth[53] 8
because no distance of lands, no difficulty of location, no harshness of season was able to hold you back or delay you from flying to see each other. And that was no normal procession or completion of a journey, nor 2
a quick march employing customary assistance. What could a fleeting 3
horse[54] or a sail-flying ship[55] achieve like that? It was a kind of divine flight by which you came suddenly to the same place from the opposite boundaries of the sun; since you left behind the very messengers whom you had sent ahead, you outran even Rumor who tried to anticipate you, so that, except for the very few companions who were able to stay with you, the rest of men perhaps believed what is worthy of Your Majesties,

53. The orator prepares to describe the emperors' journey to Milan. This conference has had its share of interpreters. Clearly, mutual longing for each other's company would never override more pressing business. Diocletian and Maximian felt the need to confer. That Carausius showed no signs of loosening his grip on Britain was the new regime's most awkward (but not its only) problem. Seston's interpretation (*Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 86–87), that the show of concord was so perfect that it must be exclusive, still has force; see Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, 56 and 60 (an "elaborate festival," the aim of which was propaganda). Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7–8, interprets Maximian's situation less generously (his subjects may have doubted his capacity; he may have ceased to lead armies in person) but to the same effect, that the conference was a solemn and impressive occasion stage-managed to a specific end.

54. Virg. *G.* 3.116 also uses *eques* for *equus*, and Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.9.8–12) has Servius explain that ancient usage equated a horse carrying a rider with a rider astride a horse, citing Ennius (237V): *denique vi magna quadrupes eques atque elephanti / proiciunt sese.* Conveniently, this same information may be found in Servius ad loc.

55. Virg. *Aen.* 1.224 uses the adjective *velivolus* of the sea; Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.5.10) cites three models: Livius, *maria alta velivola* (*Helena*); Ennius (bis), *navibus velivolis* (388V) and *naves velivolas* (*Andromacha* 79V); see also *Alexander* 67–68V *velivolantibus navibus.* The adjective occurs in other poets as well (e.g., Lucr. 5.1442; Ov. *Pont.* 4.5.42). A. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," *RhM* 66 (1911) 538–39, considers the echoes of Ennius (including one that he finds at *Pan.* 10.12.4: *ut navalia texerentur*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.326 and Serv. ad loc.]) and concludes with great sense that the orator (he believes that the same man wrote *Pan.* 10 and 11) did not consult Ennius directly but through an intermediary, namely, a grammarian.

that you borrowed the day- and night-chariots of the two lights of the
4 world. But let us set aside the fables of the ignorant[56] and speak the truth:
5 your piety, most sacred Emperor, gave you winged course. And since
nothing is swifter than the spirit,[57] you, whose fiery and immortal minds
scarcely perceive the body's delays, rode to each other on the swiftness
of mutual longing.

9 But at what time of year and in what weather! For it was a most
savage winter, one extraordinary even in these climes, when ice weighed
down upon the fields and snow upon the ice, when the sky and earth were
as one, and when men's own breath turned white with frozen rime about
2 their mouths. In fact, the power of Your Majesty protected you so well
against the severity of location and season, when the rest of mankind and
the world were immobilized and overwhelmed by the power of cold, mild
breezes and springlike winds and the rays of the sun in a cloudless sky
3 were directed at your path and followed you alone. With such great ease
you surmounted what was at that time impassable for others, and you
traversed from that direction the Julian Alps, from this the Cottian,[58] as
4 if they were the sands, left by the tide, of passable shores. Now let the
eulogists of ancient things go and marvel that Hannibal with much toil
and great loss to his own army entered the Alps! You, most invincible
Emperors, almost alone opened up with your divine footsteps routes of the
Alps obstructed by winter snow as Hercules once without a companion
carried off his Spanish spoils through those same peaks.[59]

10 Besides, if the circumstances and causes of Hannibal's and your
journeys were to be compared, how much more acceptable to gods
and men are these travels of yours, how much more worthy of praise

56. Cf. *Pan.* 10.2.5, 2.4.4–5, and the end of section 10 below for other (commonplace) distinctions between fable and reality.

57. Men's recognition of the speed of thought is at least as old as Homer (*Il.* 15.80–83). The panegyrist can have gotten his phrase from Cic. *Tusc.* 1.43 (*nihil est animo velocius; nulla est celeritas quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere*). The orator never claims that the emperors actually traveled as fast as their thoughts, as an implication is preferable to a statement of physical impossibility.

58. He names the passages over the Alps into Italy from Illyricum and Gaul, respectively, a compounding of details to reinforce his description of what should have been two difficult journeys.

59. Hercules brought the cattle of Geryon across the Alps on his way to Italy from Spain. Cf. *Pan.* 10.2.1. The orator returns to the contrast with Hannibal in the next section.

and eternal remembrance! Then Italy trembled when the Carthaginian 2
was seen from the heights of the Alps, flocks and fields were instantly
abandoned,[60] all the country folk sought the woods and lairs of beasts.
When the news was heard, Italian mothers in all the towns flung their 3
wool from their hands, snatched up their little children and dragged them
to the temples, there each one swept the sacred temples with her own
streaming hair, with their manifold wailing and weeping they gave omens
of disasters to come, they foretold Trasimene and Cannae in prophetic
sorrow.[61]

Now however, when from each summit of the Alps your deity first 4
shone forth, a clearer light spread over all Italy; wonder seized upon all
who gazed up no less than uncertainty,[62] whether some god was arising
from those mountain crests, or by these steps descending to earth from
heaven. But when you came closer and closer and people began to 5
recognize you, all the fields were filled not only with men running forth
to see but even with flocks of beasts leaving their distant pastures and
woods;[63] farmers rushed about among each other, told everyone what
they had seen, altars were ignited, incense placed upon them, libations
of wine were poured, sacrificial victims slain, everything glowed with joy,
everyone danced and applauded, to the immortal gods praises and thanks
were sung: they invoked not the god transmitted by conjecture but a
visible and present Jupiter near at hand, they adored Hercules not as the
stranger but as the Emperor.[64]

What a thing that was, good gods! What a spectacle your piety **11**
created, when those who were going to adore your sacred features were

60. Cf. Cic. *Man.* 15: *Nam cum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si inruptio nulla facta est, tamen pecua relinquuntur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit.*

61. The panegyrist exaggerates for the contrast, although Livy 21.57.1 reports panic at Rome at the news of the defeat at the Trebia (218 B.C.E.). After the disasters at Trasimene (217) and Cannae (216) there was public mourning at Rome attended by great fear. For a scene such as that described here, see Livy 26.9.7–8 (211 B.C.E.).

62. Cf. Cic. *Clu.* 76: *Hic tum iniectus est hominibus scrupulus et quaedam dubitatio quidnam esset actum.*

63. I am moved to observe that this asseveration is excessive even for a panegyric, and not especially flattering when one considers the nature of the cults usually associated with animals.

64. The statement is not a denial of the gods' existence but a pronouncement of preference for what was genuinely efficacious, an emperor.

admitted to the palace in Milan you both were gazed upon and your
2 twin deity suddenly confused the ceremony of single veneration! No one
observed the hierarchy of deities according to the usual protocol; they all
stopped still to spend more time in adoration, stubborn in their duplicate
3 pious duty.[65] Yet this private veneration, as if in the inner shrine, stunned
the minds only of those whose public rank gave them access to you.[66] But
when you passed through the door and rode together through the middle
of the city, the very buildings, I hear, almost moved themselves, when
every man, woman, tiny child and aged person either ran out through the
4 doors into the open or hung out of the upper thresholds of the houses. All
cried out for joy, then openly without fear of you they pointed with their
hands: "Do you see Diocletian? Do you see Maximian? Both are here!
They are together! How closely they sit! How amicably they converse!
5 How quickly they pass by!" No one's eyes were equal to his desire for
looking, and while they eagerly marveled at each of you in turn, they were
able to see enough of neither.

12 Even Rome herself, the mistress of nations, in a transport of extrav-
agant joy at your proximity and in an attempt to get a glimpse of you from
the summits of her own mountains, the closer to sate herself with your
2 countenances, advanced as near as she could to get a look. Indeed she
had sent the leaders of her Senate, freely imparting to the city of Milan,
most blessed during those days, a semblance of her own majesty, that the

65. People admitted to the emperor's presence had to perform *adoratio*, prostration before the emperor. See the Introduction to *Pan.* 10, pp. 51–52 and, on this particular *adventus*, MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 23–26. Here the visitors may have been confounded not only by hesitation over whom to adore first but by having to repeat the ceremony, and it took twice as long. A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt, 1970) 58–59, at the end of a discussion of the development of προσκύνησις/*adoratio* under the Roman Empire, cites this passage. He interprets the phrases *consuetudo venerationis* and *solita disciplina* as indications that Diocletian was not the first to require *adoratio* of the upper classes. The details of the ceremony had been established for some time, and one should not try to force such a meaning from the words; one might, however, argue that those for whom this was a new ritual would be more likely to become confused when presented with two emperors rather than one.

66. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation*, 36 (cf. p. 28), compares admission to the emperor's presence only for those of high rank to the privileges accorded initiates in mystery religions; he adduces (p. 33) *Pan.* 8.1.4 (*adyta palatii vestri*), 6.16.1 (*religio Palatini sacrarii devota penetralibus*), and 2.21.1 (*sancti Palatii ritus*) for parallel language equating palace and temple.

seat of imperial power could then appear to be the place to which each
Emperor had come.[67]

Yet meanwhile, while I conjure up before my eyes your daily con- 3
versations, your right hands joined at every discourse, shared pleasantries
and serious matters,[68] festivities spent in contemplation of each other, this
thought steals over me: with what greatness of spirit did you forsake each
other to see your armies again and conquer your piety for the benefit
of the state. What were your feelings then, what were your expressions! 4
How incapable were your eyes of disguising the evidence of emotion!
Naturally, you often looked back—and this is not an empty tale made up
about you: you exchanged such assurances since you intended soon to 5
return to see each other.

The transition is easy, most sacred Emperor, from praise of your piety **13**
to praise of your felicity, for this very thing is a feature of felicity, that
the ability to see and embrace each other is in your power.[69] We observe 2
that even the sun and the moon, because they perform services for the
entire world, do not meet except after many ages and in accordance with
a fixed law:[70] Your Majesty is so free and blessed that in the highest

67. This was the reality of the situation; Rome was too far from the theaters of operations during the later third century and afterward to expect more than an occasional visit from a busy ruler. This passage is the first extant public statement that the location of the Empire's capital was not the city of Rome but the emperor's place of residence; see also Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, 57. Diocletian neither admired nor favored the senatorial order (save for its political value: for example, when he first usurped and had to save the West from the "tyrant" Carinus), yet the senators would still be willing, nay, compelled, to pay their respects.

68. The phrase *ioca seriaque* may have been lifted, and perhaps indirectly, from Sall. *Iug.* 96.2 (*ioca atque seria cum humillimis agere*). Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.306 discusses the two sorts of plural that *iocus* (like *locus*) can make and cites the passage from Sallust (with *exercere* for *agere*) along with Cic. *Phil.* 2.7 and Pers. 6.5.

69. He explains this claim later on (13.5–14.4): the emperors' felicity enabled them to leave the borders without fearing foreign invasions.

70. He does not mean their meetings at eclipses, which can occur at rather frequent intervals, or during syzygy, but after a Great Year (*magnum annum*), when the sun, moon, and five planets are in alignment with one another: Cic. *N. D.* 2.51–53 (2.52: "How long it is, is a great question, but it must be fixed and definite"). At *Rep.* 6.24 Cicero has Africanus say that from the time of the eclipse of the sun at Romulus' death to the dramatic present (149 B.C.E.) is less than

affairs of the human race there is nothing[71] which you must do save obey
3 your piety. Besides, if one should contemplate the human condition,
how much more evident is the greatness of your felicity! Men intent on
private affairs are usually so ensnared by their personal problems that at
4 every age they have no time for their families and friends; you, having
undertaken the guidance of so great a state, you whom so many cities
so many camps so many boundaries so many rivers mountains shores
surrounding the Roman Empire call hither and yon, are strong enough
in spirit and fortune to be able to meet in one place with the world
5 nonetheless secure. For no part of the land is without the presence of
Your Majesties even when you yourselves seem to be absent.[72]
14 The barbarian races do not dare to lift their spirits a whit because you
have withdrawn into the inner recesses of your Empire—on the contrary,
they tremble all the more at your boldness because they perceive that
2 they are despised when abandoned.[73] And so that line which the Roman
poet sang of your Jupiter, that everything is filled with Jove,[74] probably
having in mind that although Jupiter himself holds the highest point of
heaven above the clouds and above the winds sitting in perpetual light,
nevertheless his deity and mind spread through the entire world, I now
3 make bold to proclaim about each of you: wherever you are, even if you
retire to one palace, your divinity abides everywhere, all lands and all seas
4 are filled with you. For what is there to wonder at if, since this world
can be filled with Jove, it can be filled as well with Hercules?[75]

one-twentieth of a great year. Tac. *Dial.* 16.7 cites Cicero in the *Hortensius* and gives a figure of 12,954 (text of M. Winterbottom) earth-standard years.

71. Arntzen omits *generis* from his text, takes *humani* with *nihil*, not with *rebus*, and argues that the meaning is that the emperors do not need what other men need, save to exercise their piety.

72. The orator explains the idea in the next section. It is one aspect of the type of praise included under the rubric "terror"; cf. 5.4 above, and *Pan.* 8.13.3, 12.22.3–5; for a variant, *Pan.* 6.10.3–4.

73. See Symmachus *Or.* 2.11 for imitation of this sentiment. Evidently the time of the emperors' absence at Milan was uneventful. This might not always be the case. For examples of times when a ruler's absence was followed by a barbarian invasion, see *Pan.* 6.10.2, 12.22.3ff.

74. *Iovis omnia plena*: Virg. *Ecl.* 3.60. Part of the subsequent description comes from *Aen.* 6.726–27 (*totamque infusa per artus / mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet*).

75. Another claim for the equality of the emperor in residence with his senior colleague.

Considerations both of time and place as well as regard for Your **15**
Majesty suggest that I make an end of my speech, although on the subject
of your felicity I have said so little and so much remains. But see! they 2
prompt me: "You can still speak of the healthfulness of the times and
fertility of the fields." And truly, most sacred Emperor, we all know, 3
before you restored soundness to the State, what a great scarcity there
was of crops and what a harvest of deaths, when hunger and diseases
ranged everywhere. But from the time when you brought forth light[76]
for the nations a healthy atmosphere immediately spread about. No 4
field fails its farmer's expectations unless its abundance exceeds his hope.
The life expectancies and numbers of men increase. The harvest bursts
the filled storehouses, and yet cultivation doubles. Where woods were
is now wheat field:[77] we are worn out with reaping grain and gathering
grapes.[78]
But this, even if not prompted, I shall declare somehow before I finish: **16**
the felicity of your rule is so great that barbarian nations everywhere tear
each other to pieces and destroy one another, by battles and treachery in
turn they redouble and renew their own destruction; inspired by madness
they reenact on each other your expeditions in Sarmatia and Raetia and
across the Rhine. Sacred Jupiter and good Hercules, at last you have 2

76. I.e., the *lux imperialis*; cf. *Pan.* 8.19.2.

77. An Ovidian echo: *iam seges est, ubi Troia fuit* (*Her.* 1.53) (a strange choice, considering the context of the original).

78. A commonplace element of imperial praises, and a great exaggeration, but of the truth. Stability and security are the foundations of prosperity. There are several similar evocations of an ideal, or golden, age; see *Pan.* 10.11, 9.18, 6.21ff. A hostile source tells a different story: "The number of recipients began to exceed the number of contributors by so much that, with farmers' resources exhausted by the enormous size of the requisitions, fields became deserted and cultivated land was turned into forest" (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 7.3, trans. Creed). A later Christian author, however, felt compelled to explain how the reign of Diocletian and Maximian could have been so prosperous: "and yet, lo! in the midst of the most tranquil times and the unusual felicity of the very emperors who did these things [the persecution]: no hunger at home, no diseases, no foreign wars except those that they undertook voluntarily, . . . further, things previously unknown to the human race: a lasting partnership and great concord and shared power of many kings at the same time" (Oros. *Adv. pag.* 7.26.5–6). The lengthy explanation commences at 7.26.9; the interested reader may consult it. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford, 1964) 61–68, is a useful summary of the Diocletianic system of tax assessment.

transplanted civil wars[79] to races worthy of that madness, and spread all of that fury abroad, beyond the boundaries of this Empire, among the lands of our enemies.

3 Indeed, what that first writer of Roman poetry said, "from the rising sun to Lake Maeotis,"[80] one may now extend farther and farther, if one
4 review our enemies' insane mutual destruction throughout the world. And truly, from the far east, not only around Maeotis and in the northernmost parts, where the Danube unleashes its violent source and where the harsh
5 Elbe cleaves Germany, but even in the farthest west, where the slopes of Mt. Calpé[81] opposed to the Tingitanian shore admit the Ocean into the Mediterranean bay, all the peoples rush against their own kind, whose lot it never was to be Roman, and now of their own will they pay the price of their stubborn savagery.

17 The unruly Moorish tribe rages against its own flesh, the Goths utterly destroy the Burgundians, and again the Alamanni wear arms for the conquered, and the Tervingi too, another group of Goths, with the help of a band of Taifali join battle with the Vandals and Gepids.[82]

79. The Empire had experienced all too many of these during the third century, and panegyrists reveal a horror of them: see *Pan.* 12.8.1, 12.20.3–21.2, 5.4.3, 2.46.1–3. For the sections that follow cf. Tac. *Germ.* 33.

80. Ennius *Varia* 21V; cf. note 55 above. The couplet that Cicero cites in *Tusc.* 5.49 begins *ut Africanus* and has *supra* for *usque ad*; it continues *nemo est qui factis aequiperare queat.* Lake Maeotis = the Sea of Azov. The geographical locations vaguely, but not exhaustively, indicate the ends of the earth.

81. Calpé was one of the Pillars of Hercules (Rock of Gibraltar); the Tingitanian shore is the area around Tangiers. The people at odds with one another are the Moors, named first in the next sentence. Within the decade Maximian traveled to North Africa to suppress a rebellion among these same people: see *Pan.* 9.21.1–2 with notes.

82. All these peoples listed after the Moors, except the Alamanni, lived across the Danube frontier, extending east as far as the limits of Europe. Although I wonder whether the panegyrist cares about geographical or ethnographical exactitude, the passage is noteworthy for several reasons. As Goths are involved, Alani is a suggested emendation for Alamanni (Cellarius, cited by Arntzen); see Galletier, 1: 65–66 n. 3. Schwarz (also in Arntzen) argues that Goths may have been this far west, and wants to retain the manuscript reading. See 17.3 just below. Schwarz thinks that the Burgundians may have turned to the Alamanni for help, then tried to take over their territory. But if there are Burgundians, there may as well be Alamanni. Amm. Marc. 28.5.11 says that the Burgundians are descendants of Romans and ancient enemies of the Alamanni. See H. Wolfram,

Ormies [Hormizd] with the Saci and Rufii and Geli as allies assaults 2
the Persians themselves and the king himself [Bahram II], and respects neither his king's majesty nor his brother's claims on his loyalty.[83] The 3
Burgundians have taken over the land of the Alamanni, but obtained it at great cost to themselves. The Alamanni have lost the land but seek to regain it.[84] O great power of your deity! Not only those and other 4
races, terrible in strength of arms, yield to their confidence, armed for the ruin of barbarism, but even those Blemmyes, I hear, used only to light arrows, seek arms which they do not have against the Ethiopians, and join murderous battle with as it were naked hatred.[85]

Now you take vengeance on your enemies not by arms, not with **18**
armies, as you have done up to this time; now, I say, most fortunate Emperors, you conquer by felicity alone. Is there anything which Roman 2
leaders have ever been happier to hear when praised for their felicity than that their enemies are said to be quiet and idle, keeping the peace? But then this is better and more joyous, that on the subject of your age's 3
prosperity the speech of all men eagerly proclaims: "The barbarians are armed, but to fight each other! The barbarians have conquered, but conquered their own kin!" Fortune has lavished on you successes so novel 4

History of the Goths, trans. T. J. Dunlap (Berkeley, 1987) 24–25, on the division of the Goths into Tervingi (later called Visigoths) and Greuthungi (Ostrogoths), first attested in this passage. Wolfram notes that Ammianus uses special names only for Goths outside of the Empire; those within are called, indiscriminately, Goths. He also (pp. 24, 58) cites this panegyric as the first attestation in literature of the Tervingi, Taifali, and Gepids. The names do not recur for some decades. His interpretation of the passage depends not upon the punctuation in Mynors and Paladini and Fedeli (semicolon after *Tervingi*), but as in Galletier, and others (commas after *Tervingi* and *Gothorum*). Such punctuation, which I have reproduced in the translation, certainly makes sense: without it, one would have to deal with an unprecedented three kinds of Goths (*Gothi, Tervingi, pars alia Gothorum*).

83. Bahram II won the contest against his brother.

84. Burgundians and Alamanni were formerly allies in an invasion of Gaul (in 286): *Pan.* 10.5.1.

85. Blemmyes had often threatened the southern frontier of Egypt during the third century (Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 67; Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 136–37) and later. According to Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* 1.19.27–32), Diocletian readjusted the southern frontier of Egypt to the north and settled the Nobatai in the intervening area as a buffer against the Blemmyes. He also paid both groups an annual subsidy to have them refrain from attacking Roman territory.

and innumerable over every sort of enemy that now I must rejoin here in common praise what I distinguished at the beginning, while I seek the
5 explanation of such great events: you have earned, best of Emperors, that felicity of yours by your piety![86]

19 As far as I am concerned, most sacred Emperor, I chose best to
2 praise these things particularly on your real birthday. For the rest of the virtues and other goods come about with advancing age: courage grows stronger with increasing years, self-control is instilled by discipline's precepts, justice is learnt as well by knowledge of the law.[87] Finally, she who seems to be the mistress of all things, wisdom herself, is taught by observing men's natures and examining the outcome of events. Piety and felicity alone originate at the same time as the body,[88] but they are the natural
3 goods of the spirit and rewards of the Fates. Your real birthdays, therefore, bestowed upon you pious minds and imperial fortunes, and from that source flows the beginning of your sanctity and all your successes, because good and kindly stars saw you being born for the support of mankind.[89]
4 The same stars which procure for you eternal harmony and the affection of your offspring and your assiduous care for the State promise you in addition to the victories gained throughout the world a naval victory
5 as well,[90] that after the Punic Wars, after the kings of Asia and Syria, you

86. This is the best extant statement of the relationship between piety and felicity; see note 40 above.

87. There are a variety of Ciceronian echoes in this passage and what immediately follows: e.g., *Mur.* 30 (*celerae tamen virtutes ipsae per se multum valent, iustitia, fides, pudor, temperantia*), *Leg.* 1.58 (*ita fit ut mater omnium bonarum rerum sit sapientia*), *Tusc.* 2.47 (*domina omnium et regina ratio*).

88. Another indication that the occasion is the date of Maximian's physical birth.

89. Fate (or astrological prognostications given from hindsight) chooses emperors-to-be at birth and endows such men with imperial (nay, divine) attributes. Although they may live for years as private citizens, their assumption of royalty is a revelation of their true character, not the initiation of it. Cf. *Pan.* 6.9.4.

90. The orator of 289 says that the fleet has been finished, and a later panegyrist (8.12.2) refers to a loss at sea due to the elements. This latter, however, may have been a setback that Constantius suffered (see note ad loc.). Maximian would not have kept inactive for two years a fleet that he was in such a hurry to have built, unless more pressing matters had preoccupied his attention (and no such event is indicated in this speech, or in any other source). If Maximian lost his fleet, it happened some time after 21 April 289 (the date of *Pan.* 10). The present speaker hopes for a victory at sea, but his vagueness conceals both the

adorn the rostra of the Roman field with new spoils, and remind the Quirites already forgetful of why that place revered for its oratory is called the Rostra.[91] And I speak in great and certain confidence: your piety is 6
worthy of this glory too, and with felicity you are able to obtain it.

emperors' embarrassment and their present plans, save for the commitment to regain Britain. For further details see *Pan.* 8.12.1 and notes.

91. In 338 B.C.E. the consul C. Maenius decorated the speaker's platform with the beaks of ships (*rostra*) captured at Antium. Although Julius Caesar had the old platform destroyed and planned a new one, which Augustus completed, the name and the manner of decoration continued (E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, rev. ed. [London, 1968] 2: 272–83). The wars to which the orator alludes all involved extensive use of the navy: the First and Second Punic wars (especially the first), the wars against Antiochus III and Mithridates VI of Pontus. The orator appears to place the rostra in the field of Mars (*Romani rostra campi*). The passage seems to be derived from Cicero's treatment of the same subject (*Man.* 55). Cicero, however, reminded the Roman people of naval victories in the wars against the Carthaginians, the Macedonians (under Perseus), and Antiochus of Syria; his aim was to recall the ignominious recent past (before Pompey freed the Mediterranean from pirates) to get Pompey the command against Mithridates: *Et eis temporibus nonne pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum locum escendere, cum eum nobis maiores nostri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent!* In the third century such a tone would be not only anachronistic but unthinkable.

VIII

PANEGYRIC OF CONSTANTIUS

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

The speaker, elderly and not as strong as he once was (21.3), has come out of retirement (1.1–5) to deliver, on behalf of the city of Autun (21.3), a speech of congratulation to Constantius for his recovery of Britain. He is an orator of considerable experience and reputation (1.1), who once taught rhetoric to the young (1.2). "Long ago" he was introduced to the court of Maximian by Constantius and delivered a speech on Maximian's exploits that first brought him to public notice (1.5). Constantius subsequently conferred upon him an office that led to his participation in an expedition, perhaps that of Maximian against the Alamanni in 287 (2.1, and note 6 below). He was apparently still in imperial service when Constantius was promoted Caesar on 1 March 293 (2.2, 3.1), probably at Milan (6.1), but the attractions of rural *otium* have since prevailed.[1]

1. This alone prevents the identification of the author with Eumenius, whose career in other respects does resemble that of our anonymous speaker, as P. Schmidt has recently reminded us in *Restauration und Erneuerung: Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 nach Chr.*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Handbuch der lateinische Literatur der Antike, 8.5, ed. R. Herzog (Munich, 1989) 166. Eumenius, however, had moved directly from his post of *magister memoriae* to the directorate of the Maenian schools at Autun (*Pan.* 9.6.2–3, 11.2, 14.3–5; see the Introduction to *Pan.* 9, p. 146). He

His duties at the palace (Trier) involved "secret discourse" (1.4); he may have held some kind of secretaryship (Galletier, 1: 71–72, suggests several possibilities). It is clear that Constantius was his chief patron and benefactor, and no doubt this consideration prompted his choice by the dignitaries of Autun to represent them (cf. 21.2). But his memory goes back beyond Constantius, and his speech is notable for its allusions to the tribulations of the Empire in the 260s and 270s, in the reigns of Gallienus (10.1ff.) and Probus (18.3). Indeed he is more historically minded than most of his fellow panegyrists (cf. 11.3 and note 38), and his use of exempla is original and felicitous (e.g., 14.1–2, 17.3–18.3). There is a welcome precision in many (if not all) passages (e.g., 2.1, 9.3, 21.1).

OCCASION AND DATE

The panegyric was delivered in the presence of Constantius (1.1, 5; 4.4), presumably at Trier, after his restoration of Britain to the Roman Empire. The occasion is usually taken to be the anniversary of Constantius' accession on 1 March (2.3), and the year 297.[2] But both are fragile assumptions. The year could just as well be 298. The question hinges on the absolute dates assigned to the events mentioned in section 5 and in the speech of Eumenius (*Pan.* 9.21). All of them are vexed.[3] Even the date of the recovery of Britain is disputed. It is usually assumed to be 296, but 297 is possible, in which case the panegyric ought to be dated to 298.[4] At any rate it is not unreasonable to assume that a relatively

seems particularly anxious to emphasize that he had not been demoted. While he was older than Galletier assumed (see B. Rodgers, "Eumenius of Augustodunum," *AncSoc* 20 [1989] 252–53), he does not give the impression either that he had already retired or that he had any wish to do so (cf. esp. 6.2; Rodgers, p. 253). In addition, the style of the two panegyrics is markedly different, as Galletier emphasizes.

2. E.g., by W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (Paris, 1946) 31 (averring that it is the *opinio communis*); Galletier, 1: 73; T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) 59–60.

3. For a discussion of the uncertainties and the various possibilities, see notes 16, 17, 18, and 48 below, and *Pan.* 9 notes to section 21. F. Kolb is the latest to return to the fray, with (inter alia) additional information in the form of an Arabic translation of a Nestorian chronicle: "Zu chronologischen Problemen der ersten Tetrarchie," *Eos* 76 (1988) 105–25.

4. Stein (E. Stein and J. R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* [Paris, 1959] 1: 78) assumes 297 (D. Kienast, "Die Rückoberung Britanniens im Jahre 297 und die Trierer Follesprägung," *JNG* 10 [1959–60] 71–78, cited by Barnes, *New Empire*, 60 n. 66, simply follows him).

short interval separates this speech of congratulation from the victory that prompted it. As the speech was delivered in the spring (see below), the expedition may be presumed to have taken place in the spring and summer of the preceding year. For convenience the orthodox dates of 296 for the reconquest of Britain and spring 297 for the speech itself are assumed in what follows. Whether Eumenius' speech is later in date than this one, as usually believed, is not entirely clear.[5]

Both in 297 and 298 there should have been celebrations on 1 March for Constantius' *quinquennalia*,[6] so if the panegyric were delivered on that day, it is odd that there is no mention of them. Even if previous speakers had all but exhausted the possibilities, one would still have expected some reference to the occasion. Now for all the orator's expatiation on *divinus ille . . . ortus*, spring, and the Kalends of March (2.2ff.), he does not say that he is speaking on the anniversary day. On the contrary, he takes for the beginning of his speech—*hodiernae gratulationis exordium*—an occasion some years in the past, that is, Constantius' elevation as Caesar, an occasion at which he was present (*ut celebrantes sensimus*). But the main subject of his discourse is Constantius' valor and the miracles it produced (1.1 ad fin.), chiefly, of course, the recovery of Britain. The implication is that he was not speaking at the *quinquennalia*, but the fact that he attaches his speech to the *divinus ortus* indicates that the celebration had not long passed. It is still spring (3.1; 21.1 ad fin.).[7]

HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE

The panegyric is important chiefly for its account of Constantius' expedition to recover Britain from Allectus in 296, and the events leading up to that, especially the capture of Boulogne. But it furnishes important testimony to conditions in Gaul in the late third century, to the devastation of the 260s and 270s and the consequent depopulation of the province.

5. See below, note 18, and *Pan.* 9, Introduction, p. 148, and note 81.

6. See *Pan.* 11, note 5.

7. See now Schmidt, *Restauration und Erneuerung*, who comes to a similar conclusion, seeing the speaker's introduction of the anniversary as a *captatio benevolentiae*. He suggests that the speech may have been delivered at an "Adventus-Ceremony" following Constantius' return from Britain. This is possible, but might we not then expect some allusion to Constantius' actual arrival? The impression created is that the victory occurred some time ago—Autun had already received British artisans (21.2)—but of course we do not know how long Constantius had remained in Britain.

In recent times Britain had frequently been detached from the central Roman government. It had formed part of the *imperium Galliarum* (ca. 260–273),[8] and under Probus its governor had rebelled. Its officers and *curiales*, it has been suggested, did not view with favor Rome's recovery of the Western provinces.[9] In 286 or 287 it was the turn of M. Aurelius Maus(aeus?) Carausius (*ILS* 8928); his origin, career, and rebellion are briefly described by Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 39.20ff., 39ff.) and Eutropius (9.21–22). A Menapian from Batavia on the lower Rhine, and of humble origin, Carausius had distinguished himself in the campaigns of Maximian against the Bagaudae; because of this, and his youthful naval experience (Aur. Vict.), he was promoted to a naval command, based upon Boulogne, to suppress Frankish and Saxon piracy along the coast of Belgica and Armoricum (Eutr.). The exact nature of his command is disputed. He may have been the last prefect of the *classis Britannica*, or the first *dux tractus Armoricani et Nervicani* (see note 39).

Carausius enjoyed considerable success, and indeed this may lie behind Diocletian's assumption of the title BRITANNICVS MAXIMVS (*ILS* 615), which he later abandoned.[10] But he was accused of allowing the pirates to complete their raids before intercepting them, and of enriching himself with the booty, and, learning that Maximian had given orders for his execution, rebelled and occupied Britain. He reigned for a *septennium* (Eutr.), or *sexennium* (Aur. Vict.), before being murdered by Allectus, his *rationalis summae rei* (cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.41 and coins with legend RSR). The latter reigned for a *triennium* (Eutr.). Working back from the date of our panegyric, on the conventional assumptions and the Eutropian scheme, it would seem that Allectus was defeated and killed in 296, that he had Carausius eliminated in 293, presumably following Constantius' capture of Boulogne, and that Carausius revolted in 286 (or 287 on Victor's reckoning). Some of the items and assumptions can be challenged (cf. note 46), but the conclusions cannot be very wide of the mark.

Panegyric 10.12.1ff. (289) informs us of Maximian's preparations for a grand expedition against Carausius; *Panegyric* 11 (291) is silent about the outcome, which must mean it failed. Perhaps Eutropius' *bella frustra temptata essent* refers to it. Eutropius goes on to say that peace was finally concluded with Carausius. Now Carausius minted coins with obverse CARAVSIVS ET FRATRES SVI (jugate busts of Maximian, Diocletian, and Carausius) and reverse PAX AVGGG (*RIC* 5.2.550), which have been

8. See M. Todd, *Roman Britain* (London, 1981) 204ff., for a pithy sketch.

9. Todd, *Roman Britain*, 210.

10. So Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 75 n. 1.

dated to ca. 290, but which might be later.[11] But Diocletian and Maximian did not reciprocate, so it is doubtful whether a formal agreement was made; Victor's formulation *solique Carausio remissum insulae imperium* (*Caes.* 39.39) points to a de facto acceptance of his rule.[12] Compare *Panegyric* 8.12.2: *consilio intermissum esse bellum.*

In 293, however, Constantius, newly promoted Caesar, marched to Gaul and laid siege to Boulogne (*Pan.* 8.6.1 and notes). After capturing it he set about building a navy (*Pan.* 8.7.3) and reconquering Britain. First he had to secure his rear (7.4ff.). There is reason to think that a first naval expedition against Britain was abortive (note 46). Some time afterward, perhaps not too long after the fall of Boulogne (note 46), Allectus murdered Carausius. Finally (although Victor implies there was little delay, his is a telescoped account of events), an expedition commanded by Constantius and the praetorian prefect Asclepiodotus reconquered Britain, and it is this that forms the centerpiece of the panegyric. Asclepiodotus, who is given the credit for the victory in the fourth-century accounts, is nowhere named in the panegyric.

11. P. Webb, *RIC* 5.2.442: "attributable to 290, 291 and perhaps to the early part of 292"; S. Frere, *Britannia*, 3d ed. (London, 1987) 327, dates them "perhaps" to 292.

12. So H.-G. Pflaum, "Emission au nom des trois empereurs frappée par Carausius," *RN*[6] 2 (1960) 54–73, rebutting Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 84 n. 4, who takes these words to mean that Victor believed (mistakenly) that Diocletian specifically renewed Carausius' "mission de defense."

VIII. PANEGYRIC OF CONSTANTIUS

If, invincible Caesar, after long silence I had only to conquer my 1
trepidation at once more undergoing my rhetorical apprenticeship, as it were, I would confess that I am troubled beyond what is appropriate considering my age and my reputation for skill, however slight that may be; but this is not without reason, inasmuch as I am to proclaim the divine miracles of your valor in the presence of Your Majesty yourself.[1] I 2
perceived even when I was engaged in the daily practice of instructing the young what a great deal of worry, what enormous labor, and how much anxious reverence there is in this kind of speech. For although I could 3
not do justice, in speaking, to all the early achievements of your father and uncle[2] in reviving the State, I could, however, at least register them by counting. But since either another kind of employment, involving 4
secret discourse, called me away from that former career to within the sanctuary of your palace,[3] or, after the repose your piety vouchsafed me, my partiality for the countryside led me to withdraw, and in the meantime you had wasted no opportunity to avenge or augment the State, since, after this, so many victories have been won by your courage, so many

1. If he had been in imperial service at the time of Maximian's expedition against the Alamanni in 287 (see note 6), his "long silence" (*diuturnum silentium*) would have lasted over ten years. The proem borrows some phrases from Cicero (cf. *Marc.* 1: *diuturni silentii*; 1.4: *illo vetere curriculo*; cf. *Marc.* 2: *in nostro vetere curriculo;* see A. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," *RhM* 66 [1911] 544).

2. Maximian and Diocletian, respectively. Constantius became Maximian's son-in-law when he married his stepdaughter (or daughter) Theodora, probably shortly before 289 (see *Pan.* 10.11.4 and note 38; Barnes, *New Empire*, 125–26). As Diocletian and Maximian were officially brothers (*fratres*, *Pan.* 10.1.5 and passim, and note 18 to that panegyric), Diocletian was therefore Constantius' uncle. Or perhaps it was the adoption of Constantius by Maximian upon his promotion to Caesar in 293 (attested, for example, by *Pan.* 7.3.3 of 307), rather than his marriage, that accounts for the terms.

3. In what capacity it is not clear; see Galletier, 1: 71–72, for some suggestions. For the close connection between the rhetorical schools of Gaul and the court at Trier see inter alia F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London, 1977) 98–99; J. A. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1939; reprint, 1964) 146ff.

barbarian nations wiped out on all sides, so many farmers settled in the Roman countryside,[4] so many frontiers pushed forward, so many
5 provinces restored, I am brought to a halt, lost for words, and on top of that sluggishness which is the product of my retirement I am deterred by this sheer quantity of events. The consequence is that I press on with this encouragement alone, that although I am far from equal to the oration because of my very lengthy inactivity, the fact that you, Caesar, are listening makes me equal to the occasion, especially since, thanks to the favor of your divinity, there occurred for me long ago that very access to the divine ears of your father which first brought me out into the public
6 light. Wherefore, relying more readily on the memory of Your Majesty, I may omit those things which I spoke of then and begin this speech with the events which followed.[5]

2 Yet of necessity I must pass over many of those things which happened during this period too, and most particularly those events at which I was present in the performance of the office conferred upon me by your divinity, namely, the capture of the king of a most savage nation while he was in the act of preparing an ambush, and the complete burning and devastation of Alamannia from the Rhine bridge right to the crossing of the Danube at Guntia,[6] for not only are these events too important to

4. Cf. below, 9.1–4, 21.1, and notes.

5. The implication is that Constantius was influential at Maximian's court long before he was appointed Caesar in 293, which is not the impression one receives from Anon. Val. 1.2 (nor the fictitious SHA, *Carus* 17.6). For the view that he was Maximian's praetorian prefect, see *Pan.* 10, note 38.

The wording of this passage suggests that while the speaker is a man of considerable oratorical experience this is only his second *basilikos logos*.

6. This is a crux. Does the speaker refer to one or two campaigns? When did it (or they) occur? Who was in charge? Are these events connected with expeditions we know of from elsewhere, or are they unique to this passage? W. Enßlin, "Maximianus 1 (Herculius)," *RE* 14.2 (1930) 2501–2, followed hesitantly by A. Lippold, "Constantius Caesar, Sieger über die Germanen—Nachfahre des Claudius Gothicus?" *Chiron* 11 (1981) 351, suggests a terminus post quem of 291 on the ground that *Pan.* 11 omits these exploits. Now it is clear from 2.2 that the events in question antedate Constantius' accession in 293 (see note 8 below). But is it certain that they are omitted by *Pan.* 11? *Pan.* 10.7.2 of 289 mentions a famous crossing of Maximian's into Germany, and this is taken up by *Pan.* 11.7.2 ("a victory across the Rhine"). At *Pan.* 11.17.3 we learn that the Burgundians have occupied the territory of the Alamanni (they were allies in the invasion of late

be narrated along with others, but in addition, in order not to appear to boast of my services as well, I am satisfied to have been privy to them and to have witnessed them.

Then may that divine birth of Your Majesties,[7] invincible Caesar, 2
give me a beginning for today's rejoicing, a birth brighter than the very beginning of spring which gave it light, for which the day was fair, and, as we who celebrated it felt, a summerlike sun warmed it beyond the expectation of the season, shining with a more majestic clarity of light than when it gave life at the creation of the world. As then midst those 3
tender beginnings of life men say it was temperate so as not to do damage by burning too brightly, so now we believe it to have struggled not to seem less brilliant than Your Majesty.

285; *Pan.* 10.5.1). Is this not a plausible consequence of the "complete burning and devastation of Alamannia" our panegyrist speaks of? I think Maximian's invasion of Germany in 287 (for the date see *Pan.* 10, Introduction, pp. 42–43) is a distinct possibility; so O. Schäfer, "Die beiden Panegyrici des Mamertinus und die Geschichte des Kaisers Maximianus Herculius" (Diss., Strassburg, 1914) 63ff.; Galletier, 1: 72 (more cautiously, p. 83 n. 3); but Barnes, *New Empire*, 57 and 125, does not make the connection. Constantius' role in such an expedition could safely have been neglected by a panegyrist in 289 and 291, as Asclepiodotus' is here.

Admittedly neither *Pan.* 10 nor *Pan.* 11 mentions the capture of a king. But they do not go into detail. Another possibility is that this feat was performed in a separate campaign. But from *Pan.* 10.10.3–5 it does not seem that the reference can be to the Frankish king Gennoboudes, who, it is implied, surrendered voluntarily. If the one-day campaign that relieved Trier on 1 January 287 led to the capture of the barbarian king as he prepared his ambush (see *Pan.* 10.6.2ff.), one would have expected the panegyrist to boast of such a coup.

The Rhine bridge is presumably the bridge at Mainz depicted on the famous lead medallion from Lyon; see M. R. Alföldi, "Zum Lyoner Bleimedallion," *SchwMbll* 8 (1958) 63–68, and note 28 below.

Guntia: *Guntiensem* is Rhenanus' emendation of MS *Contiensem*. Guntia (today's Günzburg, west of Augsburg) is mentioned in Ant. Itin. 250, between Augusta Vindelicum and Celio Monte.

7. Metaphorically, of Constantius' (and Galerius') *dies imperii*. Whether or not the present occasion was the celebration of the *quinquennalia* of the Caesars on 1 March 297 (see the Introduction, and note 8 below), the orator here recalls the actual accession of Constantius on an unseasonably warm spring day in 293 in a ceremony that he himself attended; it may well have taken place at Milan (see 6.1 and note 21). Preternaturally balmy weather is of course a familiar accompaniment of an important imperial undertaking; cf. *Pan.* 11.9.2.

3 O Spring, fertile and blessed with new growth, now joyful and worthy of veneration, not so much because of the loveliness of your flowers or the greenness of your crops or the buds on the vines or the Zephyr breezes themselves and the light that is unleashed so much as for the creation of our magnificent Caesars! O season, at which it is rightly believed that all things were once born, since we now see everything made strong in the same season. O Kalends of March, as once you marked the beginnings of the revolving years, so now you mark those of eternal Emperors.[8]

2 How many ages, most invincible rulers, do you generate for yourselves and for the State by sharing the guardianship of your world? Although its security was assured, for every foe was overcome, yet it demanded too

8. This indicates unequivocally that the *dies imperii* of the Caesars Constantius and Galerius was celebrated in 297 or 298 on 1 March (cf. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 35.4), and one would naturally conclude that both Caesars were proclaimed on 1 March 293. *Cons. Const.* (*Chron. min.* 1.230) dates the elevation to 1 March 292 (the year is demonstrably wrong), *Chron. Pasch.* (*Chron. min.* 1.229), however, to 21 May 293. Using these data, Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 91–94, makes a case for Constantius being elevated on 1 March, and Galerius on 21 May, 293. Certainly the name of Constantius always precedes that of Galerius in official documents, despite the latter being Caesar of the senior Augustus, and "Iovius." But the papyri never make a distinction between the regnal years of the Caesars, which are always given jointly (see the table in A. Chastagnol, "Les années régnales de Maximien Hercule en Egypte et les fêtes vicennales du 20 novembre 303," *RN*[6] 9 [1967] 71–72). No papyri can be dated to the crucial period between 1 March and 21 May in 293 or 294, but there are four from late March to April 295 that do not make a distinction, showing that the Caesars' *dies imperii* was treated as identical by then. Furthermore, there are problems with the view that Galerius assumed the purple at Nicomedia on 21 May 293, the date given in *Chron. Pasch.* (see I. König, "Die Berufung des Constantius Chlorus und des Galerius zu Caesaren: Gedanken zur Entstehung der ersten Tetrarchie," *Chiron* 4 [1974] 567ff.; Barnes, *New Empire*, 62 n. 73; but Galerius' name Maximianus cannot be deleted from Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 19.2 as a gloss to permit the reference to be to Diocletian, as Barnes suggests, for as J. Creed, *Lactantius* [Oxford, 1984] 100 n. 4, points out, "the unqualified 'ipse' would not refer at all naturally to Diocletian," who has not been mentioned for some time).

In sum, it seems better to conclude that the Paschal Chronicle is in error, perhaps confusing the date of the Caesars' proclamation in Egypt with that of their actual accession (cf. Barnes).

The date 1 March had marked the beginning of the Roman year until 153 B.C.E. (Livy *Epit.* 47; Cassiod. *Chron.* 409; *Chron. min.* 2.130).

many journeys in different directions or to places that had to be revisited.[9] For indeed once the Parthian beyond the Tigris had been reduced to 3 subjection,[10] Dacia restored,[11] the frontiers of Germany and Raetia extended right to the headwaters of the Danube,[12] and the reclaiming of Batavia and Britain resolved upon, the Empire, increased in size and about to be increased further, required greater guidance, and those who by their valor had extended the boundaries of Roman power were bound by piety to give imperial power to a son.

And, of course, in addition to the interests and concerns of the State, 4 that kindred majesty of Jupiter and Hercules also required a similarity

9. Section 3.2–3 provides a neat political rationale for the Tetrarchy; 4 will provide a cosmological justification for it.

10. It is clear that the speaker is referring to events that preceded the formation of the Tetrarchy in 293 ("the empire . . . required further guidance"). This will be a reference, then, not to Galerius' famous victory over the Persians, which in any case must postdate this speech (see T. D. Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns, A.D. 285–311," *Phoenix* 30 [1976] 182ff.; cf. note 17 below), but to an achievement of Diocletian. By 290 the latter had taken the title PERSICVS MAXIMVS (*ILS* 618), presumably for the achievement in question. Now *Pan.* 10.9.2 and 11.5.4 mention gifts brought by the Persians, which in panegyrical parlance can easily be translated into an admission of political subjection. At *Pan.* 10.10.6 this translation is made (cf. 10.4 below). Bahram II had made supplication to Diocletian, in 287 (see *Pan.* 10 note 36). This may be what we seek. But there are other possibilities, such as Diocletian's restoration of Tiridates III to the Armenian throne in 287 (so W. Felix, *Antike literarische Quellen zur Aussenpolitik des Sasanidenstaates* [Vienna, 1985] 105–6; see W. Enßlin, *Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletian* [Munich, 1942] 12, 20).

11. Dacia proper, north of the Danube, had been abandoned by Aurelian. This is the "new" Dacia, south of the Danube. It was presumably restored by Diocletian in the campaign that led to his first victory title, SARMATICVS MAXIMVS. As this is mentioned in *Pan.* 11 (5.4, 7.1) but not in *Pan.* 10, it must fall within the period 289–291 (see Barnes, *New Empire*, 51: "?289, summer"). This would mean that the events in this section are not in strict chronological order (see note 12). But they predate 293, which appears to exclude an association with the Carpi (as P. Brennan suggests, "Combined Legionary Detachments as Artillery Units in Late-Roman Danubian Bridgehead Dispositions," *Chiron* 10 [1980] 565; see note 17 below).

12. The reference is to the campaigns of Maximian and Diocletian in Germany and Raetia in 287–288 (note 6 above for Maximian, and *Pan.* 10.9.1 and 11.7.1 for Diocletian). In 293 the liberation of Batavia and Britain lay in the future.

between the entire world and heavenly affairs in the shape of Jovian and
2 Herculian rulers.[13] For indeed all the most important things depend upon and rejoice in the number of your divinity, for there are four elements and as many seasons of the year, a world divided fourfold by a double Ocean, the *lustra* which return after four revolutions of the sky, the Sun's team of four horses, and Vesper and Lucifer added to the two lamps of the sky.
3 But neither the Sun itself nor all the stars watch over human affairs with such unremitting light as you, who illuminate the world with scarcely any discrimination of night and day and provide for the well-being of nations not only with these eyes which animate your immortal countenances, but much more with those eyes of your divine minds, and bless with your healing light not only the provinces where the day rises, passes by and disappears from view, but also those in the northern belt. Thus, Caesar, the benefactions which you distribute over the world are almost more
4 numerous than those of the gods. And if I should wish to linger over all of them, neither this entire day nor the next nor succeeding days would be sufficient for me; and I must pay heed to time, for Caesar is standing while we speak.[14]

5 Therefore let me simply marvel at the Sarmatian expeditions in which almost the whole of that people was wiped out and was left as it were
2 with only its name with which to serve.[15] May the Nile trophies under

13. See *Pan.* 10, Introduction, "Maximian and the Genesis of the Tetrarchy," for the titles Iovius and Herculius.

14. A somewhat surprising element in the ceremony, given that normally even the most important imperial officials would stand in the presence of the seated emperor (hence *consistorium*); cf. Eus. *Vita Constantini* 4.33, where Constantine "stood and listened with all the rest" to Eusebius' lengthy oration on the Savior's sepulcher and refused Eusebius' pleas that he seat himself on his throne, because, he said, "it was reverent to stand while listening to sacred truths"; the implication is that an emperor would normally sit through a speech.

15. From an enumeration of exploits dating before the creation of the Tetrarchy (3.3) the speaker turns to the achievements of the Tetrarchy, some of which are very recent (the annihilation of the Carpi) or even current (the Moorish campaign). Therefore the reference will not be merely to the Sarmatian campaigns mentioned in *Pan.* 11.4.2 and 5.4 (ca. 289–290) but also to the accomplishments of 294.

In recent years the pressure had been on the Pannonian, not the Moesian, frontier, which had been relieved when Dacia had been evacuated and occupied by the Goths; see A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London, 1974) 267; SHA, *Carus* 8.1, 9.4; Eutr. 9.18. The codes show that Diocletian had made Sirmium

which the Ethiopian and the Indian quaked pardon me.[16] May the very

his headquarters for much of the period from 289 to 294 (see Barnes, *New Empire*, 51–53), largely to deal with the Sarmatian problem.

In 294, *castra facta [sunt] in Sarmatia contra Acinco et Bononia* (*Cons. Const.*, *Chron. min.* 1.230), and from these bridgeheads opposite Budapest and Bononia, the port of Sirmium, a pincer movement must have been directed at the Sarmatian heartland of the Hungarian plains. Diocletian himself, and not Galerius (as, for example, L. Barkóczi, "History of Pannonia," in *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, ed. A. Lengyel and G. Radan [Lexington, Ky., and Budapest, 1980] 110; see note 16 for Galerius' whereabouts in 294), will have directed the operation from his headquarters at Sirmium. The codes show him there throughout the period from autumn 293 to the end of summer 294 (with the occasional side trip to inspect frontier installations; e.g., he was at Lugio, halfway between Aquincum and Bononia, on 5 November 293; *Cod. Iust.* 9.20.10–11; Mócsy, p. 268). The campaign took place in the summer of 294 (pace Barnes, *New Empire*, 53 n. 32, who plumps for autumn). Following it, during the whole of the autumn, Diocletian made slow but steady progress down the Danube (Barnes, p. 53), closely inspecting the lower Danubian frontier forts prior to a second major campaign the following summer, this time against the Carpi (note 17 below). From 8 to 12 September he was in Singidunum; by mid-November he was in Nicomedia, where he wintered.

But despite what the panegyrist says the Sarmatians recovered rapidly, and further fighting occurred within a few years.

16. These trophies are presented as the consequence of victories over foreign races, but panegyric being what it is, one cannot automatically exclude an allusion to the revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus. But if this can be dated to 297–298 (see J. D. Thomas, "The Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus," *ZPE* 22 [1976] 253–79, esp. 262ff.; id., "A Family Dispute from Karanis," *ZPE* 24 [1977] 233–43), rather than to 296–297 (J. Schwartz, *L. Domitius Domitianus*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 12 [Brussels, 1975]; id., "L. Domitius Domitianus," *ZPE* 25 [1977] 217–20; and now F. Kolb, "Die Datierung des ägyptischen Aufstands unter L. Domitius Domitianus und Aurelius Achilleus," *Eos* 76 [1988] 325–43), and if our panegyric is to be dated to 297, then the revolt can be eliminated from consideration. Unfortunately, neither question is settled. Kolb has effectively demonstrated the inconclusiveness of some of Thomas's key arguments and makes some strong points in favor of 296 (notably numismatic, pp. 341–42). Nonetheless, the pattern of papyri dates would still seem to favor 297(–298?). It is worth noting that Eumenius does not disguise the fact that there had been a rebellion in Egypt (*Pan.* 9.21.2).

What, then, are these Nile trophies? The most plausible explanation is that they refer to the suppression of the revolt of Busiris and Coptos (Jerome *Chron.* 226[a] Helm, a.293–294), discussed by Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 137ff., and by

recent annihilation of the Carpi be content with a mention of its glory.[17]

Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns," 180ff. (see *New Empire*, 62), who argues that it was Galerius' operation, and not Diocletian's, as used to be thought. Skepticism that Galerius was in Egypt at this date (e.g., Lippold, "Constantius Caesar," 350 n. 15) ought to be shaken by recent evidence attesting the presence of an *adiutor memoriae* from Galerius' *comitatus* in Caesarea (surely Maritima) in December 293; see J. R. Rea, R. P. Salomons, and K. A. Worp, "A Ration-Warrant for an *adiutor memoriae*," *YCS* 28 (1985) 101ff. "Aethiops et Indus" should refer to the peoples of southern Egypt; see T. Drew-Bear, "Les voyages d'Aurélien Gaius, soldat de Dioclétien," in *Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 14–16 juin*, 1979, Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antique 7 (Leiden, 1981) 93–141, 117ff.

17. If the titulature in the Edict on Maximum Prices (*CIL* 3, pp. 802–3) provides a reliable guide to the order of events, the annihilation of the Carpi followed the reconquest of Britain and was very recent indeed (spring 297?). But it may have preceded the British campaign; see note 48. Victor (*Caes.* 39.43) and Eutropius (9.25.2) mention the Carpi after the Persian victory, but both telescope events (cf. Victor: *interea*). The *Cons. Const.* (*Chron. min.* 1.230), in a notice parallel to that of Victor, reports that the whole nation of the Carpi *in Romania se tradidit* in the year 295. It is conceivable that the campaign was undertaken over two seasons. In any event the fighting will have occurred on the lower Danube, below the Iron Gates. Wars against the Carpi eventually led to no fewer than five imperial victory titles being taken by 311 at the latest. The Carpi were far from being annihilated or incorporated within the Roman Empire! (See Brennan, "Combined Legionary Detachments," 564ff. and references; G. Bichir, *Archaeology and History of the Carpi*, BAR Supplement 16 [Oxford, 1976] 1: 143ff.; also note 35 below.) Those who remained outside the Empire were evidently styled Carpodacae, that is, "Carpi from Dacia," to distinguish them from their brethren who had been transferred south of the *limes* (Zosimus 4.34.6; Bichir, pp. 145f.). The origin and ethnic affiliations of the Carpi have been vigorously but inconclusively debated over the years; in our period they are closely associated with the Carpathian Mountains, and a good case has been made for attributing to the Carpi a distinct material culture, "a developed form of the Geto-Dacian La Tène culture," often known as the Poienesti culture, which is characteristic of this area (see Bichir, p. 147 and passim).

Ammianus credits Diocletian with the transfer of the Carpi (28.1.4), but that need not imply that Diocletian was in charge of the military operations (or even that Ammianus thought that he was). Orosius attributes joint responsibility to Diocletian and Galerius (7.25.12). Jordanes, however, explicitly credits Galerius with their conquest (*Getica* 91), and some modern scholars have been inclined to follow him (Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 133; Galletier, 1: 86 n. 1; Barkóczi, "History of Pannonia," 110). Barnes has argued that Galerius was in Egypt and the East from late 293 to the spring of 297 (cf. *New Empire*, 62–63), and as it seems certain that he campaigned against the Persians in 296, and new evidence confirms his presence in the East in December 293 (see note 16 above), it has become more difficult to accept Jordanes' statement. Galerius did return to the Danube to collect a fresh army after his defeat by the Persians (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.34; Eutr. 9.24; Festus 25). Can he really have found time to campaign against the Carpi then? There is a third candidate—Maximian (see note 48).

May it be left to messengers coming any moment now to announce the devastation inflicted upon the Moors.[18] With Your Majesty's permission 3
I shall celebrate these on another occasion, and, O immortal gods, I pray that those who performed these exploits may be present.[19] But, 4
invincible Caesar, on this occasion graced by your dignity I must relate without delay those exploits carried out under the leadership and auspices of your divinity, the spectacle of which we are also enjoying,[20] all the more so because, although they are of general benefit to the State, we must applaud especially achievements which are closer to us.

18. The campaign against the Moors was evidently still in progress in the spring of 297, or at least news of its completion had not reached Gaul by then. Maximian was in command (cf. *ILS* 645; Eutr. 9.23; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 34.39). Eumenius imagines the students of Autun locating the operation on their map: *te, Maximiane invicte, perculsa Maurorum agmina fulminantem* (*Pan.* 9.21.2). Galletier, 1: 109, takes Eumenius' use of *perculsa* to indicate that the campaign is over (see Kolb, "Zu chronologischen Problemen der ersten Tetrarchie," 108), which would mean that his speech was subsequent to this one. But a less literal treatment of the passage may be preferable (see *Pan.* 9, note 83). It has been claimed by Seston (*Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 120) that Maximian entered Carthage in triumph, 10 March 298, thus providing an absolute date for the end of the campaign. Matters are not so simple. A rescript (*Frag. Vat.* 41) shows that Maximian was indeed in Carthage on that date, but no more. Coins of the mint at Carthage celebrate FELIX ADVENT(VS) AVGG NN (*RIC* 6.422–26), and while they are likely to be associated with the successful outcome of the war, they cannot be dated precisely. The absence from the catalogue of a reference to the Persian wars shows unquestionably that the panegyrist has no knowledge of Galerius' great victory. It may well be, however, that he glosses over his preceding defeat (cf. Lippold, "Constantius Caesar," 350ff., followed by Kolb, p. 111). It is likely that in keeping with his historical cast of mind (see the Introduction, p. 105) he has dealt with recent events more or less in chronological order in this section: this may not be the case with *Pan.* 9.21. But see notes 11 and 12 above.

19. On this occasion, clearly, only Constantius is present.

20. Constantius' exploits in Britain were evidently recreated in a triumphal procession that graced the celebration.

6 Thus you straightway made Gaul yours, Caesar, simply by coming here.[21] Indeed the swiftness with which you anticipated all reports of your accession and arrival caught the forces of that band of pirates[22] who were then so obstinate in their unhappy error, trapped within the walls of Gesoriacum,[23] and denied access to the Ocean which washes the gates
2 of the city to those who had relied for so long upon the sea. In this you displayed your divine forethought, and the outcome matched your design, for you rendered the whole bay of the port, where at fixed intervals the tide ebbs and flows, impassable to ships by driving piles at its entrance and sinking boulders there. You thereby overcame the very nature of the place with remarkable ingenuity, since the sea, moving back and forth in vain, seemed to make sport, as it were, of those to whom escape was denied, and offered as little practical help to those shut in as if it had
3 ceased to ebb at all.[24] What camp rampart shall we admire in future after

21. This reveals that Constantius was elevated outside Gaul, presumably in Milan (Barnes, *New Empire*, 60 n. 63; cf. O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 4th ed. [Stuttgart, 1921] 1: 454). What follows appears to date the siege of Gesoriacum (Boulogne) to shortly after 1 March 293 (as does *Pan.* 6.5.2). There was then a considerable delay while Constantius built a navy (7.3) and cleared Batavia of barbarians (7.4ff.).

22. I.e., contingents of troops of Carausius. Carausius and Allectus are never named but are always stigmatized as pirates, criminals, et al. (cf. *Pan.* 10.12.1).

23. Modern Boulogne obscures much of the ancient site, and while remnants of late Roman defensive walls are still to be seen, it is not clear whether they correspond to those mentioned by the panegyrist; for a brief summary, see S. Johnson, *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore* (London, 1976) 83–85.

24. Constantius' mole would not only have prevented the besieged from escaping by sea, had they sufficient ships, but also have prevented Carausius' navy, which controlled the channel (cf. 7.3–4), from coming to their relief. As N. Shiel, *The Episode of Carausius and Allectus*, BAR 40 (Oxford, 1977) 6, points out, what was constructed was not a breakwater but rather a barrier for ships. He is also probably right to infer from the silence of the panegyrist that no attempt was made to relieve Boulogne by land. This omission might be explained if Carausius' continental holdings were not then as extensive as sometimes argued.

Until R. A. G. Carson, "The Mints and Coinage of Carausius and Allectus," *JBAA* 22 (1959) 33–40, postulated on the basis of the coins of Carausius without mintmark that he had a mint at Boulogne from the inception of his revolt, it was generally assumed that he had fled from Gaul and only won a continental base after the failure of Maximian's expedition, ca. 289–290. Recently Shiel, pp. 171ff., and P. J. Casey, "Carausius and Allectus—Rulers in Gaul?" *Britannia*

this novel rampart at sea? What wonder if walls in their stoutness do not 4
yield to the battering ram, or with their height disdain siege machines, when that mighty Ocean, poised with such energy, and rising up with such great mass, whether driven back, as people claim, by more distant lands or borne along by its breath as it exhales or moved by some other cause altogether, never broke through your barriers, Caesar, nor uprooted them entirely with its ebb and flow over so many days and nights?—especially since in the meantime it was wearing away so many coastlines and eroding so many banks wherever it washed up against the land, and in this one spot only, in fact, was either inferior in power to Your Majesty or milder on account of the honor due to you.

Xerxes, the most powerful King of the Persians, I am told threw 7
fetters of gold into the deep, repeatedly avowing that he was binding up Neptune because he was raging against him with his waves—foolish
boastfulness and sacrilegious pride.[25] But your divine forethought, Caesar, 2

8 (1977) 283–301, esp. 288–89, have demonstrated that the Carausian issues without mintmark are not concentrated in the southeast corner of England but are uniformly distributed throughout the island, and furthermore that they are almost completely absent from Gaul. It is therefore very probable that they were minted in Britain, and presumably at London. Casey concludes on the basis of coin finds that the area around Boulogne, Rouen, and Amiens was first occupied by Carausius ca. 290 after the failure of Maximian (see esp. pp. 290ff.). But the numismatic evidence, even when properly interpreted, has inherent limitations. Circulation of coins cannot be equated with political and military control. As Todd, for example, observes (*Roman Britain*, 209), the collapse of the argument based on the coin issues without mintmark does not entirely destroy the case that Carausius held the Gallic coast from 286–287, for Maximian was unable to challenge him at sea until ca. 289–290 (see 12.1 and notes 40, 42). Conversely, occurrence of Carausian coins in the above-mentioned parts of Gaul does not prove that Carausius controlled them. With the likelihood that the so-called Rouen series emanates not from Rouen at all (as R. A. G. Carson, *Mints, Dies and Currencies: Essays Dedicated to the Memory of Albert Baldwin* [London, 1971] 63, and Webb, *RIC* 5.2.433, believed) but from Boulogne (Casey, pp. 291–92; Shiel, pp. 180–82), the case for Carausius holding a considerable part of Gaul at any stage is very much weakened. Casey's view that Allectus retained a foothold on the Continent until ca. 295 (pp. 293ff.) has little to commend it. In short, the panegyrist may well be right: Constantius straightway made Gaul his with the capture of Boulogne. But Carausius commanded the sea and could continue to raid the Gallic coast.

25. Hdt. 7.34–35.

devised an efficacious plan and did not insult the element, so that it did
3 not provoke its hatred but earned its respectful compliance. For what
other construction are we to put upon it when immediately necessity and
trust in your clemency had put an end to the siege the very first wave
which bore down upon those same barriers burst through them, and that
whole line of trees, unconquered by the surge as long as there was a need
for it, collapsed as if a signal had been given and its guard duty was at
an end? The result was that no one could doubt that that harbor, which
had been closed to the pirate so he could not bring help to his men, had
opened of its own accord to aid our victory. For the whole war could have
been finished immediately, invincible Caesar, under the impulse of your
courage and good fortune, had not the necessity of the case persuaded
4 you that time should be spent on the building of a navy.[26] During the
whole of this period, however, you never ceased to destroy those enemies
8 whom terra firma permitted you to approach, although that region which
was liberated and purged of the enemy by your divine campaigns, Caesar,
through which the Scaldis [Scheldt] flows with its meandering channels
and which the Rhine embraces with its two arms, is hardly land at all, if I
2 may hazard the expression.[27] It is so thoroughly soaked and drenched
with waters that not only where it is obviously marshy does it yield to

26. As remarked above, it is clear from the panegyrist's account of the siege that Carausius had control of the sea, that help from this quarter might have been expected by the besiegers, and indeed that Constantius had no navy to speak of. Carausius had absconded with the whole fleet that he had prepared (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.20) in 286–287 (see 12.1 and note 39 below), and the fleet that Maximian built in 288–289 (*Pan.* 10.12.3ff.) had been lost shortly thereafter (see the Introduction, p. 107).

The panegyrist here apologizes for the long delay before an expedition could be mounted against Britain; in fact, something further had gone awry; see below, 12.2 and note 46.

27. A vivid description of the Low Countries, Carausius' native land (see the Introduction, p. 107). Before Constantius embarked on an invasion of Britain, and to make good use of the time consumed in the construction of a fleet, he secured his rear against the inhabitants of Batavia, who were probably Carausius' allies (see *Pan.* 6.5.3 and note 21 ad loc.); so Galletier, 1: 74, who dates the operation to the summer of 293 (as does Barnes, *New Empire*, 60) and assumes that the Chamavan and Frisian captives of 9.3 were its victims, I think rightly. (See J. Kolendo, "La chronologie des guerres contre les Germains au cours des dernières années de la tétrarchie," *Klio* 52 [1970] 199 and references cited there; also note 28 below.)

pressure and engulf the foot which treads it, but even where it seems a
little firmer it shakes when subjected to the tramp of feet and attests by its
movement that it feels the weight from afar. Thus the fact is that this land 3
swims on what underlies it and, suspended there, trembles so extensively
that one might claim with justification that such terrain existed to give
soldiers practice in naval warfare. But neither the treacherous nature of 4
this region nor the very many refuges which were to be found in its forests
could protect the barbarians from being compelled to give themselves up
en masse to the control of your divinity, and with their wives and children
and the rest of their swarm of relatives and chattels they crossed over to
lands long since deserted in order to restore to cultivation through their
servitude what they themselves, perhaps, had once devastated by their
plundering.

What god could have persuaded us, before you became our rulers, 9
that what we have seen and are now seeing would ever come to pass, even
if he had been willing to address us in person? In all the porticoes of
our cities sit captive bands of barbarians, the men quaking, their savagery
utterly confounded, old women and wives contemplating the listlessness
of their sons and husbands, youths and girls fettered together whispering
soothing endearments, and all these parceled out to the inhabitants of
your provinces for service, until they might be led out to the desolate
lands assigned to be cultivated by them. It is a pleasure, by Hercules, to 2
exult in the name of all the Gauls together, and—I say this by your leave—
to attribute the triumph to the provinces themselves. And so it is for me 3
now that the Chamavian and Frisian plows,[28] and that vagabond, that

28. *Pan.* 8 is important testimony to the depopulation of Gaul as a consequence of the civil wars and barbarian invasions of the 260s and 270s and the revolts of the Bagaudae—and to its subsequent resettlement with barbarian prisoners. It is natural to assume that these Chamavi and Frisii were captured in Constantius' campaign on the Scheldt just mentioned. Lippold, "Constantius Caesar," 348 n. 8, prefers to postulate an otherwise unknown action of Constantius in 294 (295?), on the ground that the Frisians are not Franks, while references in the panegyrics make it clear that the settlers were. But of these *Pan.* 8.21.1 (ad fin.) simply refers to *cultores barbari*, and those in the later panegyrics (7.4.2 of 307, 6.5.3 of 310) are less specific, and by "Franks" they may merely be singling out the main component of the people.

The panegyrist speaks for the whole of Gaul. These barbarian *Vertriebenen* were evidently not settled in the territory of Autun (pace Galletier, 1: 89 n. 2; see 21.1 below). *Pan.* 5.6 (311) paints a gloomy picture of agriculture there, but he is engaged in special pleading, and in any case much can happen in fifteen

pillager, toils at the cultivation of the neglected countryside and frequents my markets with beasts for sale, and the barbarian farmer lowers the price
4 of food. Furthermore, if he is summoned to the levy, he comes running and is crushed by discipline; he submits to the lash and congratulates himself upon his servitude by calling it soldiering.[29]

5 What am I to do, Caesar? Forgive me if I linger; forgive me if I hurry; for I am passing over many of your marvelous deeds of courage at that time when preparations were afoot for the expedition to Britain, while I am eagerly hastening to that remarkable victory by which the entire
6 State was at last liberated. The magnitude of the undertaking I shall set forth, invincible Caesar, only to the extent that I may tell how vital and difficult this war was before I say by whose direction it was brought to an end.

10 The defection of these provinces from the light of Rome, although distressing, was less dishonorable in the Principate of Gallienus. For then, whether through neglect of affairs or through a certain deterioration in
2 our fortune, the State was dismembered of almost all its limbs.[30] At

years. M. Alföldi has argued convincingly that the Lyon medallion depicts the settlement of barbarians on abandoned land in Gaul by the emperors Constantius and Maximian as a result of the campaigns of ca. 296 (see above, note 6). The upper register of the medallion depicts the reception of captured barbarians with their effects; the lower shows them crossing a bridge over the Rhine from Castel(lum), Kastel, to Moguntiacum (Mainz). At the top is the legend SAECVLI FELICITAS.

29. Chamavan army recruits are found far afield within a very few years. *PPanop.* 2.291–92 refers to "soldiers of the eleventh cohort Χαμοδώρων . . . stationed at Peamou opposite Abydos" in Upper Egypt in 300. That the "Chamodoroi" were Chamavi is proved by *Not. dign. or.* 31.61, which places the eleventh cohort of Chamavi at the selfsame obscure and remote Peamou (T. C. Skeat, *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* [Dublin, 1964] 151).

30. By "these provinces" the speaker refers to Britain, "this one disgrace of such a great empire" (10.4); it had been divided into two provinces in the Severan era (Frere, *Britannia*, 162ff.; P. Salway, *Roman Britain* [Oxford, 1981] 222, 225ff.) and was to be divided again in the wake of the reconquest. It had adhered to Postumus and the *imperium Galliarum*, ca. 260–273 (see the Introduction, p. 107). Our veteran speaker evokes the horrors of a past through which he has lived, but carefully glosses over the spectacular defection of Gaul itself. Lippold remarks, "Constantius Caesar," 352–53, that this sketch shows that the concept of Gallienus' reign as a low point ("Tiefpunkt") was not the product of

that time both the Parthian had too lofty pretensions and the Palmyrene claimed equality;[31] all of Egypt and the Syrias had seceded,[32] Raetia was lost and Noricum and the Pannonias devastated.[33] Italy herself, mistress 3

fourth-century *Legendenbildung;* true, but the fact of loss of territory was self-evident from the start. What was at issue is where the responsibility lay. The panegyrist leaves it an open question (*sive incuria rerum sive quadam inclinatione fatorum*). Fourth-century historiography, on the other hand, was in no doubt; Gallienus himself is pilloried by SHA, Victor, and Eutropius alike.

31. "Parthian" (so, too, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33.3 and Eutr. 9.8.2 for Sassanid Persian). Well might he have lofty pretensions, considering that Sapor (Shapur) I had captured the emperor Valerian ca. 259–260 (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 32.5; Eutr. 9.7) and used him as a footstool to mount his horse (*Epit.* 32.5). His triumph is depicted on a series of rock carvings at Naqsh-i-Rustam and Bishapur showing Valerian on his knees before the Persian king on horseback.

In 260 Sapor was defeated by Odaenathus, a Palmyrene noble who commanded the Roman armies in the East for several years with various titles, and considerable success. His widow, Zenobia, however, upon succeeding him in the name of her infant son, Vaballathus, overran the Roman provinces from Egypt to Asia Minor. After initially recognizing Vaballathus, Aurelian marched against Zenobia when she proclaimed her son Augustus, reclaimed the lost territory, and led the queen in triumph (cf. A. Alföldi, *CAH*, 12: 169ff.).

32. Egypt, too, was in turmoil during the reign of Gallienus. Macrianus and Quietus were proclaimed there in September 260 after the capture of Valerian (cf. SHA, *Gallien.* 1.2–3.2; *Tyr. Trig.* 12–14). After their deaths, loyalties were divided; although the mint of Alexandria resumed coining for Gallienus, an opposing faction under L. Mussius Aemilianus, the prefect of Egypt, gained the ascendancy, and Aemilianus himself assumed the *imperium* (*Epit.* 32.4; SHA, *Gallien.* 4.1; *Tyr. Trig.* 22; cf. *PLRE* I, Aemilianus.)

33. The Raetian frontier had been under heavy pressure off and on since early in the third century. In 253 Valerian had been proclaimed emperor by the army "in Raetia and Noricum" (Eutr. 9.7), and it is reasonable to infer that he had been holding a special command against the Alamanni (A. Alföldi, *CAH*, 12: 154; G. Alföldy, *Noricum* [London, 1974] 189). In 259–260 a great Alamannic invasion penetrated Italy; see L. Schmidt, *Die Westgermanen* (Munich, 1938) 233, for the trail of destruction in the archaeological record in Switzerland. Although the Alamanni were driven back, the establishment of the *imperium Galliarum* meant that parts of Raetia became a "no-man's-land" between the territories of Gallienus and Postumus and could not be recovered; the *agri decumates* were also lost at this time (see A. Alföldi, pp. 155–56). But to say "Raetia was lost" is an exaggeration: Gallienus refortified Vindonissa (Windisch) and other strongholds after the invasion, and the presence of Aureolus in Raetia with an army in 268

of nations, lamented the destruction of very many of its cities.[34] There was not so much distress over individual losses when the Empire was deprived
4 of almost everything. But now that the whole world has been reclaimed through your courage, not only where it had been Roman, but thoroughly subjugated even where it had been the enemy's, since Alamannia has been trampled so many times, the Sarmatians so often shackled, the Iuthungi, the Quadi and Carpi so frequently utterly crushed, the Goth submitting and seeking peace, the King of the Persians making supplication through gifts, this one disgrace of such a great Empire was searing our souls—we can now at last confess it—and seemed the more intolerable to us because it alone frustrated our glory.[35]

(Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33.17: *cum per Raetias legionibus praeesset*) shows that the Romans did not abandon the province in Gallienus' reign.

In Noricum coin hoards of 253–254 portended a troubled decade; see Alföldy, p. 170, for evidence of destruction there. For the devastation of Pannonia (and presumably Noricum) by Sarmatians and Quadi, see Eutr. 9.8.2; and SHA, *Tyr. Trig.* 9.1 (Ingenuus), 10.2 (Regalianus).

34. In the aforementioned Alamannic invasion, which reached Ravenna (Eutr. 9.7) and threatened Rome itself (Zosimus 1.37.1–2). According to Zosimus most of the destruction occurred during the retreat. Gallienus hastened over the Alps to Italy and inflicted a decisive defeat on the invaders at Milan (see Zonar. 12.24). For the invasion route and further details see Schmidt, *Die Westgermanen*, 233ff.

35. The speaker is very adroit in his demonstration of the importance of Britain to the Romans and the serious consequences of its loss; see C. E. V. Nixon, "The Use of the Past by the Gallic Panegyrists," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke et al. (Potts Point, NSW, 1990) 14–17, 21–22; and 17.3–18.6 below.

On the Alamanni, see note 6 above; on the Sarmatians, note 15.

In this paragraph the panegyrist by implication gives the credit to Constantius (and his fellow emperors) for some of the achievements that seemingly belong to their predecessors. Admittedly there are gaps in our knowledge, but there are no other references to Tetrarchic victories over the Iuthungi and Quadi, for instance. Schmidt, *Die Westgermanen*, 180, infers from this passage a victory over the Quadi ca. 295, with what warrant it is not clear. Under Gallienus the Quadi had devastated Pannonia (Eutr. 9.8; cf. SHA, *Probus* 5.2, and note 34 above), and perhaps they, rather than the Iuthungi, masquerade under the name Suebi in SHA, *Aurel.* 18.2, 33.4, which reports Roman success (Schmidt). A gold medallion of Numerian, TRIVNFV QVADOR (K. Pink, "Der Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung in der Kaiserzeit. VI 2 Carus und Söhne," *NZ* 80 [1963] 5–68, 44–45; illustrated, id., "Der Medaillonprägung unter Carus und

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seinen Söhnen," in *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, ed. H. Ingholt [New York, 1958] 553–62, pl. 36,6 [= p. 558, no. 12]), celebrates the victory of Carinus in 283. A similar medallion, for Carinus, reported by G. Elmer, *Der Münzensammler*, vol. 8 (Gablonz, 1935) 11ff., now "fehlt" (Pink, p. 45). After this, our sources are silent until 357 (Amm. Marc. 16.10.20; cf. Lippold, "Constantius Caesar," 353 n. 30).

Similarly the Iuthungi, like the Quadi a branch of the Suebi (Schmidt, p. 129), are last heard of in 270–271, when they attacked Italy in concert with the Alamanni and were defeated by Aurelian (Dexippus *Scythica* frag. 24, Müller, *FHG* 3.682f. = frags. 6–7, Jacoby, *FGrH* 2A, no. 100; Zosimus 1.49; Schmidt, pp. 180, 238ff.; F. Paschoud, *Zosime: Histoire nouvelle*, livres 1–2 [Paris, 1971] n. 77 ad loc.), and not again until 358 (Amm. Marc. 17.6.2).

The Carpi, on the other hand, were recent adversaries (5.2 above, with note 17). This passage distinguishes clearly between the Goths and Carpi, as do other sources, and they appear to be ethnically and culturally distinct (Bichir, *Archaeology and History of the Carpi*). It would therefore be a matter for surprise if the victory titles Carpicus and Gothicus in Tetrarchic inscriptions were equivalent, as claimed by Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns," 187 n. 53, citing inscriptions discussed by J. Kolendo, "Une inscription inconnue de Sexaginta Arista et la fortification du Bas-Danube sous la tétrarchie," *Eirene* 5 (1966) 139ff. (In *New Empire* Barnes ignores the title Gothicus.) It seems better to insist on the distinction; cf. Lippold, p. 353 n. 32; P. Brennan, "Diocletian and the Goths," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 142–46. In this connection, note the case of Aurelian, who defeated both Goths (Eutr. 9.13; Amm. Marc. 31.5.17) and Carpi (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.43, reading *caesa* for MS *fere*; SHA, *Aurel.* 30.4), and who took the victory titles Gothicus and Carpicus (*CIL* 3.7586 = *ILS* 8925; *CIL* 6.1112; SHA, *Aurel.* 30.4).

The panegyrist also implies that the Romans have won a victory over the Goths, and the appearance of the victory title Gothicus in *AE*, 1936, 10 (Durostorum) seems to confirm this. But the title does not appear in the Edict on Maximum Prices or the Currency Edict, 301 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 17f.: *AE*, 1973, 526), or in subsequent titulature, and has been branded as an error (cf. Brennan, p. 144). Now as *Pan.* 10 (289) does not mention the Goths, and *Pan.* 11 (291) does so only to report their fighting with the Burgundi (17.1), a terminus post quem of 292 for a Roman victory would seem reasonable (Lippold, pp. 353–54; Brennan, p. 144). Brennan has suggested a terminus ante quem of November 294 on the ground that neither Diocletian nor Galerius was on the Danube after this, but the claim is not beyond doubt (see note 17 above). He further suggests (p. 145) that the title was dropped in 296–297 when Galerius returned to the Danube to collect reinforcements after the Roman defeat by the Persians in 296. We learn from Jordanes (*Getica* 110) that Gothic auxiliaries were enlisted then, and Brennan hypothesizes that the title "may have rankled with the Gothic leaders"; speculative, certainly, but the Romans must have come to some kind of

11 And assuredly it was not the case, because Britain was only one name, that its loss was such a trifling one for the State, a land so abundant in crops, so rich in the number of its pastures, so overflowing with veins of ore, so lucrative in revenues, so girt with harbors, so vast in circumference.[36]
2 When that Caesar to whom you owe your name landed in Britain, first of Romans to do so, he wrote that he had discovered another world, judging it to be of such a large size that it seemed to be not surrounded by the
3 Ocean, but enclosing the Ocean itself.[37] For at that time Britain was not armed with any vessels for naval warfare, and the Roman state, already proficient from the time of the Punic Wars and the wars in Asia, and also recently from the war against the pirates, and the Second Mithridatic War, was as strong in the practice of naval warfare as in that on land.[38]
4 In addition to that, a nation which was then primitive and accustomed to fight, still half-naked, only with Picts and Hiberni, easily succumbed

agreement with the Goths in 296–297, and the wording of the panegyric does not stand in the way.

For Persian supplication, see *Pan.* 10, note 36, and note 10 above.

36. No doubt the picture is overdrawn. Nonetheless, despite Q. Cicero's pessimistic forecast (Cic. *Att.* 4.16.7), the Romans soon found that Britain produced much of interest to them (Caes. *BGall.* 5.12–14; Strabo 4.5.1–2; Tac. *Agr.* 12); Salway, *Roman Britain*, chap. 20, provides a stimulating, up-to-date survey of the development of the British economy under the Romans.

37. Caesar regularly sent dispatches back to the Senate (see *BGall.* 4.38.4). One wonders whether the panegyrist drew upon Fronto's lost panegyric on Antoninus Pius' conquests in Britain (see below, 14.2 and note 50; Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 546–47).

38. An exaggeration. Until the Empire the Romans had not maintained a permanent navy worthy of the name. The pirate problem was a consequence of their failure to keep up their fleet after the Punic wars. Large fleets were to operate in the period of the Second Triumvirate, and Augustus put such forces onto a permanent footing, with naval bases at Misenum and Ravenna, and a series of subsidiary fleets from the Danube and the Black Sea to the Rhine and the British Channel. But many of the captains and officers were Greek, and naval warfare was never a Roman forte; C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1960), is still the best treatment of the subject. Nevertheless it is interesting to find a panegyrist making an argument based on historical change and (at 11.4) displaying some realization of cultural distinctions and development; see Nixon, "Use of the Past," 14–17, 21–22. In the passage that follows the Picts appear for the first time in history. They are mentioned together with the Caledonians in *Pan.* 6.7.2 (310).

to Roman arms and standards, almost to the point that Caesar should have boasted about this one thing only on that expedition: that he had sailed across the Ocean.

But by this nefarious act of brigandage, first of all the fleet which 12
once guarded the Gauls was abducted by the pirate as he fled,[39] and then

39. In describing the initial stages of Carausius' rebellion (for which, see also the Introduction, pp. 107–8), the panegyrist studiously omits to say that Carausius was the duly appointed commander of the fleet in question. Note that the passage implies Carausius' abandonment of Gaul in 286–287 (for discussion of the duration and extent of his continental holdings, see note 24). The scope of Carausius' initial command, and his title, are disputed. He may have been prefect of the *classis Britannica* (see Frere, *Britannia*, 326), which apparently had bases at Dover and Boulogne (Johnson, *Roman Forts*, 11ff., 51–53; B. Philp, *The Excavation of the Roman Forts of the Classis Britannica at Dover, 1970–1977* [Dover, 1981]; see summary in id., "The British Evidence in Dover," in *The Saxon Shore*, ed. D. E. Johnston [Portsmouth, 1977] 20–21; H. Cleere, "The Classis Britannica," in *The Saxon Shore*, ed. Johnston, 16–19; D. P. S. Peacock, "Bricks and Tiles of the Classis Britannica: Petrology and Origin," *Britannia* 8 [1977] 235–48). Although this is last mentioned under Philip (*ILS* 2911), and no doubt suffered in the crisis years of the third century, some kind of fleet must have survived to link Britain with the Continent (see Shiel, *Carausius and Allectus*, 7). It was part of Carausius' job to get it ready for the campaign against the pirates (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.20, taking *parandae classi* as "preparing *the* fleet" rather than "getting together *a* fleet").

Few follow D. A. White, *Litus Saxonicum* (Madison, 1961), in believing that Carausius was responsible for the construction of the Saxon Shore forts. Johnson, chap. 6, argues forcefully that the main series of British Saxon Shore forts were built in the decade 276–285 (perhaps on Probus' orders) after the barbarian inroads of 276, and that Carausius inherited this "new series of defence works, probably lining both sides of the Channel, with which to fight the pirates" (p. 112). But the last word has not yet been said (see P. Bartholomew, review of Johnson, *Britannia* 10 [1979] 367–70).

Eutropius' precise statement *cum apud Bononiam per tractum Belgicae et Armorici pacandum mare accepisset* (9.21) might suggest that Carausius was the first *dux tractus Armoricani et Nervicani* (cf. *Not. dign. occ.* 37; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* [Oxford, 1964] 44; A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* [Oxford, 1981] 312), but there is a real possibility that he is assigning to Carausius a command that dates from a much later period. The statement might also be held to indicate that Carausius' initial command did not extend to Britain, but, as Johnson remarks (*Roman Forts*, 26), it made little sense to defend one side of the Channel and not the other, and we do not hear of a countervailing force based on the British side. It is reasonable to conclude that Carausius had responsibility for

in addition a great number of ships were built on the model of ours,[40] a Roman legion was seized,[41] some divisions of foreign troops[42] were

both, but that Boulogne was his main base. This is not to say that subordinates were not operating from Dover, for example. But the panegyrist is writing from the Gallic point of view, and it does not serve his purpose to mention Britain here, since it would hardly be asserted that Carausius abandoned its defense! (D. Hoffmann, however, in his review of Johnson, *BJ* 177 [1977] 777–78, argues that a command on both sides of the Channel would be militarily impractical.)

40. Shiel suggests "this may be little other than inference and exaggeration, to the end that Constantius' success or rather Maximian's failure may be seen in a more favorable light" (*Carausius and Allectus*, 8), but it is surely plausible that Carausius should take this precaution. The natural interpretation of the passage is that the new ships were built in Britain.

41. The imprecision, geographical and otherwise, is tantalizing. Frere, *Britannia*, 328, thinks this was the legion XXX Ulpia Victrix, stationed normally at Xanten, the closest fortress to the Rhine mouth, and that it has "formed part of the force originally assigned to [Carausius] for the defence of Northern Gaul." But after the phrase "abducted by the pirate as he fled" one might equally hold that the scene is set in Britain (Shiel, *Carausius and Allectus*, 8). But why only one legion? Surely Carausius won over all the troops in Britain (so Shiel). Is *legio* used loosely of them all? It would be more pointed if it did refer to the seizure of a legion based on the Continent. Certainly the "Gallic merchants" are more naturally located in Gaul than in Britain, and the *interception* of *peregrinorum militum cunei* more worthy of mention if it occurred on the Continent. (Otherwise it states the obvious, as Shiel is forced to conclude.)

Carausius issued a "legionary series" of coins, publicizing two of the British legions, II Augusta and XX Valeria Victrix, giving rise to (implausible?) speculation, based on medieval sources, that the VI Victrix, stationed at York, was opposed to him (see Frere, p. 348 n. 5; Webb, *RIC* 5.2.427 n. 1), and seven continental ones, stationed as far away as Moesia! (Cf. *RIC* 5.2.441, but the bases of IIII Flavia and VII Claudia were not Gaul, but Moesia-Singidunum and Viminacium respectively.) The obvious explanation is that these refer to vexillations that comprised his original force (Frere, p. 328; cf. Salway, *Roman Britain*, 297–98; Johnson, *Roman Forts*, 28; Shiel, pp. 190f.). This would explain the "missing" British legion; it happened that no vexillation of the VI Victrix formed part of this force.

42. It is not clear exactly what the panegyrist means here by *peregrinorum militum cuneis*; presumably they were regular units of Roman auxiliaries, for they were already in formation and could be "intercepted"; therefore they were not

intercepted, Gallic merchants were assembled for a levy,[43] considerable forces of barbarians were attracted by means of the booty from the provinces themselves,[44] and all these were trained for naval service under

the *mercennariis cuneis barbarorum* of 16.2; these are mentioned next. The word *cuneus* is often used to mean the wedge-shaped formation nicknamed the "hog's head" by the troops (Vegetius 3.19: *caput porcinum*; cf. Amm. Marc. 17.13.9). Vegetius always uses the word in this sense, and Ammianus usually does. But it is also used to refer to a separate unit of troops, however deployed. To mass troops in wedges may have been originally a German practice (see Tac. *Germ.* 6, 7; *Hist.* 4.16, 20; 5.16; Amm. Marc. 16.12.20, 17.2.1, 27.2.4; *CIL* 7.415: *cuneus Frisiorum*; third century C.E., the first epigraphical attestation). *Not. dign.* mentions numerous *cunei equitum*, e.g., *Not. dign. or.* 39.12–18, 41.12–19; cf. O. Fiebiger, "Cuneus," *RE* 4 (1901) 1755–56; and D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia dignitatum*, 2 vols., Epigraphische Studien 7 (Düsseldorf, 1969–70) passim (see Register 2 under *Vexillationes limitaneae*).

43. Presumably in Gaul. Merchantmen would prove useful to Carausius for transporting both men and supplies. There is no reason to assume the levy was a forced one. The *imperium Galliarum* was, after all, a response to the failure of the central government to protect the region, and within a few years of its reincorporation of Gaul in 273–274 a disastrous irruption of barbarians occurred. Carausius will have won a measure of popularity through his naval victories, and even if he were guilty of the charges leveled at him (Introduction, p. 107), the very presence of his fleet in the Channel must have helped restore maritime commerce.

J. F. Drinkwater, "Money-Rents and Food-Renders in Gallic Funerary Reliefs," in *The Roman West in the Third Century*, ed. A. King and M. Henig, BAR Supplement 109 (Oxford, 1981) 1: 215–33, points out (pp. 231–32) the vulnerability of Gallic merchants to the disorders of the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus and suggests they backed the Gallic usurpers. Perhaps we have an analogy here. P. Galliou, in a sweeping article, "Western Gaul in the Third Century," in King and Henig, 2: 259–86, 274, postulates "a total collapse of the traditional social and economic structures of the region (of Armorica) before the end of the third century" on the basis of archaeological evidence (villas abandoned and not rebuilt in the fourth century, encroachment of forests and decrease in cultivation revealed by pollen analysis of peat bogs, et al.). In addition to piracy he adduces the problem of the Bagaudae (Eutr. 9.20.3; Oros. 7.25.2; *Pan.* 10.4.3), located in Armorica by retrojection of later sources.

44. The panegyrist stresses the difficulty of the task Constantius faced by his enumeration of the various categories of forces at Carausius' disposal. Here the usurper's crimes are made to seem more heinous by his willingness to use

the direction of those responsible for that crime. Although your armies were unconquerable in courage, they were novices, however, in the art of seafaring, and we heard that an evil and massive war had grown out of that most miserable act of piracy, although we were confident about its
2 outcome.[45] For, in addition, long impunity for their crime had inflated the audacity of desperate men, so that they gave out that that inclemency of the sea, which had delayed your victory by some necessity of fate, was really terror inspired by themselves,[46] and they believed, not that the war

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barbarians against Romans, and his luring of them with booty stolen from the provincials, which recalls the accusations brought against him that led to his usurpation (Introduction, p. 107). While this is admittedly the "official" version of his opponents, it is certainly not implausible that his possession of great quantities of booty contributed to the success of his enterprise.

45. By implication the panegyrist concedes Carausius' naval skills and the helplessness of the central government to check him. Our speaker is caught between the need to disparage the pirate and to make his defeat a worthy accomplishment. He himself was remote from the scene ("we heard").

46. The reference to the inclemency of the sea is usually taken to be an explanation of the failure of Maximian's expedition of 289 (*Pan.* 10.12), be it official apologia or the simple truth (Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 78–79, 101, and Galletier, 1: 43, 75, 92 n. 1, accept it at face value; Frere, *Britannia*, 327, and Johnson, *Roman Forts*, 29, suspect it disguises a defeat at the hands of Carausius). Shiel (*Carausius and Allectus*, 9–10) has challenged the assumption that it refers to Maximian's expedition of 289 on three grounds: (1) "*diuturna sceleris impunitas* ... would lose much of its point if its application were to be restricted to the years down to and including 289"; (2) "*adeo ut iam communia ... archipiratam satelles occideret* ... strongly suggests a sequence of events tied up with the replacement of Carausius by Allectus"; and (3) "in a panegyric directed specifically to Constantius this (i.e. *vestram*) must refer to his victory rather than to anything of Maximian's." The third argument can be refined: in this context a reference, albeit veiled, to a failure of Maximian eight years before is uncalled for and intrusive. If Shiel is right, the panegyrist is here seeking to explain the delay between the magnificent victory at Boulogne in 293 and the expedition of 296. The clause *malam coaluisse ... belli molem audiebamus* then supplies the transition between the description of the original "act of piracy" and Carausius' death. So Allectus, the *satelles*, killed Carausius, the *archipirata*, after the failure of an initial expedition of Constantius, when stormy seas wreaked havoc upon novice seafarers, and retribution seemed remote.

Any such failure would have had to have occurred a sufficiently long time after the capture of Boulogne (tied to the period after March 293) for the Caesar to have built a fleet (7.3) and cleared the Scheldt estuary (8). It is difficult, but

had been interrupted by deliberate policy, but that it had been abandoned out of despair, so much so that now that his fear of a common punishment had been laid to rest one of the henchmen of the archpirate killed him: he judged that after all imperial power was recompense for such a great hazard.[47]

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not impossible, to imagine the hypothesized expedition taking place late in the season in 293, easier to contemplate it in 294. If the latter, the literary data for the chronology of the revolt (see the Introduction) can be saved by assuming Eutropius' *triennium* is inclusive reckoning—i.e., Allectus ruled from 294 to 296. If his *septennium* is also inclusive (and Victor's *sexennium* is not), the sources can be made to yield a date of 288 for Carausius' rebellion. Our ignorance is such that this cannot, I think, be ruled out, but 287 is preferable, for Maximian was then deeply involved in an expedition across the Rhine. But on either reckoning, Seston's argument that Maximian was promoted to Augustus in 286 as a consequence of Carausius' revolt (pp. 76ff., followed now by S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* [London, 1985] 47–48) would collapse.

47. Eutropius (9.22.2) asserts that peace was made with Carausius. This is unlikely (see the Introduction and Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 84ff.), but such an interruption (whether post-289 or, on Shiel's view, several years later) might well have given rise to claims on Carausius' part that the war was won. "Fear of a common punishment ... laid to rest" might suggest that Carausius had been proclaimed an enemy, but that Allectus had not. This is the only piece of evidence that gives a chronological context for the assassination of Carausius by Allectus. Taken literally, it reinforces the argument in the previous note: Allectus no longer feared punishment. This hardly suits the aftermath of the fall of Boulogne (which surely increased that possibility) and consequent disenchantment with Carausius as the context and motive for the assassination, which seems to be the standard interpretation (Frere, *Britannia*, 328; Johnson, *Roman Forts*, 31; Birley, *Fasti*, 313; Salway, *Roman Britain*, 305; Todd, *Roman Britain*, 210–11; but Seston, p. 103, is agnostic). Rather, it points to the period after the failure of Constantius' first naval expedition and the belief that the war had been abandoned.

Victor, however, claims (*Caes.* 39.41) that Allectus slew Carausius because of his fear that he would be punished for his *flagitia*, presumably peculations, for Allectus was Carausius' finance minister (Victor: *cum ... summae praeesset*; some of Carausius' coins have the letters RSR on them, which has been taken to be an abbreviation of *rationalis summae rei*; cf. *RIC* 5.2.434, tentatively; Birley, p. 315; Salway, p. 306 n. 3). This claim is not implausible, but it cannot easily be reconciled with that of the panegyrist. But one could set aside the motive ascribed to Allectus in the panegyric as tendentious or ill-informed and still accept its chronology for Carausius' death, which was scarcely a matter of uncertainty to contemporaries.

13 This war, O Caesar, so essential, so difficult of access, so long in the
making, and so carefully planned, you undertook in such a way that it
seemed to everyone to be finished as soon as you had directed the hostile
2 thunderbolt of Your Majesty against him. For, first of all, and this was a
matter that needed especial attention, you guarded against the attempt of
any barbarian nations to renew hostilities while your divine power was
turned in the direction of Britain by calling upon the majesty of your
3 father. For you yourself, you, lord Maximian, Emperor eternal, having
deigned to speed the arrival of your divinity by a novel shortening of
your journey, reached the Rhine unexpectedly and protected that whole
frontier not with equestrian forces, not with foot soldiers, but by the terror
inspired by your presence: Maximian on the bank was worth as many
4 armies as you like![48] But you, invincible Caesar, with your fleets armed
and drawn up at different points,[49] rendered the enemy so uncertain and
bereft of strategy that he then at last realized that he was not protected
by the Ocean so much as imprisoned by it.

14 At this point it enters my mind how pampered by good luck
in administering the State and obtaining praise were those leaders
who, while spending their days at Rome, had triumphs and cognom-
2 ina of nations conquered by their generals accrue to them. Thus
when Fronto, not the second, but the other ornament of Roman elo-

48. Maximian may have journeyed from Milan, perhaps his normal headquarters at the time (see Barnes, *New Empire*, 59), or Aquileia, where he is recorded on 31 March 296 (Barnes). But if so, what is meant by the "novel shortening" of the journey? Perhaps it was he who had campaigned against the Carpi (see note 17 above). In that case the novel shortcut would have consisted of his traveling directly to the Rhine from Pannonia instead of approaching Gaul via Italy, the "normal" route (Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 447). Unfortunately we do not hear of his activities beyond what is described with hyperbole here. In 298 Eumenius celebrated the restoration of the frontiers, including the Rhine, with a series of *alarum et cohortium castra* (*Pan.* 9.18.4). Schmidt, *Die Westgermanen*, 246–47, lists those of the Diocletianic period on the Rhine and Danube (but those dated precisely were built in 294; see, too, H. Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier in Germany," *JRS* 59 [1969] 144–97, esp. 179). Later in 298 there was another incursion of Alamanni, during which Constantius was wounded and all but captured (*Pan.* 6.6.3; Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 111 n. 4, for other references). Maximian's presence on the frontier was a necessary deterrent.

49. We hear of two fleets only, that of Constantius, which sailed from Boulogne, and that of Asclepiodotus, which sailed down the Seine (14.4).

quence, was praising the ruler Antoninus for having brought the war
in Britain to completion,[50] although he had remained behind in the
City in the palace itself, and had delegated the command of the war
to others,[51] he averred that the Emperor deserved the glory of its whole
launching and course, as if he had actually presided at the helm of a
warship.

But you, invincible Caesar, were the commander in chief of that whole 3
expedition of yours, both of the actual sailing and the fighting itself, not
only by right of your imperium but by your personal participation, and by
the example of your firm resolve were its instigator and driving force.[52]

50. M. Cornelius Fronto (cos. suff. in 143), tutor to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. His oratorical works have perished, but few will have confidence in the panegyrist's judgment that he was the equal of Cicero. The phrase *Romanae eloquentiae non secundum sed alterum decus* seems to be inspired by Marcus' gushing praise of his tutor's eloquence, *Vale, decus eloquentiae Romanae* (Fronto, Naber 28 = Loeb ed., 1: 130); and it is likely that the panegyrist turned to Fronto on other occasions; e.g., for his description of Britain (11.1ff. and note 37).

Praise of Antoninus for completing the war in Britain may well have formed part of Fronto's *gratiarum actio* to the emperor for his consulship in 143 (cf. Loeb 1.110, 126–28, 302), for the Roman army, it seems, had just "conquered the Britons" under the governor Q. Lollius Urbicus, reoccupying southern Scotland and building the "Antonine Wall" (SHA, *Ant. Pius* 5.4; *RIB* 2191–92; coins of 142–143 announce a British victory; see Frere, *Britannia*, 126). Of course, such praise may have formed an entirely separate speech: for example, Fronto delivered a speech in the Senate in praise of Antoninus when consul designate in 142, Loeb 1.302; and there were many other such occasions; see E. Champlin, "The Chronology of Fronto," *JRS* (1974) 149; id., *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980) 85; R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton, 1984) 229–30.

51. Q. Lollius Urbicus (note 50), governor of Britain from 139 until at least 143, previously governor of Lower Germany and later governor of Africa and *praefectus urbi*. As emperor, Antoninus never left Italy, in stark contrast with Hadrian, conducting all his wars through delegates (SHA, *Ant. Pius* 5.4), for which he was praised by Aelius Aristides, Εἰς Ῥώμην 33, and SHA, *Ant. Pius* 7.11–12.

52. The panegyrist inflates the role of Constantius in the expedition, not surprisingly, and obscures that of the praetorian prefect Asclepiodotus, who is not so much as mentioned by name or even title. Yet it is clear from later sources that Asclepiodotus was generally credited with the victory (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.42; Eutr. 9.22.2, and sources dependent on the latter). The best expositions of the invasion of Britain and the difficulties involved in the panegyrist's account are

4 Indeed, since you were foremost in launching yourself from the coast of
Boulogne onto the Ocean, although it was raging, you inspired, too, that
army of yours which had been carried down by the river Seine with such
unquenchable eagerness of spirit that, although the commanders were
still hesitating, and sea and sky were stormy, it spontaneously demanded
the signal to set sail, scorned the signs which then seemed threatening,
made sail on a rainy day, and because there was no direct tail wind caught
5 an oblique one.[53] For who would not dare to entrust himself to a sea,
however hostile, with you setting sail? And when the news of your voyage

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those of D. Eichholz, "Constantius Chlorus' Invasion of Britain," *JRS* 43 (1953) 41–46, and Shiel, *Carausius and Allectus*; Todd, *Roman Britain*, 211, is brief, but acute.

53. The panegyrist makes it clear that Constantius commanded the fleet that set out from Boulogne. The other, sailing from the mouth of the Seine, landed near the Isle of Wight (15.1) and eventually "struck the decisive blow" (Eichholz, "Constantius Chlorus' Invasion of Britain," 41). This was under the command of Asclepiodotus.

The panegyrist skillfully manages to convey the impression of Constantius' ubiquity, and it is only a careful reading of the next few sections that makes it apparent that Constantius is not directly involved in the main action. Constantius inspires, but does not lead, the fleet that makes the crucial landing (*vestro auspicio*, 15.2, not *te duce*). And that inspiration was critical, the panegyrist suggests, for the anonymous commanders had hesitated to sail at all. A southeasterly would have been a tail wind; Eichholz suggests a southwesterly, typically a wet-weather bearer, was blowing (hence "sou'wester").

If Constantius sailed before Asclepiodotus and made a direct crossing, he should have reached Britain long before his prefect. Yet Asclepiodotus landed first, as 15.6–16.1 makes clear. Shiel is right: "The account does not make chronological sense as it stands" (*Carausius and Allectus*, 12). Was Constantius held up by the bad weather? Things did go wrong (17.1 and note 63). But it would be a strategic error to divide one's forces without intending them to engage the enemy at roughly the same time. Hence Eichholz's suggestion that Constantius "had only warships with him" and that their task "was to reconnoitre and to screen the approach of the transports" that were to follow him (p. 44), and Frere's that Constantius' presence in the Channel "was perhaps diversionary in intent" (*Britannia*, 330). Victor (*Caes.* 39.42) suggests a different explanation, viz. Asclepiodotus was sent ahead (*Asclepiodoto . . . cum parte classis ac legionum praemisso*). But this would be a natural assumption for a later writer who knew that Asclepiodotus had engaged first and won the victory, whereas the panegyrist ran a real risk of incurring ridicule from his audience of contemporaries if he asserted that Constantius had sailed first when it was known that he had not.

was received it is said that all voiced in unison this cry of encouragement: "Why are we hesitating? Why are we waiting? He himself has already set sail; he is now on his way; perhaps he has already arrived. Let us risk all. No matter what the waves are like, let us go! What is there for us to fear? We are following Caesar."[54]

Nor did the expectation of your good fortune prove deceptive, since 15
indeed, as we have learned from the report of those very men, at the crucial moment such thick mists blended with the surface of the sea that the enemy fleet stationed on guard and in ambush near the Isle of Wight was bypassed without the foe being in the least aware of it, lest it even delay your attack, although it was incapable of resisting it.[55]

And if that same army, invincible under your auspices, immediately it 2
had landed on the shores of Britain set fire to all its ships, what other
counsel inspired it than that of your divinity?[56] Or what other reason 3
persuaded it to preserve no means of escape, and to fear no hazards
of war, and not to consider Mars impartial (as they say), unless it was
manifest through contemplation of you that victory was certain?[57] Those 4
men had in mind not their armed might, nor their bodily strength, but
your divinities. To promise themselves certain success, no matter what

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54. An adaptation of Julius Caesar's remark to the helmsman on the Adriatic, *Quid times? Caesarem vehis* (Flor. 2.13.37; cf. Luc. 5.577ff.; Galletier, 1: 93 n. 3).

55. There seems no reason to reject this claim to have the eyewitness reports of participants. The *ipsorum* seems to indicate that the panegyrist continues to speak of the same fleet (14.4–5).

We have two divisions of Allectus' fleet (for the other, see 15.5 below). That Allectus stationed one near the Isle of Wight suggests that he had had word that an invasion force was making for there (so, also, Todd, *Roman Britain*, 211). He himself was on guard with another fleet elsewhere—presumably at a location opposite Boulogne (cf. Eichholz, "Constantius Chlorus' Invasion of Britain," 43) that must have appeared more vulnerable.

The phraseology (*ne vel moraretur)* implies that Constantius was destined to be victorious. *Felicitas* demonstrates that one has the approval of the gods, and was always considered an important quality in a general; cf. Sulla Felix; Cic. *Man.* 47–48; *Pan.* 11.6.1 and 13ff.

56. Presumably Asclepiodotus burned his boats because he intended to push inland and did not wish to leave them for Allectus' commanders.

57. The panegyrist continues to give the impression that Constantius was present. But the plural *vestra numina* (15.4) warns us not to take him too literally; cf., too, what follows.

sort of battle confronted them, is the result not so much of the confidence of the soldiers as of the felicity of the Emperors.

5 Why did the standard-bearer himself of that criminal faction retreat from the shore that he held? Why did he desert his fleet and harbor, unless it was because he feared you, invincible Caesar, whose approaching
6 sails he had seen, about to arrive at any moment?[58] Whatever the case, he preferred to make trial of your generals than to receive in person the thunderbolt of Your Majesty—madman he, who did not know that wherever he might flee, the power of your divinity would be everywhere that your images, everywhere that your statues, are revered.[59]

16 He, however, in fleeing you, fell into the hands of your men: van-
2 quished by you, he was crushed by your armies. At last, afraid when he looked back and saw you on his heels, he was stricken out of his senses and rushed to his death so hurriedly that he did not draw up battle line

58. The speaker now turns to another coastal locality, where *ille . . . signifer nefariae factionis*, Allectus, was on guard with a fleet. It was a port. Dover, once an important base of the *classis Britannica* (see note 39), is an obvious possibility. Recent excavations indicate that the earlier fort belonging to the *classis Britannica* had fallen into ruins when a new one was constructed at some point in the second half of the third century (Johnson, *Roman Forts*, 51–53). But there are several other candidates: Portus Lemanis (Ant. Itin.); Lympne (see B. Cunliffe, "Excavations at the Roman Fort at Lympne, Kent, 1976–78," *Britannia* 11 [1980] 227–88); Reculver (Johnson, pp. 44–48); even Pevensey (Anderida; Johnson, pp. 56–59).

For Constantius' movements and objectives, see 14.3–4 and note 53.

59. Rather than terror at the sight of the imperial flagship it will have been the news of Asclepiodotus' landing that prompted Allectus' "retreat." Relying on that part of his navy that was stationed opposite Boulogne to prevent Constantius landing, Allectus hastened to meet the threat by land. His route, and the site of the battle, must remain a matter of speculation. If he were in Kent or East Sussex, as seems likely, he will have made for London (there hardly being an alternative). Having passed through it, he was caught unprepared (16.1) somewhere between London and the Isle of Wight, perhaps nearer London than used to be thought (so Eichholz, "Constantius Chlorus' Invasion of Britain," 45, and on different grounds, Shiel, *Carausius and Allectus*, 14) and perhaps between Silchester and Staines, or on the South Downs on the London–Chichester road (*colles*, 16.3; and Eichholz).

Again the plural *duces* effectively obscures the achievement of Asclepiodotus.

For the revering or adoration of imperial images and statues, see *Pan.* 10 passim and the Introduction to that panegyric, pp. 51–52.

or deploy all the forces which he was dragging behind him, but without a thought for his vast preparations rushed forward with those old chiefs of the conspiracy and divisions of barbarian mercenaries.[60] And 3
furthermore, Caesar, such an asset to the State was your good fortune that almost no Roman died in this victory of the Roman Empire. For, as I hear, none but the scattered corpses of our foulest enemies covered all those fields and hills.[61] The bodies of those barbarians, or those who lately 4
imitated the barbarian in their mode of dress and flowing red hair,[62] now lay befouled with dust and blood, and stretched out in various postures as a consequence of the pain of their wounds. And among them lay the brigands' standard-bearer. Of his own accord he had discarded the apparel which he had profaned when alive, and he was discovered on the

60. I translate the MS reading *illis*, not OCT *illius* (Puteolanus). There can be little doubt that the panegyric exaggerates or even invents Allectus' panic, and the heat of Constantius' pursuit. It may also exaggerate Allectus' dependence on barbarian mercenaries in the final engagement. So Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 110–11, reasonably; but no conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the coins of the rebels stress their attachment to all that was Roman! Cf., too, Salway, *Roman Britain*, 310–11, but by *veteribus illis coniurationis auctoribus* Carausius' officers are presumably meant, rather than the clique of Allectus who conspired against Carausius.

The *omnes copias* and *tanti apparatus* must be an allusion to Allectus' main army, but why it was not brought to bear against Asclepiodotus is not clear. One might have expected it to have been held in reserve near London until the landing point of the main invasion force was apparent (so Shiel, *Carausius and Allectus*, 12). Perhaps it was, initially, but Allectus guessed wrongly; or perhaps it was with Allectus on the Kentish or East Sussex coast from the start and fell behind its agitated commander (*omnes copias quas trahebat*) when he moved toward Asclepiodotus' forces. In the latter case Allectus fought and lost the battle with his mobile contingents, some of them barbarian. For all we know, Asclepiodotus' troops were a small strike force, rather than the main invasion force, and Allectus' tactics not as inept as they are sometimes portrayed. But with Allectus dead the war was over, and the main body of troops on both sides had no further cause to fight. For the Franks, real bogeymen to a Gaul, even one residing as far from the frontier as Autun, see 8 above, with notes 27–28, and 17.1–2 and 18.3 below.

61. For this clue to the battle site, see note 59.

62. An intriguing item. Does it point to two-way acculturation, calling into question the prevailing rhetoric of the panegyrics, with its stark dichotomy between "Roman" and "barbarian"? Or does the panegyrist seek to imply that barbarian ways were forced upon those few adherents of Allectus who happened not to be barbarian?

5 evidence of scarcely a single garment. When death was near, so truly did he foretell what was in store for him that he did not wish his body to be recognized.

17 Certainly, invincible Caesar, such was the unanimity of the immortal gods which granted you the massacre of all the enemy you engaged, but particularly the Franks, that those soldiers of yours who became separated through losing their bearing on a sea which, as I said a little while ago, was shrouded in mist, and had reached the town of London, slaughtered indiscriminately all over the city whatever part of that multitude of barbarian hirelings had survived the battle, when they were contemplating taking flight after plundering the city.[63] Your men not only gave safety to your provincials by the slaughter of the enemy, but also the pleasure of the spectacle.[64]

2 O manifold victory of innumerable triumphs, by which the Britains have been recovered, the might of the Franks utterly destroyed, the necessity of submission imposed besides upon the many peoples detected in that criminal conspiracy, by which, finally, the seas were swept clean and restored to everlasting peace!

63. The soldiers who massacred the barbarian survivors of the battle as they looted London must have been from Constantius' contingents (pace Galletier, 1: 75, 95 n. 3). But the panegyrist reveals that not all had gone smoothly for them: they had lost their bearings because of the fog and had become separated from their commander. In all this, there is no mention of Constantius, which is inconceivable had he participated in the battle. As Eichholz, "Constantius Chlorus' Invasion of Britain," 44–45, observes, he cannot have been there, only *illi milites vestri*. Bad weather had scattered his forces and prevented his landing. The Caesar landed in Britain later on, when the fighting was all over (19.1). In the meantime, he very probably sailed back to Gaul! So Eichholz; an argument from silence, but a strong one (see note 70). This would also explain a curious apparent inconsistency in the panegyrics. In *Pan.* 6.5.4 (310) we are told that Constantius set out for Britain *quieto mari*, whereas *Pan.* 8.14.4 insists that the weather was stormy when Constantius sailed. This suggests Constantius made two voyages. Alternatively, as B. Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310 auf Konstantin den Großen*, Palingenesia 31 (Stuttgart, 1990) 100, suggests, the calm of *Pan.* 6 is merely symbolic.

64. Galletier, 1: 96 n. 1, is inclined to take the panegyric literally and suggests that the Frankish prisoners may have been delivered up to the arena in amphitheaters throughout Gaul; rather, the massacre itself provided a spectacle for the good, Romanized citizens of London!

Well may you boast, then, invincible Caesar, that you have discovered 3
another world,[65] you who in restoring naval glory to Roman power have added to the Empire an element greater than all lands. Invincible 4
Caesar, you have completed a war, I say, which seemed to threaten all the provinces, and which could have spread and blazed as far as the lands washed by the entire Ocean and the Mediterranean gulfs.

For if that plague, from terror of you, has wasted away on the vitals 18
of Britain alone, we are not unaware on that account with what great fury it would have launched itself elsewhere, if it had had the confidence to spread where the way lay open. Certainly it was bounded by no fixed 2
border of mountains or rivers which the guardians of the frontier, stationed at intervals, might protect, but everywhere where the seas lie open and the winds carry, there loomed terrors, which while brought to nothing because of your courage and good fortune, were nonetheless great.

Indeed it recalled to mind that incredible audacity and undeserved 3
good fortune of a few Frankish captives in the time of the deified Probus, who, seizing some ships, plundered their way from the Black Sea right to Greece and Asia and, driven not without causing damage from very many parts of the Libyan shore, finally took Syracuse itself, once renowned for its naval victories, and, after traveling on an immense journey, entered the Ocean where it broaches the lands, and thus showed by the outcome of their boldness that nothing is closed to a pirate's desperation where a path lies open to navigation.[66]

And so by this victory of yours not only has Britain been liberated, 4
but security has been restored to all nations which could incur as many dangers from the employment of the sea in time of war as advantages from its employment in peacetime. Now, to say nothing of the Gallic 5
coast, Spain is secure, although its shores are almost visible, now Italy too, and Africa,[67] now all peoples right up to Lake Maeotis are free from perpetual cares.[68] The fact that they escaped the necessity of actually 6

65. A boast attributed to Julius Caesar; 11.2 above.

66. This spectacular feat is also related by Zosimus 1.71.2 and appears to lie behind SHA, *Probus* 18.2–3.

67. But not merely as a consequence of Constantius' victory in Britain, nor is the statement entirely accurate. Maximian was campaigning in Spain in the autumn of 296 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 59 and n. 58) and was currently waging war in Africa (see 5.2 above). As Seston observes (*Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 117), these campaigns could be undertaken only once Constantius' victory was assured.

68. Lake Maeotis, the Sea of Azov, symbolic of the farthest East.

experiencing the danger does not lessen their transports of joy once the fear of it has been removed;[69] rather, they welcome this more warmly, that thanks both to the exercise of your foresight and the recovery of good fortune such a mighty force of naval rebellion has been halted in its tracks.
7 And it is evident that Britain itself, which had furnished for so long a base for this crime, perceived your victory solely in terms of its own recovery.

19 And so it was fitting that, as soon as you stepped onto that shore, a long-desired avenger and liberator,[70] a triumphal crowd poured forth to meet Your Majesty, and Britons exultant with joy came forward with their wives and children, venerating not you alone, whom they gazed at as one who had descended from heaven, but even the sails and oars of that ship which had conveyed your divinity, and prepared to feel your weight
2 upon their prostrate bodies as you disembarked. Nor is it any wonder if they were carried away by such joy after so many years of miserable captivity; after the violation of their wives, after the shameful enslavement of their children, they were free at last, at last Romans, at last restored
3 to life by the true light of empire.[71] Certainly indeed, quite apart from that reputation of yours for clemency and piety which is celebrated by the common voice of nations, they saw the stamp of every virtue on your face, O Caesar; on your brow, dignity; in your eyes, gentleness; in your blush,
4 modesty; in your speech, justice. As they gazed at you and distinguished each of these, in unison they gave shouts of joy; they pledged themselves to you, they pledged their children to you, to your children they pledged all the progeny of their race.

69. Reading, with Galletier, *feruntur dempto periculi metu*; see his app. crit. (following 'w' = corrector cod. Vat. Lat. 1775).

70. The *exoptatus olim* sounds like a riposte to the celebrated *expectate veni* that appears on Carausius' coins (see *RIC* 5.2.510, nos. 554ff.). The description of Constantius' reception indicates that it was his first arrival in Britain, and its placement in the panegyric reinforces Eichholz's claim ("Constantius Chlorus' Invasion of Britain," 44–45, and note 63 above) that it was after the fighting was over. It was thus a ceremonial occasion, not a crucial part of a military operation inexplicably not described. For the ceremony of *adventus*, see S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981) pt. 1, "Adventus"; id., "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity," *Historia* 21 (1972) 721–52.

71. The phrase *vera imperii luce recreati* recalls the *redditor lucis aeternae* of the Arras medallion, which represents Constantius on horseback receiving the homage of London, a war galley in the foreground (= *RIC* 5.2, no. 34; well illustrated from an electrotype in J. P. C. Kent, *Roman Coins* [London, 1978] pl. 152, no. 585).

Assuredly indeed, O everlasting parents and masters of the human 20
race, we demand this from the immortal gods with each pronouncement of our vows, that our children and grandchildren and our descendants, if there be any, destined to last down through all the ages, be dedicated not only to you but also to those you are rearing and will rear hereafter.[72] For what better thing can we wish for our descendants than that which we ourselves enjoy? The Roman state holds in a comprehensive embrace 2
of peace whatever at any stage in the vicissitudes of time was ever Roman, and that greatness which was often dissipated because of its excessive bulk, as it were, is at last united in a consolidated empire.[73] There is 3
nowhere in any region of heaven or earth which is not either at peace out of fear or subdued by arms or bound by gratitude. And indeed of other areas, some remain which you can acquire if you should wish, or reasons of state require: but beyond the Ocean what was there except Britain? This you have so fully recovered that those peoples, too, who cling to the 4
extremities of the same island, obey your very nod. No reason remains 5
for advancing, unless one were to seek the boundaries of the Ocean itself, which Nature forbids. Everything worthy of you, I say, most invincible rulers, is yours, and for this reason it is permitted to you to look after the interests of individual areas equally, since you hold them all.[74]

And so as formerly on your orders, Diocletian Augustus, Asia filled the 21
deserts of Thrace by the transfer of its inhabitants,[75] and as later, at your

72. No tetrarchic system is going to undermine the principle of heredity! (Cf. *Pan.* 10.14.1 and note 50.)

73. The principle of *imperium indivisum* was stoutly maintained, and indeed it was the rationale of the Tetrarchy.

74. An interestingly *nuancé* version of Rome's continued claim to *imperium sine fine.* For discussion of the treatment of such time-honored concepts in the *Panegyrici Latini* cf. now U. Asche, *Roms Weltherrschaftsidee und Aussenpolitik in der Spätantike im Spiegel der Panegyrici Latini* (Bonn, 1983).

The Picts and Scots may have obeyed Constantius' very nod, but there is no good evidence to suggest that he campaigned against them before 305–306; cf. Salway, *Roman Britain*, 312–15, for refutation of Collingwood's theory that Allectus denuded the northern frontier of troops in 296 and that this was followed by a major barbarian invasion.

75. The occasion is unknown. It ought to be a discernible time before the settlement of Laeti (*pridem . . . postea*), which must have followed Maximian's campaigns of 286–288 (see note 76), and so very early in Diocletian's reign. Therefore it is unlikely to be related to the capture of the Saracens (*Pan.* 11.5.4 and 7.1, of 291), as Enßlin, *Ostpolitik*, 15ff. (followed by Felix, *Antike literarische Quellen*

bidding, Maximian Augustus, the Laeti, restored by right of *postliminium*, and the Franks, admitted to our laws, have cultivated the empty fields of the Arvii and the Treveri,[76] so now through your victories, Constantius,

zur Aussenpolitik des Sasanidenstaates, 109), hypothesized, for this is not mentioned in *Pan.* 10 and so falls after 288–289. But if Asia is here to be taken in a wide sense, it may have something to do with Diocletian's activities in Syria in 287 (*Pan.* 10.7.5, 9.2, and 10.6–7). It is worth noting that Diocletian was in Thrace himself only the previous year (Heraclea, 13 October 286; *Frag. Vat.* 284; see Barnes, *New Empire*, 51) and no doubt resolved to do something about the problem of depopulation. The barbarian irruptions across the Danube in the previous few decades had had a devastating effect on the Balkan provinces. Zosimus 1.71 mentions that Probus had settled Bastarnae in Thrace, καὶ διετέλεσαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων βιοτεύοντες νόμοις; and SHA, *Probus* 18.1 gives their numbers as 100,000, adding that they remained loyal, unlike the Gepids, Greuthungi, and Vandals, whom Probus had also settled on Roman soil.

76. This is the earliest mention of Laeti, and they are spoken of as an established institution, as Jones remarks (*Later Roman Empire*, 60). Lippold, "Constantius Caesar," 355–57, is bothered by the reference, pointing out that no "Laetendorf" in northeastern or central Gaul has material that can be dated before the mid-fourth century, and, of the graves of the second half of the fourth century, scarcely any can be ascribed to German settlers of long standing. He is skeptical of the reading, but the manuscripts are clear, and he suggests no alternative. Furthermore, arguments from archaeological silence are inconclusive. It may be that the material culture of the early Laeti was less distinctively "Germanic" than that of later settlers, as E. Demougeot believes ("À propos des lètes gaulois du IV[e] siècle," in *Beiträge zur Altengeschichte und deren Nachleben*, Festschrift für Franz Altheim, ed. R. Stiehl and H. Stier [Berlin, 1969] 1: 112–13), or that it has simply disappeared from view. And while it is true that the next earliest references to Laeti are over fifty years later, ca. 353–361 (Zosimus 2.54; Amm. Marc. 16.11.4, 20.8.13, 21.13.16), not only are our sources sparse, and the institution evidently all but restricted to rural Gaul (at least under this name), but these references make it clear that the Laeti were already long established. Zosimus claims that Magnentius (d. 353) grew up among the Laeti, and while he may err in calling them ἔθνος Γαλατικόν (but cf. Demougeot, p. 108), the rest of his account dovetails neatly with other sources (cf. Paschoud, *Zosime*, p. 261 n. 69 ad loc.). But in any case, Ammianus also speaks of them as an established institution (20.8.13): *adulescentes Laetos quosdam, cis Rhenum editam barbarorum progenium*, where Rolfe's Loeb translation is misleading. They are not a tribe but "the progeny of barbarians spawned on this side of the Rhine." All this is not to suggest that settlements of Laeti were as widespread under the Tetrarchy as they were later, that fresh settlements did not take place at intervals.

invincible Caesar, whatever land remained abandoned in the territory of

The origin of the name is baffling. C. J. Simpson's inference, "Laeti in Northern Gaul," *Latomus* 36 (1977) 169–70, from the chiasmus *Laetus . . . restitutus et receptus . . . Francus* that Laeti was originally the name of a tribe is scarcely compelling.

Later we hear of *terrae Laeticae* (*Cod. Theod.* 13.11.10 of 399, addressed to the praetorian prefect of Italy and Africa) and prefects in charge of distinct groups of Laeti (*Not. dign. occ.* 42.33–44; *praepositi*: *Cod. Theod.* 7.20.21 of 369, Trier). The Laetic lands were literally breeding grounds (see Amm. Marc. 20.8.13); in return for lands the Laeti were obliged to furnish military recruits; prefects presided over the various groups, which served as distinct units in the army (see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 620). The names of some of these Laeti (e.g., Sarmatae, Alamanni) suggest recent settlement (Demougeot, p. 111).

Lippold also invokes sections 8–9 (above), which describe barbarian captives in a condition of agricultural bondage. But this description of Constantius' captives cannot be used to cast doubt upon the reference to Laeti. The panegyric makes a sharp distinction between, on the one hand, the privileged categories of the Laetus, restored by right of *postliminium*, and the Frank, *receptus in leges*, both at Maximian's bidding, and, on the other, the captives of Constantius, whose servile condition is made abundantly clear *ad maiorem gloriam Constantii. Postliminio restitutus* indicates that these Laeti had been wrenched from their privileged status (presumably by being captured by barbarians) and upon being rescued were restored to their former rights (for *postliminium*, see W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery: The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* [Cambridge, 1908] 304ff. There is a spate of cases under the heading *postliminium* in *Cod. Iust.* 8.51.3–18 dating to the period 287–294 and involving people with both Latin and Greek names). There is also dispute about the location of these Tetrarchic Laeti. *Not. dign. occ.* 42.33–44 mentions a *praefectus Laetorum Nerviorum* at Fanum Martis, near the *limes* (39), but not one *Arviorum* (Armorica), and the corrector of cod. Vat. Lat. 1775 emended *Arviorum* to *Nerviorum*. This is unnecessary. There is no reason to suppose that the later distribution of Laetic settlements replicates that of earlier times. They were placed where tracts of agricultural land had been abandoned, and as this passage reveals, such a phenomenon was not confined to the frontier region (see next note). Similarly in a later epoch the *Not. dign.* discloses settlements of Laeti far from the frontier (e.g., at Carnunta Senoniae, Lugdunensis, near Agedincum [Sens], southeast of Paris [33], and at Redonae [Rennes], Armorica, Lugdunensis III [36]). There is no reason to reject the reading *Arviorum*. Cf., too, G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981) 247 and n. 29, 513.

the Ambiani, Bellovaci, Tricasses, and Lingones turns green again under cultivation by the barbarian.[77]

2 Indeed, in addition, that city of the Aedui, which is most devoted to you, and in the name of which I must render special thanks to you, has received by virtue of the victory in Britain very many artisans, which those provinces have in abundance, and now rises up with the reconstruction of old houses and the repair of public buildings, and the restoration of temples. Now it considers that it has had restored to it that ancient appellation "brother of Rome," since it has in you a second founder.[78]

3 I have spoken, invincible Caesar, almost more than I had the power to,[79] but less than I ought, so that with your divinity's favor I am amply justified both in stopping now and in speaking often.

77. A rare, and welcome, precision that demonstrates how widespread the problem of rural depopulation was. The panegyrist moves from northwest to southeast: Ambiani (Amiens), Bellovaci (Beauvais), Tricasses (Troyes), Lingones (Langres). For Autun, see *Pan.* 5 (311). For a broad treatment of the topic, see C. R. Whittaker, "Agri deserti," in *Studies in Roman Property*, ed. M. I. Finley (Cambridge, 1976) 137–65 (for Gaul, pp. 145–46).

78. Autun had suffered severely when besieged in 269 by Victorinus, who sought to punish it for appealing to Claudius II for help after the death of Postumus. On the restoration of Autun, see *Pan.* 9 and notes. Eumenius confirms that *artifices transmarini* were employed (9.4.3). It is striking that craftsmen should have been brought from so far afield. A generation later *Cod. Theod.* 13.4.1 (Carthage, dated 334) and 13.4.2 (addressed to Valerius Maximus, PPO Illyricum, 337; *PLRE* I, Maximus 49) are vivid witnesses to shortages of architects and craftsmen in the building trades in Africa and the Danubian provinces. Perhaps it is not altogether surprising that restoration of buildings in Autun was still not complete in 310; see *Pan.* 6.22.4.

79. For the advanced age of the speaker, see the Introduction, p. 104.

IX

EUMENIUS, FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

Section 14 of the panegyric contains a letter from Constantius I to the speaker, who is identified there as Eumenius (14.5).[1] The preservation of one name was so welcome that Eumenius was once credited with authorship of all of the unattributed *Panegyrici*. Many rigorous scholarly examinations have demonstrated that he wrote only the present oration.[2]

During the course of his argument, which is a personal appeal, Eumenius discloses something of his family background and his place in Roman Gaul. His grandfather, an Athenian, was a successful rhetorician who attracted audiences in Rome and eventually settled in Autun as a professor at the schools, where he continued to teach as an octogenarian (17.2–4). Eumenius relates this information dependent on the word *audio*. As he explains, instruction at the site of the schools ceased before his childhood (17.3). His family must have been one of long generations if his grandfather was over eighty before he was out of his infancy, perhaps before he was born. The time to which he refers at 17.3 is not the sack of

1. For a full account of the details and arguments pertinent to Eumenius' biography, see B. Rodgers, "Eumenius of Augustodunum," *AncSoc* 20 (1989) 249–62.

2. See the section "The Question of Authorship" in the General Introduction.

Autun in 269/270,[3] as that was less than thirty years before the date of this panegyric. Eumenius had become a professor and a high-ranking civil servant and had a son old enough to qualify for the school position to which Constantius appointed Eumenius himself (6.2). The orator has to have come into the world by 260 at the very latest,[4] although such a date demands both connubial and (for father and son) intellectual precocity. He must have been born no later than 250, and probably earlier.[5]

Of his parents Eumenius says nothing. They may have been, like Ausonius' grandfather, among the exiles who fled during the *imperium Galliarum*.[6] Eumenius' omission of details can only suggest conclusions; if he grew up in Autun, there is no reason to say so, and no cause to speak of his father if the parent would not fit into his argument. Autun was his *patria* (3.4, 16.5), whether by ancestry or continual habitation. Eumenius followed his grandfather's profession and was later recruited for the imperial civil service (6.2), where his most recent (and perhaps only) position was *magister sacrae memoriae* (11.2), one of the most important court functionaries.[7] The orator describes his palace duties in a manner opaque enough for any civil servant to envy (6.2), although legal advice formed as much a part of them as the transcription of the rulers' divine notions. As he seems to have been attached to Constantius' court, his appointment came in or after 293; he indicates, however, that Maximian, not Constantius, was the last link in his chain of authority.[8]

OCCASION AND DATE

Eumenius' oration, alone in the collection, was delivered neither to nor in honor of an emperor. It is, however, a public speech combining praise of Autun, and of the emperors, with a specific program for future endeavor: truly an epideictic oration in the tradition (mutatis mutandis) of Isocrates' *Panegyrikos*. The ex-bureaucrat, having become once again a rhetorician, asks a governor if he may donate his salary to have Autun's schools of rhetoric, known as the Maenianae,[9] rebuilt. Scholars have

3. See the commentary below, notes 12 and 65.
4. See note 25: this is the *communis opinio*.
5. So A. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," *RhM* 66 (1911) 519, whose interpretation of 6.2 is the most natural, and who would put Eumenius' birth ca. 240.
6. As Galletier, 1: 104, suggests; see the commentary, note 16.
7. See note 25.
8. See 6.2 with note 26.
9. See the commentary, note 5, for an attempt to explain the appellation.

usually inferred that the addressee is the governor of Lugdunensis, and that this man was visiting Autun when Eumenius made his petition. Eumenius calls his distinguished listener *vir perfectissimus* (here translated "Your Excellency"). Most of Diocletian's governors came not from the senatorial class (whose members were styled *viri clarissimi*) but from the equestrian order. Such a man would have the title *praeses* and the rank *perfectissimus*.

Diocletian's administrative changes included multiplying the number of provinces,[10] although he did not make all the subdivisions at one time. Several provinces then made up a diocese, administered by a *vicarius* (i.e., vice-praetorian prefect). All of Diocletian's known *vicarii* were equestrians, *viri perfectissimi*.[11] The province of Lugdunensis was subdivided by the year 313, as evidenced by *Codex Theodosianus* 11.3.1 of that year. Although there is no evidence for an earlier date, if Diocletian is the author of this division, the change occurred before his abdication in 305.

The traditional assignment of place and addressee must, however, be reexamined, for the evidence that Eumenius delivered the oration in the forum of Autun is not unassailable. When he speaks of the school buildings and of the city he uses demonstrative adjectives of the first, second, and third persons, the latter two most frequently; in other words, he refers to "that place" or to "the place which I am telling you about."[12] The passage hardest to reconcile with a setting at Autun is 18.3: "Unless, indeed . . . this very [province] [?] which has only recently ceased to be barbarian, consumed, as it were, by Frankish ferocity, had been no more lost than if the rivers flowing about it and the sea washing against it had covered it over." It is not absolutely clear what "this very [something]" is, although it is a geographical or administrative term and is feminine singular: one could supply *civitas*, *provincia*, *dioecesis*, even *regio*. The entire description ill suits not only Autun and its environs but the whole province of Lugdunensis I, which had no coast and only the rivers Rhône and Saône running north–south. Lugdunensis II, however, embraced, as it were, by the Seine and Loire, has a long coastline. The geographical features would also fit Lugdunensis before division. If it must be a city, Boulogne has ocean if no rivers, but Rouen is close enough to the sea to qualify (and Lillibonne is even closer); these places were held by the regime in

10. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 7.4, with J. Creed's (*Lactantius* [Oxford, 1984]) notes ad loc. and introduction, pp. xvii–xviii; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford, 1964) 46–48; see also note 17 to *Pan.* 10.
11. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 47–49; praetorian prefects were *viri eminentissimi*.
12. Cf. Rodgers, "Eumenius of Augustodunum," 262–66.

Britain and hence by barbarians (specifically, Franks).[13] But there is no indication that Eumenius has traveled to a city other than Lyon, the provincial capital, the normal seat of the governor's court. A journey to the usual place would excite no comment (and cf. 1.1: *isto in loco;* 1.2: *sedes ista iustitiae*); a visit to a place not normally inhabited by either the governor or Eumenius requires explanation.

One may thus choose from several possibilities. If Eumenius is speaking at Autun, the addressee should not be the governor of Lugdunensis I but could be (1) the governor of Lugdunensis as yet undivided or (2) the *vicarius* of the diocese of Galliae.[14] If the official traveled to Autun, it was probably during a tour of inspection and not for any special event, which Eumenius would have mentioned. Alternatively, Eumenius is not at Autun but at Lyon and addresses the provincial governor at his normal place for hearing suits. The official has clearly visited Autun at least once (20.2).

The date of this oration cannot be discovered with any exactness. Eumenius spoke after the recovery of Britain in 296,[15] and after Maximian's departure for Africa, Diocletian's arrival in Egypt, and the commencement of Galerius' battles with Sassanid Persia.[16] Any or all of the last three military operations may have been merely begun or long since completed; the date can be no earlier than 297 and may be as late as 299 or even later. For convenience let us say that Eumenius' speech belongs to 297/298 or to the late 290s.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The oration contains no details of military campaigns nor even a list of *res gestae*; it is more valuable for the study of Roman education and for Autun's local history than for the understanding or chronology of the Tetrarchs' movements. Eumenius catalogues the decorations of peace.

13. See *Pan.* 8.6–8 with notes.

14. The least satisfactory possibility, requiring one to supply "diocese" or "region" with no antecedent. If the omitted word is not the city where Eumenius was at that moment, it should be "province," or the name of one to balance *Britannia* from the first half of the sentence. See note 71.

15. This is the usually accepted date, although 295 and 297 have supporters.

16. See 20 and 21 with notes. The most recent discussion of the pertinent sections is by F. Kolb, "Zu chronologischen Problemen der ersten Tetrarchie," *Eos* 76 (1988) 106–16, who addresses the issues of iconography in Eumenius' passage and of the panegyrists' devices. He assumes, however, that an image of a victorious emperor indicates that the ruler in question has actually won a victory; one cannot be sure that this is always the case. He would date this oration February/March 298.

The emperors have built or rebuilt forts along the borders, which they have reestablished (18.4); they have caused every ruin in the Roman world to rise up again (17.5–18.5). More specifically, they have undertaken the rebuilding of Autun's public edifices and private dwellings (4.1–3, 9.3–4, 14.4, 16.5), and to that end they have lent the city both craftsmen from newly recovered Britain and Roman legions, who pass their time in winter quarters at Autun restoring the city's water supply (4.3).[17]

If all that Eumenius reports is true, he should have had no trouble winning his suit to have the school buildings repaired. A school requires an edifice. But the teaching of rhetoric at Autun had continued even after the Maenianae were not used (17.3): classes were held in private (9.1), that is, at some location(s) other than the old school buildings. It may be that the school's new location was deemed adequate by all but Eumenius, who offered to donate his annual salary of 600,000 sesterces, double what he had received as *magister memoriae*,[18] to the rebuilding project (3.4, 11.1 and 3, 16.3).

The oration is divided into two parts. The first (1–10) contains the argument on utility and includes two main contentions, that Autun's past history has made it one of the most loyally Roman cities in Gaul (4), and that the Tetrarchs' regard for literature is, and should be, so great that they could not object to his proposal. Eumenius uses the second half of the speech to demonstrate how the schools can be rebuilt by the princes' generosity but without any extra expenditure: he offers to underwrite the project with his salary. There has been some question about Eumenius' accuracy in making this claim: many have argued that the city of Autun had to pay his salary and that his desire to earmark these monies for a building fund did not actually save his fellow citizens anything. But the orator's insistence upon the (figurative) credit that will accrue to the fisc shows that the expenses will be the emperors': it is the resources of the *res publica*, that is, the state, that will pay to rebuild the schools.[19]

Eumenius' argument on the value of literature owes something to Cicero's *Pro Archia*, not least of which is the latter's examples of military men who patronized poets (*Arch.* 27).[20] Roman prejudices seem not to have

17. See 4.3 with commentary.

18. See 11.2 and 14.5 with commentary.

19. See further Rodgers, "Eumenius of Augustodunum," 255–58; and commentary below, note 47.

20. See Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 540–42, for a list of Ciceronian echoes in the panegyric. Although he cites at least ten of Cicero's orations, Klotz denies that Eumenius used the *Pro Archia*. One would have thought rather

changed much. Eumenius' rationalizations sound truer when he leaves aside historical analogies and reveals that students of rhetoric grow up to be civil servants and panegyrists (5.3–4, 8.1–2, 10.2, 19.1–4). The same ruler(s) who singled out Eumenius to take charge of the school at the death of the previous director (5.3, 14.3), and who made sure that there were good students enough (5.1), would, as the orator argues, surely not object to allowing someone to finance the rebuilding of a public monument. The desire to enhance one's reputation and gain an immortal name for one's family by contributing materially to one's native place had once, when the Empire was in its prime, been widespread (18.1–5). Eumenius complimented the emperors on their restoration not only of objects but of attitudes. Whether they allowed him to contribute to their work is not known, but there is no reason to suppose that they did not.

that that speech would be a favorite among late Roman professors of rhetoric. See the commentary, notes 28, 31, 37, 39, and 59.

IX. EUMENIUS, FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE SCHOOLS

I am sure, Your Excellency,[1] that not you, who have always been **1** held in the greatest esteem for your abilities in every kind of discourse, but most of those present are amazed that I, who from my earliest youth up to this day have never spoken in this place,[2] and have preferred the private exercise to the public display of whatever little it is that I seem to have achieved through hard work and attention to duty, now at last in a late initiation aspire to the platform unfamiliar to me.[3] I confess that 2 although this seat of justice seems to me to be distinguished both for action and for speaking, nevertheless, distrustful of my talent I have not up to now appeared before it, and on this very occasion, although I am about to deliver a form of address far removed from a contest at law, I am inhibited by self-conscious anxiety.[4]

1. Eumenius uses the same vocative (*vir perfectissime*) throughout (at 3.4, 9.1 and 3, 13.2, 15.1, 20.1); it is his distinguished listener's rank. The identity of the governor addressed is not known. Most of Diocletian's governors were equestrian *praesides* (Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 44–45), whose rank, like this man's, was *perfectissimus*. Provincial governors exercised jurisdiction in most civil affairs (Jones, pp. 374–75).

2. Narrowly specified, the place to which he has come is the speaker's platform. On the question of in what city this was situated, see the Introduction to this speech and note 71 below. As former *magister memoriae*, Eumenius would have been known by name, if not by countenance, to people all over Gaul; thus inhabitants of any city or town in the province might have reason to feel surprise at seeing the formerly influential minister making a request of a provincial governor.

3. Although *tirocinium* need not signify anything more than "inexperience," Eumenius uses the word's specialized meaning of "first [military or other] campaign." Cf. Ausonius to Symmachus on the subject of their campaign with Valentinian I in 368–369: *ubi tu veteris militiae praemia tiro meruisti, ego tirocinium iam veteranus exercui* (*Ep.* 1). Eumenius, lately *magister memoriae* and therefore a person of note, displays his modesty at some length.

4. The *captatio benevolentiae* includes two statements: Eumenius has never practiced law (forensic oratory), but the present occasion is not a lawsuit. His trepidation therefore arises from the public venue, but his statement that he has never been in the forum before does not mean that he has never given a display oration (cf. 3.2).

2 Not to leave anything in doubt for men to conjecture or wonder about
as a result of my request concerning the restoration of the Maenianae[5]
in my native city, which I thought I ought to undertake rather than to
assign to someone else, and to seem to promise something more of myself
2 than what I know I can do, I wish it to be attested in the presence of the
audience at the outset of my speech that I am giving a performance of
public speaking only for this occasion, which is one particularly suited to
my pursuits, and that I am not passing over to the school, unknown to
3 me, of forensic lawyers, through desire for someone else's glory. I am
neither so ignorant nor so self-confident that I do not know how great a
gulf there is between this public battleground and those private exercises
of our studies.[6] There intellects are armed, here they do battle; there
4 practice contests are waged, here actual combats. Here for the most part

5. Eumenius wants to have the school buildings restored. They were called the Maenianae because, one supposes, they had been constructed with the architectural feature (an elevated projection or balcony) first introduced at Rome by a Maenius, who could watch the games from a platform on a column of his house. See W. Kroll, "Maenia columna," *RE* 14 (1928) 245; M. Ebert, "Maenianum," *RE* 14 (1928) 245–47. In the fourth century the term was still in use for structural additions of this type (Amm. Marc. 27.9.10). It is conceivable, however, that the schools of rhetoric were named Maenianae because it was a Maenius who had the first rostra constructed at Rome.

6. The comparison between school exercises and their application in the real world is very common. See for various instances of its use Quint. *Inst.* 1.2.18 (*ante omnia futurus orator, cui in maxima celebritate et in media rei publicae luce vivendum est, adsuescat iam a tenero non reformidare homines neque illa solitaria et velut umbratica vita pallescere*); Tac. *Ann.* 14.53.4, where Seneca contrasts (to no avail) his nature and training (*studia, ut sic dixerim, in umbra educata*) with the public duties thrust upon him; Juv. 7.171–75, where the poet advises the professor of rhetoric to give over his thankless occupation and enter a lawsuit to get his back pay (7.173: *ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra*); Encolpius begins Petronius' *Satyricon* with a complaint of the uselessness of rhetorical training at the hands of the *umbraticus doctor* (2.3) (see 1.2–3: *hoc tantum proficiunt, ut cum in foro venerint, putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos. et ideo ego adulescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex his quae in usu habemus aut audiunt aut vident*). For the *acies fori*, cf. Cic. *Cael.* 47 (*si laborem fugeret . . . hac in acie cotidie versaretur?*); *De or.* 1.147 (*quae agenda sunt in foro, tamquam in acie*) and 1.157 (*educenda deinde dictio est ex hac domestica exercitatione et umbratili medium in agmen, in pulverem, in clamorem, in castra, atque in aciem forensem . . . et illa commentatio inclusa in veritatis lucem proferenda est*); Quint. *Inst.* 12.6.4 (*est tamen proprius quidam fori profectus, alia lux, alia veri discriminis facies*).

one struggles with as it were sticks and stones, there always with glittering shafts. Here the orator is praised when he is sullied with sweat and, so to speak, with dirt;[7] there when he is distinguished for his splendid attire. As a result, if either of the two should exchange duties for the sake of experience, a sound of trumpets and clash of arms would frighten off the one, a show of triumph the other.

I repeat, I know these things, Your Excellency, and I do not knowingly 3
deceive myself; and therefore I am so far from having abandoned the arts
of teaching and instruction and thinking myself fit and capable, that for
this very thing, that I shall speak even for one day and on one topic
in the forum, I can expect more pardon than praise. Although in this 2
address, Your Excellency, I am disturbed only by my being unaccustomed
to the place, not by the novelty of speaking, since I am requesting what
not only would no one venture to obstruct by speaking against it, but
rather what all men to whom the divine generosity of the rulers, to whom
the restoration of the city, and to whom the praise of the finest arts are
delightful and pleasing, would support with the greatest joy and goodwill,
namely that the Maenianae, those schools once renowned and famed for
their beautiful buildings and crowds of students, be rebuilt along with the
other buildings and temples being restored.[8] Thus the cause which I am 3
pleading relieves me of as much anxiety as the location contributes.[9]

In my opinion, Your Excellency, this case should be divided into two 4
parts, that I discuss first how rebuilding that monument to its former
grandeur is both useful and obligatory, then how it can proceed without
public expenditure,[10] by the generosity indeed of the greatest rulers, but

7. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.21–22 (on Pollio's history): *audire magnos iam videor duces / non indecoro pulvere sordidos*. The next two sentences also appear to owe something to the same poem (lines 17–20).

8. Autun had suffered a sack in 269 or 270 after an attempt to secede from the *imperium Galliarum* (for more details, see 4.1 and notes). The emperors had inaugurated a rebuilding program (4.1–3 and 14.4).

9. The whole of this section, up to this point, contains borrowings from the exordia of two of Cicero's orations: *Man.* 3: *atque illud in primis mihi laetandum iure esse video quod in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi causa talis oblata est in qua oratio deesse nemini possit; Deiot.* 1: *in hac causa ita multa me perturbant ut, quantum mea fides studi mihi adferat ad salutem regis Deiotari defendendam, tantum facultatis timor detrahat*, and 5: *moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentia*.

10. The expression that Eumenius uses here (*sine sumptu publico*) is one of two unambivalent references to the source of his salary, which he intends to donate to the reconstruction project. There is controversy over whether the

nevertheless along with some of my own devotion and love for my native city.

4 Above all, Your Excellency, we should obey our Emperors' and Caesars' divine foresight and singular goodwill toward us in the restoration of this monument too. This city, once proud of the name of brother to the Roman people[11] and later ruined by overwhelming disaster when it was besieged by rebellious Batavian robbers[12] and called upon the aid of

local government or the imperial fisc was responsible for paying him. See below, 11.1–3 and 16.3 with notes.

11. The Aedui originally occupied Bibracte; the site of their city was moved from that hillside location to its present site ca. 12 B.C.E. and renamed Augustodunum. The Aedui applied to Rome for help against their rivals the Arverni and Allobroges in 121 B.C.E. The Romans, who swiftly established themselves as masters of the latter-named tribes, granted the Aedui the title *fratres consanguineique (populi Romani)*. Cf. Caes. *BGall.* 1.33; Cic. *Att.* 1.19.2; Tac. *Ann.* 11.25 (*Aedui . . . soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant*). Reminder of this ancient distinction is a sure sign of an Autunois: see *Pan.* 5.2.4, 5.3.1–4, 6.22.4, 8.21.2.

12. Lipsius' conjecture *Bagaudicae*, first adopted by Livineius in 1599, appeared by error in Mynors' OCT; in this instance I restore the correct Latin text: in 1978 Professor Mynors told me that *Batavicae* ought to have been printed; it was an understandable attempt to make sense of the misleading reference to Batavians. "Batavian robbers" are the troops of Lower Germany, who supported the usurper Postumus (259–268) and his successors. Eumenius does not wish to linger over the still embarrassing episode of Gallic history, although Autun attempted to end up on the side of the united Empire. Consequently, he sins by omission when he employs an accurate term that does not embrace the whole truth. *Pan.* 5 has more details: see 5.4.1–4 and notes. For explication of this passage, see P. LeGentilhomme, "Le désastre d'Autun en 269," *REA* 45 (1943) 233–40, who is supported by Galletier, 1: 110–11, and R. Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley, 1985) 26 with n. 3. D. Lassandro, "Batavica o Bagaudica Rebellio?" *GIF* 25 (1973) 300–308, however, defends the conjecture *Bagaudicae* on both paleographical and historical grounds. He argues that the Bagaudae were rebels, that rebels (*rebelles*) should be local, that class struggles played a part in the peasants' targets, and that Autun, one of the richest cities of Gaul, would have been an excellent target. Autun, like other cities to the south (in Aquitania), supported Claudius II against several of the Gallic emperors. Even a very well organized band of robbers is not likely to undertake a seven months' siege. The Bagaudae, moreover, did not operate continuously for over a century and a half as Lassandro says (p. 307 n. 37). Bandits flourished in the absence of a resident emperor. See Van Dam's discussion (pp. 7–56); J. F. Drinkwater, "Peasants and Bagaudae in Roman Gaul," *EMC* 28 (1984) 349–71;

the Roman ruler,[13] they wanted to raise up and build anew, not only out of admiration for its services but also from pity for its misfortunes, and they judged the very magnitude of its ruins worthy of undying memorials of their generosity, that the more enormous the difficulty of rebuilding, the more remarkable would be the glory of the things rebuilt.[14] And so they 2
bestow great sums of money and if need be the whole treasury upon the reconstruction not only of temples and public places but even of private houses; and not only money but also craftsmen from beyond the sea[15] 3
and new residents from the highest social orders of the provinces[16] and winter quarters for the most faithful legions, whose invincible strength they do not miss even in those wars which they are conducting at this very moment,[17] to work for our profit in the goodwill of a guest's gratitude

id., *The Gallic Empire*, Historia Einzelschrift 52 (Stuttgart, 1987) 79; also E. M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London, 1985) 199–200, on the likelihood that Aelianus and Amandus were local landowners who became "tyrants."

13. Claudius II Gothicus (268–270) (*Pan.* 5.4.2).

14. The Tetrarchs attempted to restore prosperity along with peace; clearly a ruined town was not an economic asset. Eumenius refers to the emperors' rebuilding and land reclamation plans several more times (9.3–4, 14.4 [Constantius' letter], 16.5, 17.5–18.5). Whether what was planned was effected, or what was effected fulfilled what was needed, is another story. The author of *Pan.* 5 reveals a dismal landscape in and around Autun (*Pan.* 5.5.4–8.5) that cannot entirely be explained away as rhetorical exaggeration; the panegyrist was speaking to an emperor who had seen the place.

15. From Britain, which Constantius had recovered in 296. Cf. *Pan.* 8.21.2.

16. Cf. *Pan.* 5.4.4 ("transferring immigrants from all over"). Autun had suffered depopulation after the sack when people either moved away voluntarily or fled to escape persecution. Ausonius' maternal grandfather (Caecilius Argicius) Arborius was one of the Aedui who suffered because of his position and wealth; he and his father were proscribed under the usurpers Victorinus and Tetricus. He neither regained his fortune nor returned to his native city (Auson. *Parent.* 4.1–16). Upper-class inhabitants were particularly necessary to the city, as they formed the pool from which the local senate was drawn (A. Grenier, "La Gaule romaine," in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. T. Frank [Baltimore, 1937] 3: 606). The local senators were personally responsible for the payment in full of local taxes to the imperial government (Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 457–58).

17. Since even the approximate time of "this very moment" cannot be discovered (see the Introduction to this oration), one cannot tell which campaigns Eumenius refers to. Maximian may still have been fighting the Moors in Africa. Eumenius says nothing of any new battles for Constantius since the recapture of Britain. What Galerius and Diocletian were involved in should have had

and make waters that had ceased to flow, and new rivers as well, pour forth upon the withered vitals, as it were, of the exhausted city.[18]

5 For this reason it is evident that those who have determined to raise up and revive this colony[19] with the many great resources of the entire Empire most particularly desire to have that seat of the liberal arts repaired, for which they have provided an especial assembly of most distinguished young people in illustration of their regard for studies.

2 Which of the ancient leaders ever cared so much that learning and the study of eloquence flourish as these, the best and kindest masters of the

3 human race?[20] And as far as my prayers and affection are concerned, I do not hesitate to call them our children's parents. They thought it was

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little to do with Maximian's and Constantius' military dispositions, unless they borrowed detachments from the West. See 19.4 for a similar allusion. Both that and the present passage may be no more than recognition of the emperors' primary function: the notes to section 21 have details.

18. Winter was not, of course, for campaigning unless it was necessary, although most of the army at this time was engaged in guarding the borders (E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* [Paris, 1959] 1: 72). The legions quartered at Autun were kept busy, which was preferable to their remaining idle, by repairing the old aqueducts and helping to build new ones. Aqueducts were obvious targets in warfare, especially during sieges, and Autun's need of repairs to the water supply may date back to the siege of 269/270. The water courses could also have suffered from neglect or lack of funds for maintenance both prior to and after that date. The author of *Pan.* 5 (in section 4.4) cites *caldaria* (new?) and *lavacra* (repaired). Cl. Mamertinus (*Pan.* 3.9.2 and 3.10.1) enumerates ruined aqueducts (specifically in Nicopolis and generally in other cities of Greece) along with untilled fields, ruins of buildings, and depopulation among the conditions that Julian righted.

19. Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.12 defines *colonia* in such a way as to exclude Autun. The city was not founded by the Romans as a settlement for Romans or allies, but it was founded in accordance with Roman convenience when it was thought useful to transfer the Aedui from their previous location at Bibracte (above, note 11). The original circumference of the walled city was Augustan.

20. A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1952) 113, cites this passage as evidence that not all literary figures concurred in condemning the Illyrian emperors for lack of educated refinement; cf. the opposite opinions of Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 22.4; *Epit.* 40.15; and others. Alföldi writes: "Partiality or hate ... represented the Emperor as a patron of culture or as a rough savage to suit requirements. Thus it often happens that we can trace two distinct valuations of one and the same Emperor" (p. 112).

worthwhile to be concerned for these most noble natives[21] of their Gauls, bereaved by the death of this eminent scholar,[22] and gave them a teacher and director in accordance with their very own judgment, and among arrangements for the Empire involving far more important provisions for the conduct of the highest affairs of state, they recruited for literature as well.[23] Just as if they had to take care of a cavalry squadron or praetorian 4
cohort, they considered that the selection of whom especially to place in charge was for them to decide, so that those who ought to be advanced to the expectation of any tribunal or to the service of the sacred judiciary or perhaps to the very offices of the palace, not follow uncertain oratorical standards as if caught unexpectedly by cloudy weather amid the surging seas of youth.[24]

In this decision, Your Excellency, I ascribe nothing to my own praises. 6
But I cannot sufficiently wonder at our lord Constantius' extraordinary solicitude and kindness toward the youth of his Gauls. He is truly the prince of youth, as he increased the esteem in which literature is held 2

21. With this and 3.2 above, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.43: "A more formidable movement broke out among the Aedui, proportioned to the greater wealth of the state and the distance of the force which should repress it. Sacrovir with some armed cohorts had made himself master of Augustodunum, the capital of the tribe, with the noblest youth of Gaul, there devoting themselves to a liberal education [*nobilissimam Galliarum subolem, liberalibus studiis ibi operatam*], and with such hostages he proposed to unite in his cause their parents and kinsfolk" (trans. Church and Brodribb).

22. The former head of the school of rhetoric at Autun. His identity is not known. Cf. Constantius' letter, section 14.3.

23. Eumenius refers to his own appointment (see the next section) as professor of rhetoric, which he wishes to make equal in importance with positions of authority in the imperial administration or the military. Cf. notes 24 and 27.

24. Young men who wished to pursue a public career prepared by studying law and/or rhetoric; the emperors' concern for the quality of future administrators' education is understandable. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 512–13, 527, 990; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London, 1977) chap. 3, sec. 5, esp. pp. 98–101 for this period; J. F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364–425* (Oxford, 1975) 84–86.

Ausonius reproduces two of Eumenius' observations, that youth is a dangerous time that not all survive (*Prof. Burd.* 11.4 to his nephew Herculanus: *lubricae nisi te iuventae praecipitem flexus daret*) (cf. Cic. *Cael.* 41, *Flac.* 105) and that a professor's students end up in high places (*Prof. Burd.* 1.9–10: *mille foro dedit hic* [*Minervius*] *iuvenes, bis mille senatus / adiecit numero purpureisque togis*); cf. *Pan.* 6.23.2.

with this honor as well: when I was trying to gain access to my former
position for my son rather [than for myself],[25] he ordered me to take up
the teaching of oratory again, and he brought right to his parent's palace
the duty of transferring this voice, insignificant indeed in terms of my
talent and nature, yet which had uttered the celestial words and divine
thoughts of the rulers,[26] from the secrecy of the sacred sanctuary of the
3 palace to the private sanctuary of the Muses. He did this not because

25. Eumenius had already been a professor of oratory; see the Introduction. Galletier, 1: 103–4, calculates that Eumenius was born around 264/265 and that his grandfather (see 17.2–4) died sometime between 250 and 260. Galletier's dates depend in part on an equation of the time of the sack of Autun with the cessation of instruction. This cannot be the case. Even allowing a very early marriage for our orator, his son could hardly be out of his teens at the time of this oration, and Eumenius himself would be under thirty-five. S. Brandt, *Eumenius von Augustodunum und die ihm zugeschriebenen Reden* (Freiburg and Tübingen, 1872) 9, will have him born around 260, and would readily allow an earlier date, but not a later one (see note 65). A. Stadler, "Die Autoren der anonymen gallischen Panegyrici" (Diss., Munich, 1912) 47 n. 10, says that Eumenius was born a little after 260, arguing that the son was not being put forward as a candidate for a teaching position but that he was just commencing a rhetor's training (at about the age of fifteen), and it is this coincidence that Eumenius remarks upon here. The interpretation of Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 519 (whom Stadler argues against), is preferable and allows the Latin a more natural reading, especially in view of the adverb *potius*. Eumenius was trying to have his son appointed as a professor; the son must be twenty-five to thirty at the youngest; the father must also have attained a certain maturity before being appointed *magister memoriae*; consequently, he was born between 240 and 250.

26. As *magister memoriae* (cf. 11.2), an important officer in the administration. The *magister sacrae memoriae* was the emperor's chief legal counsel (as well as adviser on foreign relations); he and his staff wrote the rescripts to most of the petitions sent to the emperor. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 368–69, 504–5. *PLRE* I puts Eumenius in the administration of Constantius, but the orator says that Constantius went to Maximian's palace: either Eumenius was Maximian's *magister memoriae* or Maximian controlled the appointments at his Caesar's court (as Constantius II did for Julian), and Constantius needed permission to transfer Eumenius to another post. Thus T. D. Barnes's citation of Constantius' letter to Eumenius (*The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* [Cambridge, Mass., 1982] 47–48) as evidence that the Caesars had some authority to issue some types of documents must be qualified by the observation that Constantius observed the courtesy of consulting Maximian before taking any action.

he wanted by imposing this profession to take anything away from me,
whom (and may I say this without odium) he regards with as much respect
as, by virtue of the highest offices, ought to be enough for a wise man,
but to add dignity to the profession itself because of that office which I
held.[27] Who could doubt, then, that the divine mind of Caesar, which 4
chose a director with so much care for this gathering of youth, also wants
the place devoted to its training to be restored and decorated, since all
adherents and patrons of all things believe that they have hardly done
justice to their vows and conscience if they do not erect temples in honor
of those very attributes for which they wish to be praised?[28]

This is the reason why the Athenians' humanity set up an altar to 7
Mercy,[29] why a Roman general's greatness of spirit built a temple of
Virtue and Honor.[30] Great men into whom was born the love of these 2
arts, or states of mind, also wanted to dedicate monuments of them to
exist for posterity. Fulvius Nobilior built the Temple of Hercules of the 3
Muses in the Circus Flaminius out of the censors' funds,[31] following not

27. E. Faure, "Notes sur le Panégyrique VIII," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 18, while arguing that Eumenius' purpose in delivering such an oration was to gain recognition and popularity in Autun, suggests that the orator protests so much that one may guess at his disappointment. Cf. Millar, *Emperor*, 503: "The appointment was an apparent (and perhaps real) demotion."

28. Eumenius' argument is somewhat forced on this point, which contributes little to his case but allows him to discuss the Temple of Hercules Musarum at Rome and to appropriate (at the end of section 8) a similar title for the schools at Autun. The panegyrist is in good company here and in what follows, since he follows Cicero's lead (*Arch.* 27).

29. See Stat. *Theb.* 12.481–511 on the Athenian altar of Mercy; he mentions the story that Hercules' offspring set it up (a Herculian example that Eumenius has missed), but believes that it was rather the gods themselves. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 541, rightly observes that the altar of Mercy and the other examples in this section are rhetorical commonplaces.

30. M. Claudius Marcellus vowed the temples in 222 B.C.E. after his victory over the Insubrian Gauls at Clastidium. His son finally performed the dedication eighteen years later. See Livy 25.40.1–3, 27.25.7–9, 29.11.13. Brandt, *Eumenius*, 118, and Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 541, find a Ciceronian parallel in *Verr.* 2.4.121, but not *N. D.* 2.61.

31. M. Fulvius Nobilior defeated the Aetolians in 189 B.C.E. After his triumph he had the Temple of Hercules Musarum built in the Campus Martius (see E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, rev. ed. [London, 1968] 1: 471). Same example in Cic. *Arch.* 27. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 541, denies

only where he was led by literature and his friendship for a great poet,[32]
but because when he was commander in Greece he had heard that there
was a Hercules Musagetes, that is companion and leader of the Muses.[33]
He also was the first to transport the nine statues of the Muses—that is, of
all of them—from the town of Ambracia[34] and to dedicate them under
the guardianship of a most powerful deity because, in truth, they ought
to be assisted and adorned by each other's resources and rewards: the
repose of the Muses by Hercules' defense and the virtue of Hercules by
the Muses' voice.

8 It is my belief, then, that with such inspiration from both his grand-
father Hercules and his father Herculius[35] Caesar Herculius honors the
study of literature so favorably that he considers the knowledge of speaking
well concerns the providence of his deity[36] no less than the knowledge of
2 right action, and by virtue of the divine intelligence of his eternal mind
he feels that literature is the basis of all the virtues, inasmuch as it is the
teacher of self-control, moderation, vigilance and patience. All of these,
when they become habitual at a tender age, grow strong thereafter in
the face of all of life's duties, even the very one which seems the most
3 divorced from them, the service of military life and the camps.[37] For this
reason, since for these nurses or, to speak more truly, these mothers of
all diligence and renown Caesar Herculius has thought fit to proclaim an
instructor, he must desire to have their particular habitation rebuilt, too,
so that when it has been repaired to its ancient soundness and splendor,

that Eumenius has consulted the *Pro Archia* for any of this section, since the whole thing (from the altar on) belongs to the realm of rhetorical commonplace. With some inconsistency, he has already attributed the citation of the Temple of Honor and Virtus to the *Verrines* (see note 30). Clearly Eumenius had access to the best available handbooks, but he ill deserved his teaching position if he had never read the classic defense of the value of literature.

32. Ennius.

33. Musagetes is usually Apollo's epithet; see LSJ^9 s.v.

34. See Livy 38.9.1–14, 39.4.11–12.

35. If one takes *avus* literally, this is a nice bit of adoptive genealogy. Caesar Herculius is Constantius, whom Maximian Herculius adopted as his son. Therefore, Hercules is Constantius' grandfather (and Jupiter his great-grandfather).

36. The only instance in the oration where *numen* is used of the emperor; the other five instances (7.3, 9.4 bis, 10.1, 19.3) all refer to gods.

37. Cf. *Arch.* 14 on learning virtue by example and the preservation of exempla made possible only by literature.

it may much more justly and truly be called the edifice of Hercules and
of the Muses.[38]

Clearly, Your Excellency, it concerns even the fame which such great 9
leaders earn by so many victories and triumphs that intellects which are
polished by singing of their virtues[39] be enlivened not within private walls[40]
but in public display and in the very eyes of this city. What, moreover, is 2
situated more in the face and countenance of this city than these same
Maenianae, which are placed right in the path of the most invincible rulers
as they arrive here?[41] And when they show that they are affected by the
approach of glad youth[42] not only by the generosity which they themselves
bestow but also by the letter in which they urge me to undertake their
instruction, how much more pleasure will they feel when they see the
assembly place of the youth restored?

In addition, Your Excellency, one thing makes this building the more 3
distinguished and exposed to the view first of the Caesars themselves, then
also of all men, that it is placed on a special spot as if between the very
eyes of the city, between the Temple of Apollo and the Capitol.[43] All the 4

38. Eumenius follows the conceit to its logical conclusion, thus favoring the Herculian branch of the Tetrarchy, as Hercules represented the Western imperial patron(s). The translation of *aedes* as "edifice" avoids calling a school a temple (in the literal sense).

39. I.e., by doing rhetorical exercises, the themes of which would be standard topics from ancient history, as well as practicing the art of the *basilikos logos*. Cf. 10.2 below and *Pan.* 11.10.2; also Cic. *Arch.* 25–31.

40. Lack of the original building did not preclude instruction, which was held in other buildings: see the Introduction.

41. The Maenianae stood on the site of the present post office at Autun, near the park that lies over the site of the Temple of Apollo. If one entered the city through the Porte St. André (at the northeast; one would be coming from the direction of Dijon), one would proceed southwest past the Promenade des Marbres and face the schools with the capitol on the right and the Temple of Apollo to the left. If one entered through the Porte de Rome to the south, as one would from the direction of Chalon-sur-Saône (which lay on the main road between Arles and Trier), one would encounter the structures sooner.

42. This is explained in Constantius' letter; see 14.1.

43. None of these edifices exists today, although there are column capitals resting upon the grass of the park. Their location can be found on the map reproduced as fig. 5 in R. Chevallier, "Gallia Lugdunensis," *ANRW* 2.3 (1975) 882. There is a good map, although by now a century out-of-date for the modern city, folded at the end of Harold de Fontenay, *Autun et ses monuments* (Autun, 1889).

more should this sacred building, venerable for what bounds both sides, be restored out of regard for both deities, so that the ruins in between not spoil the temples which are by far the most beautiful in this city, especially since he himself who first erected these Maenianae[44] seems to me to have placed them there particularly, that they be held as it were in the kindred embrace of neighboring deities, since from that side Minerva the founder of Athens[45] and from this side Apollo in the midst of the Muses gaze upon the august edifice dedicated to literature.

10 It is particularly right and proper, therefore, to train young intellects where deities friendly to learning are so near, where Minerva the divine mind close by aids wisdom, and Apollo the god of poetry aids language; where she who is ever a maiden fosters modesty, and he who knows the
2 future fosters foresight. Here let the best young men learn, while we utter first what is like a solemn song, to praise the deeds of the greatest of leaders (for what better employment of eloquence is there?), where before altars which are in a way theirs father Jupiter and allied Minerva and Juno
3 reconciled may hear the Iovii and Herculii commended. I think that I have said enough, Your Excellency, on that topic which I had determined to speak of first, how useful and obligatory it is to restore that building devoted to pursuits which the best of leaders support, situated on the very brow of the city, connected on either side with the most renowned temples.

11 Now, as to what I reserved for the second and at the same time the more important part, I shall show how this can be accomplished without
2 public expense and to the credit[46] of the sacred treasury. The most generous rulers have ordered me to receive a salary of 600,000 sesterces

On pp. 159–76 of this work is a discussion of the schools and of their ruins found in excavation.

44. The original builder of the school is unknown.

45. Minerva, the patron of handicrafts, was identified with Athena (as here), who presided over arts and handicrafts and was regarded as a symbol of wisdom. Athens, until the time of Justinian, was synonymous with university town. Other cities in the empire erected "Capitols" of their own to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva in imitation of the Capitoline Triad at Rome; see A. Grenier, "Les capitoles romains en Gaule et le capitole de Narbonne," *CRAI*, 1956, 316–23 (at p. 318 he mentions the capitol at Autun and its location). Cf. *Pan.* 11.10.2, where the three deities are named together.

46. Literally, "praise," not credit in the fiscal sense.

from the resources of this republic,[47] not because they wished not to grant more for my profit, as they have on more than one occasion conferred much greater rewards upon me, but to double the 300,000 sesterces which I received as *magister sacrae memoriae* by the addition of an equal amount in honor of this private office.[48] This salary, as far as concerns the honor, 3
I accept with reverence and enter into accounts received; but I wish to set the payment down under my native city,[49] and to designate it for the rebuilding of this edifice, as long as necessity requires. Even if the reason

47. Over a century ago, G. Boissier ("Les rhéteurs gaulois du IV^e siècle," *JS*, 1884, 131) stated that Constantius set the salary, but the city of Autun had to pay it. Others have been bothered by and tried to explain away the relatively large sum; for example, L. C. Purser, "Notes on the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Hermathena* 46 (1931) 21, believed that the figure represented an endowment, not an annual salary. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1926; reprint, Brussels, 1964) 7: 94 n. 2, had considered this solution but rejected it; the salary was large for a rhetor, perhaps, but not for a highly placed civil servant. C. E. Van Sickle, "Eumenius and the Schools of Autun," *AJP* 55 (1934) 236–43, argued both that the amount was an annual salary and that the state was the ultimate payor, that Eumenius' salary would be deducted from Autun's tax bill. Faure, "Notes sur le Panégyrique VIII," endorses this view. To interpret *res publica* as city (usually represented by the word *civitas*) is difficult, even *haec res publica*. *Res publica* means the state. Compare the many examples in the *Panegyrici* where an orator contrasts a part of the state (a province or provinces, for example) to the whole (the *res publica*): e.g., 10.2.2; 8.3.3, 9.5, 10.2, 11.1, 20.2; 7.8.3; 12.1.1; 4.4.1, 33.7; 3.5.2. At 16.4 Eumenius uses the phrase *amor rei publicae* of his patriotic feeling, in a context of measuring up to the emperors' assessment of him. In the next sentence he uses *civitatis istius amor* to describe his feelings for Autun. The demonstrative in the present passage refers to the "local" *res publica*, Constantius' own "budget"; Diocletian and Maximian, and later the Caesars, each had his own administration, although the Caesars' bureaucracies may not have been as complete as their superiors' (Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 51). What is more, Eumenius twice affirms that the schools can be rebuilt *sine sumptu publico*, elaborated *ex largitione quidem principum maximorum* (at 3.4) and *cum laude sacrae largitionis* (at 11.1). His salary, like his appointment, came from the imperial government as a special gesture for the city of Autun, and for higher education. Eumenius reveals throughout (e.g., 10.2, 21.1) that the emperors' concern for the latter was not entirely disinterested.

48. Cf. note 26 above. Constantius' letter has the larger sum only.

49. Here Eumenius uses the words *expensum referre patriae meae*. As an accounting term the verb means "to set down toward" (or "to set down to be applied to"), and later on, when Eumenius rephrases this whole passage (16.3), he uses the verb *delego*. Since *referre* can mean "give back," this statement

for my choice need not be defended, yet because of your kindness and the
expectation with which I am heard by the audience[50] I feel that it ought to
be described a little further.
12 First of all I am of the opinion that the greatest enjoyment of rewards
lies in this, that we to whom they are granted be considered worthy; since
the mere use of money, acquired by fair practices or foul, is of small value
and without distinction of persons, but to be able to obtain a sum by
2 honorable means, even if you return the gain, is profit. For neither the
Syrian merchant nor the Delian nor the Indian aspires to these copious
profits of praise, but the riches of a conscience satisfied with its merits are
rare and shared among very few men. In fact, the glory of the recompense
is contained in the very fact that we not seem to have pursued it out of
desire for gain.[51] This we can attain only by regarding what is offered
as received, so that to have been able to arrive at the means of acquiring it
belongs to our diligence, to have passed it by, to our restraint.
13 Or if in sacred contests the bravest men, at the cost of great exertion
and even at the risk of their lives, seek only the herald's pronouncement
and the evidence of the garland,[52] should I not receive with veneration
beyond the power of any speech, should I not cherish more than any
laurels, these divine words of the celestial letter in which such great leaders
2 thought it fit to entrust me with the education of the young? And this
letter, Your Excellency, I ... although it is proper that you pardon me
for this as well. For it is not right to introduce merely a mention of
the sacred letter without the indulgence of reading it, so that after it
has been read it will be more clear how much exertion it is right for
me to expend not only on literature itself but also on its temples and
seats.
14 [Copy of the sacred letter][53] "Both our Gauls on behalf of their
children, whose lives are instructed in the liberal arts in the town of

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could be interpreted as conflicting with the argument set forth in note 47 above, did the orator not repeat the idea at 16.3.

50. Literally, *circumstantes* means "those standing round": the *corona* of which Cicero was so conscious. There were no benches for the spectators in the forum.

51. This sentiment is at least as old as the Empire; Augustus used it once to the advantage of the fisc: when a man removed from office asked for his salary, not for the sake of the money but to seem approved of, Augustus replied, "You tell everyone that you got it, and I won't deny that I gave it" (Macrob. *Sat.* 2.4.5).

52. Cf. Hdt. 8.26.2–3.

53. The heading is a marginal notation in manuscript H.

Augustodunum, and the young men themselves, who with cheerful accord
undertook to accompany me, Constantius Caesar, on my return from
Italy,[54] deserve that we be inclined to take counsel on behalf of their
talents. Accordingly, what other reward ought we to grant them than 2
this, which Fortune can neither give nor take away?[55] Hence to the 3
command of this school, which appears to be bereaved by the death of its
professor, we were obliged to appoint you particularly, whose eloquence
and serious character we know well from the management of our state
affairs. Without detriment, therefore, to the prerogatives of your rank[56] we 4
urge you to resume the teaching of oratory and in the above-mentioned
city, which, you are not unaware, we are restoring to its former glory, to
cultivate the minds of the young for the pursuit of a better life, and not to
think that by this service anything is being taken away from honors which
you have previously obtained, since an honorable profession embellishes
rather than detracts from one's worth. Finally, we also want you to draw 5

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54. It is reasonable to suppose, with Galletier (1: 128 n. 2), that Constantius was on his way back from Milan in 293 after he was named Caesar. Barnes (*New Empire*, 60 n. 65) states that this "suits an occasion c. 295 better than his initial arrival as Caesar in Gaul in 293." *Revertens* indicates a return; Constantius was in Gaul with Maximian prior to 293 and therefore "returned" after his visit to Milan in that year. There is no evidence for a subsequent journey to Italy, although evidence for Constantius' reign is scanty and would be worse without the *Panegyrici*. In the absence of a good reason or compelling argument to explain why the Caesar would visit Italy in 295, I prefer to remain with the more natural, if easier, interpretation that the journey occurred in 293. The creation of a new Caesar specifically for the Gauls, especially when he was a man of undoubted popularity (see Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, 211), would be a suitable occasion for manifestations of approval such as the students' expedition mentioned here.

55. This is a Stoic notion, rather oddly inserted here if he means that what Fortune cannot take away is the teacher whom he is about to appoint. Rather, the intent must be to refer, however obliquely, to the talents nurtured and, perhaps, to the virtue that might be touted as the aim of a liberal education. Cf. Sen. *Constant.* 5.4: *nihil eripit fortuna nisi quod dedit; virtutem autem non dat, ideo nec detrahit.*

56. One of these was exemption from service in the local senate, although certain professors were also exempt (Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 998). Palatine officials, while in office and after retirement, escaped many onerous duties and charges and also had certain legal privileges (see Jones, p. 586).

a salary of 600,000 sesterces from the resources of the State,[57] that you understand that our clemency also has recognized your merits. Farewell, our very dear Eumenius."

15 So does it not seem to you, Your Excellency, that with this encouragement from such great leaders not only has my spirit lying dormant from disuse been raised up to its former skills, but that the very walls
2 and roofs of the old schools arise in some manner as well? What song of Amphion[58] was as powerful, what sweetness of plectrum and strings which they say stones followed once, carried aloft by the melody which led the way and settling back at the pauses of the songs, to build a wall on their own as if by art? Are these as great as the power and excitement in this letter of the Emperors and Caesars to stimulate every impulse of spirit and accomplishment of things?[59]

3 They see fit to urge what they can command, although their wills, even unspoken and intimated only by their expression, are attended by the authority of the highest father Jupiter, whose nod the shaking of the entire world senses when he affirms a promise,[60] yet the Emperors of their own accord make the power of command agreeable by the kindness of
4 persuasion. More than that, they stimulate one with praises, declaring that they have tested and approved of one's serious character and speaking ability, preserving inviolate and unimpaired the prerogatives of a palace
5 position[61] for the teaching of oratory. Even if I had lacked complete understanding before, I would be moved and led by these inducements of divine benevolence to truly any degree of intelligence, since to have

57. At 11.2 above Eumenius uses virtually the same words in somewhat different order: *salarium me . . . ex huius rei publicae viribus in sexcenis milibus nummum accipere / salarium te in sescenis milibus nummum ex rei publicae viribus consequi.*

58. For the story of his causing the walls of Thebes to be built, see Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.735–41; Ov. *Met.* 6.176–78; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.5.

59. Cf. Cic. *Arch.* 19: "The very rocks and deserts echo the poet's song. Many is the time when ferocious beasts have been enchanted and arrested in their tracks as these strains come to their ears. Shall we, then, who have been nurtured on everything that is fine, remain unmoved at a poet's voice?" (trans. M. Grant).

60. Since Homer's time, at least: *Il.* 1.528–30.

61. Cf. note 56. One would be more certain that this provision was especially important to Eumenius (see also 16.4) if he had not reiterated every other point in the letter as well.

such great leaders honor one man with so much praise is not to incite an orator but to make one.

What do I have to do, then, with the money paid? Rather, what with 16
any wealth, either King Midas' or Croesus' or Pactolus',[62] which is said to have flowed with gold, when I prefer these divine attestations to all riches and even to the rewards of the gods? Unless perhaps the song of 2
the Pythia declaring the outstanding wisdom of Socrates[63] seems more glorious or more true than what the Iovii and Herculii pronounce, when not even their nods, much less their words, can be revoked.

For this reason, as I have said, Your Excellency, that 600,000 must 3
be accepted, inasmuch as it attaches to my office; in practice and in use, however, I make it over to the city[64] and specifically to that building itself in which our learning is to be employed. It seems to me that I shall 4
retain more clearly and with more distinction what was contained in the sacred letter, that I teach with the prerogatives of my office intact, if by my love for my country I prove myself worthy of the eternal rulers' excellent opinion of me. For my part, I call to witness the gods of my native place 5
that I am inflamed with so much love for this city, that wherever I cast my eyes I am so transported with joy at the restoration of individual buildings that over and over I vow my own spirit for the safety of those by whose command and resources they are being repaired.

But nonetheless what has been bestowed upon me for the sake of 6
glorifying my profession I feel that I owe particularly to this edifice. For if 17
the goods acquired in war are dedicated to Mars and those gained on the seas to Neptune, if crops are offered to Ceres and riches to Mercury, if, in the same way, the fruits of all things are returned for the veneration of their authors, where is it right to consecrate the rewards of teaching if not in the seat of rhetoric?—especially since, beyond the reverence for 2
learning which I have in common with others, I have my own special affection for these Maenianae because of the memory of my ancestors.

Although before the commencement of my childhood attendance 3
there for literary instruction had been interrupted,[65] yet I hear that my

62. Croesus was the historical king of Lydia (until 546 B.C.E.), whose wealth Herodotus (1.30–33) made famous and therefore commonplace. For the legend of Midas and the Pactolus see Ov. *Met.* 11.100–145.

63. See Pl. *Ap.* 21A for the story of Chaerephon's visit to Delphi.

64. Cf. 11.3 and note.

65. Even before the sack of Autun in 269/270, less than thirty years before the date of this oration, and Eumenius must be older than thirty. Lack of

grandfather[66] taught there once, a man born in Athens, long celebrated at Rome, thereafter kept in this city by the love of learning which he had perceived and tested in its men and by reverence for this very building.
4 And if I shall have the place where, as they say, he taught when over eighty years old, reopened and adorned by that venerable old man (I address you, Glaucus,[67] whom we see present, Attic not in birth but in eloquence), I shall seem to have recalled him to life by my succession to his profession.
5 I would not reveal my devotion to the honor of my house and family, Your Excellency, unless I trusted that it is pleasing to the Emperors themselves and to our Caesars that each man, in recreating the traces of his family as far as he can, rival their own public spirit in rebuilding the world.[68]

18 For who is so humble or so abject in spirit, who is such a stranger to any desire for praise that he does not wish both to revive even a small memory of his family and to get something of a favorable reputation for himself, when he sees everything which had collapsed in the destruction of former days rising up in the prosperity of this age, so many cities long overgrown with forests and inhabited by wild beasts restored with
2 ramparts and populated with people? It happened once in the Aegean

financial means, and possibly of students as well, and interest in liberal studies are the marks of many unsettled and perilous periods, such as the middle of the third century in Gaul. Brandt, *Eumenius*, 9, observes that the buildings may have been physically destroyed during the sack of Autun, but that instruction must have ceased before then, possibly during the years when Postumus was fending off Gallienus (259–261). I would put the date even earlier (see the Introduction to this oration and note 25 above). Yet instruction must have been reinstated—or continued—in another location of the city, since Constantius' letter indicates that the teaching of oratory was current.

66. Eumenius' Athenian grandfather is otherwise unknown, but unlike Libanius in the fourth century (*Or.* 1.214, 234), he either pursued the study of Latin rhetoric, and was successful enough to attract audiences at Rome and to obtain a teaching position at Autun, or at least learnt enough Latin to function as a Westerner (if he taught Greek rhetoric).

67. Not known except for this reference; obviously not the grandfather. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 93 n. 3, has the felicitous suggestion that he may be the rather senior individual who composed the panegyric of Constantius.

68. As Eumenius explains, restoration of normal conditions allows men scope to indulge in the pursuit of honor. It is a statement of heightened morale, a necessary ingredient to a successful "restitution" of the old state, for pride in the past coupled with ambitions for the present must be predicated upon belief in the future.

Sea that the island of Delos which had drifted about hidden by waves suddenly emerged and stood fast,[69] and an event similar to this has now taken place when so many cities arise on all sides, so many islands have been as it were reborn for human occupation. Indeed, the ruin which had 3
overwhelmed Britain was as disastrous as if it had disappeared beneath the Ocean spread over it, and when freed from the deepest abyss of suffering it has raised itself up to the vision of Roman light,[70] or this very [province] which has only recently ceased to be a savage land, as if devoured by Frankish ferocity,[71] had sunk as deeply as if the rivers flowing about it and the sea washing against it had covered it over.

Why should I count up the camps of cavalry units and cohorts[72] 4
reestablished all along the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates frontiers?[73]

69. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.189–91, 332–34; Pliny *HN* 2.87(89).202.

70. Constantius recovered Britain in 296. See *Pan.* 8 for the narrative; the theme of *lux Romana* is prominent in that oration.

71. It is true that Franks roamed throughout Gaul before the Rhine was fortified (Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 5), and that Probus liberated Gaul from the Franks, Longiones, and Alamanni, who had completely overrun the region (H. Mattingly, *CAH*, 12: 314–15). Eumenius appears, however, to advert to a much more recent condition. *Pan.* 8.6–9 tells of Constantius' campaign to free coastal areas of Gaul from Carausius' (or Allectus') supporters, who included Franks (8.17.1–2). The usurper(s) controlled the city of Boulogne as well as other territory (see notes to *Pan.* 8). It does not make sense that *haec ipsa* (if one supplies *civitas* instead of *provincia*) be Autun. Other cities (e.g., Rouen, even Boulogne) better fit the description, but if Eumenius and the governor had both traveled to a third place, surely the orator would have mentioned the occasion (cf. *Pan.* 6.1.1 and 22.4). Galletier translates "cette autre region" and explains (1: 136 n. 2) that this is a probable allusion to the lands touched by the Scheldt and to Batavia, which Constantius delivered before he left for Britain. I agree that Eumenius indicates a coastal area relieved by one or more rivers; the Latin words, however, require that the area be the one where Eumenius actually was at the time of his oration. One cannot translate *ipsa* to mean *alia.* It is best to assume that Gallia (in general) is meant, balancing Britannia from the first part of the sentence. See the Introduction and Rodgers, "Eumenius of Augustodunum," 265.

72. *Alae* (cavalry) and *cohortes* (infantry) were auxiliaries who did frontier duty and ranked below the regular legions and cavalry. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 55–59; G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army*, 3d ed. (Totowa, N.J., 1985) 145–50.

73. Diocletian's frontier policy was to build many forts and man them with sufficient numbers of soldiers to keep the borders safe; the army became much larger during his reign (Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 72; Jones,

How many trees set out by hand grow strong in the mild weather of spring or fall, how many crops, once beaten down by rain, rise up again in the heat of summer, as walls, the traces of their old foundations scarcely discernible, which are being erected everywhere! Thus in actual fact that golden age, which once flourished briefly when Saturn was king,[74] is now reborn under the eternal auspices of Jupiter and Hercules.

19 But among all the things, Your Excellency, which are brought back into existence by the virtue and felicity of the rulers, although there may be others more important in size and utility, yet nothing is more worthy of admiration than the generosity which they share in fostering and honoring the study of literature.

2 In fact, as I said at the beginning, no rulers have ever before bestowed equal care upon both the duties of war and the embellishment
3 of this kind of peace. Each occupation requires a very different bent, natural abilities are not alike, and judgments vary in making a choice; finally the divinities presiding over each of these arts issue incompatible
4 advice and their characters are discrepant. All the more novel and remarkable is the virtue and humanity of these men, who in the midst of such extensive military operations are also concerned with these exercises in literature, and think that those conditions existing when, as we read, the Roman state was strongest by land and sea[75] have at last been

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Later Roman Empire, 55–60), and not only because of the multiplication of rulers (as Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 7.2 explains it). The Tigris, however, was not fortified. The Eastern frontier raises questions about the date of the oration, Diocletian's treaty with Bahram II, and Galerius' arrangements with Narses; these questions are addressed below in the notes to section 21.

74. The rule of Saturn (Greek Kronos) over a golden age is a literary commonplace (beginning with Hes. *Op.* 109–20), as is the association of any emperor's reign with the same thing. Cf. *Pan.* 10.11.3, 11.15.4 and note; Symmachus *Or.* 3.9. O. Nicholson, "The Wild Man of the Tetrarchy," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 266, argues that "the Golden Age was a recurrent leitmotif of the Tetrarchs' publicity," and that Lactantius' criticism of Jupiter for destroying the Golden Age (see pp. 263–64 n. 44) is veiled criticism of the Tetrarchs, directly contradicting their propaganda. As far as Latin rhetorical publicity is concerned, this panegyric has the only specific instance of a golden age.

75. I.e., during the first century B.C.E. and the two centuries following. It is interesting (1) that he admits that the Empire's defenses and boundaries are not what they had been, and (2) that he posits the golden and silver ages of Latin literature on the Empire's greatest extent and the era of its greatest military

recreated, if not only Roman power but even Roman eloquence flourishes again.

Then let those funds, Your Excellency, allotted to me by the best **20**
masters of all virtues, be given to this institution devoted to learning and eloquence, that as we give thanks for the rest of the advantages in our lives in the temples of the gods who support them, so let us celebrate the unique regard of the same gods for letters in the ancient temple of literature. Further, in its porticoes let the young men see and contemplate 2
daily every land and all the seas and whatever cities, peoples, nations the unconquered rulers either restore by affection or conquer by valor or restrain by fear.[76] Since for the purpose of instructing the youth, to have them learn more clearly with their eyes what they comprehend less readily by their ears,[77] there are pictured in that place, as I believe you have seen yourself, the sites of all locations with their names, their extent, and the distances between them, the sources and terminations of all the rivers, the curves of all the shores, and the Ocean, both where its circuit girds the earth and where its pressure breaks into it.[78]

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security, as if such security negated political and social ferment as an ingredient. It may be that as a witness to the second half of the third century Eumenius would describe any sort of turmoil as inimical to literary endeavors.

76. Or "tie to us by virtue or conquer by fear," following the emendation suggested by T. Janson, "Notes on the Text of the *Panegyrici Latini*," *CP* 79 (1984) 25. Manuscripts have *devincunt*, "conquer," for both verbs; editors usually emend the second to *devinciunt*, while Janson would change the first instead. Cf. *Pan.* 8.20.3: *aut metu quietum aut armis domitum aut pietate devinctum.*

77. From Hor. *Ars p.* 180–82: *segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem, / quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae / ipse sibi tradit spectator*; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 1.6: *homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt.* Nazarius in *Pan.* 4.32.4 repeats the idea.

78. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 520–21, cited section 20 as proof that this oration had often been misdated. He argued that since the building was being (or was going to be) restored, the maps were not yet set up; therefore all the activities in section 21 belong to the future. There are no future tenses, and the jussive subjunctives do not serve the same temporal purpose, pace Kolb, "Zu chronologischen Problemen der ersten Tetrarchie," 107: the time meant is any time, and that includes the present. If the Maenianae are not being used, then even though the maps and ground-floor porticoes may stand students are not likely to see them if classes are held at other locations. The governor has seen the maps himself (*ut ipse vidisti*): if not recently (on the grounds that the maps are not yet on view), then at a time decades removed from the present, before the school's destruction. If Eumenius truly means that

21 Here let the most noble accomplishments of the bravest Emperors be recalled through representations of the separate regions, while the twin rivers [Euphrates and Tigris] of Persia and the thirsty fields of Libya and the recurved horns of the Rhine[79] and the many-cleft mouth of the
2 Nile are seen again as eager messengers constantly arrive.[80] Meanwhile the minds of the people gazing upon each of these places[81] will imagine

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thirty or more years ago the governor saw the maps and that the maps will be restored when the building is, he has spoken more obscurely than Symmachus at his darkest. Indeed, the second perfect tense at 20.2 (*descripta sunt*) demonstrates that the world has already been drawn.

79. Literal interpretation of these words would force one to conclude that Constantius had not yet recovered Britain, since Eumenius has not mentioned it (as he does in the next sentence), and that the Western Caesar was still campaigning in Batavia. This whole passage serves a variety of rhetorical purposes but must not be interpreted as an historical account of strict temporal (perhaps even geographical) accuracy: it is not an inscription. In his recent discussion of the chronology of the military campaigns mentioned in *Pan.* 9.21 ("Zu chronologischen Problemen der ersten Tetrarchie," 106–16), Kolb has rightly observed that one must always bear in mind the function and techniques of panegyric, and he concludes (p. 115): "Die Reihenfolge der aufgezählten tetrarchischen Taten in IX (5) 21,1–2 ist weder chronologisch noch sachlich begründet, sondern entspricht der Hierarchie des tetrarchischen Systems."

80. The maps should show the entire known world. The geographical locations listed here are meant to highlight (1) Galerius' war with Narses in Armenia (Eutr. 9.25.1; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.34), after Narses defeated him near Callinicum (Eutr. 9.24); (2) Maximian's campaign against the Moors in Africa (Eutr. 9.23; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.22 and 39); (3) Batavia, scene of Constantius' campaign against Carausius' supporters (see *Pan.* 8.8); (4) Diocletian's quelling of Domitianus' rebellion in Egypt after an eight-month siege of Alexandria (Eutr. 9.23).

81. Eumenius varies his previous arrangement (Eastern Caesar, Western Augustus, Western Caesar, Eastern Augustus) in giving what he knows of the four campaigns. This list (East/West Augustus; West/East Caesar) also produces an alternation of pacified province with war scene: the orator says that the onlookers will imagine Diocletian presiding over a recovered Egypt, Maximian fighting the Moors, Constantius restoring Britain and Batavia, Galerius fighting the Persians. The participles are used to describe (moving) pictures in the viewers' minds. One thinks of the shield of Achilles as the archetype of movement in what should be a static representation. These pictures, however, are not on the map but are left to the imagination and can thus be changed as the years pass: see Kolb, "Zu chronologischen Problemen der ersten Tetrarchie," 111 ("Eumenius spielt

Egypt, its madness given over, peacefully subject to your clemency, Diocletian Augustus,[82] or you, invincible Maximian, hurling lightning upon

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vielmehr nur darauf an, daß beim Anblick der geographischen Karten die Taten der Kaiser noch einmal am geistigen Auge vorbeiziehen sollten"). Eumenius uses examples from recent history, but a map of the world serves a more general educational purpose for the students who would follow the Tetrarchs' careers and praise their successive exploits. J. Schwartz, *L. Domitius Domitianus*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 12 (Brussels, 1975) 96 n. 1, explains somewhat differently: "Ces images n'ont pas été choisies au hasard et correspondent, peut-être, à des représentations plastiques; on songera à des médaillons ou des bas-reliefs, face ou à côté d'une carte géographique parlante." Kolb, pp. 107–11, adduces specific parallels from sculptural reliefs and coinage in his interpretation of Eumenius' iconography.

The present participles are not present tenses: they do not prove that the speech is earlier than the news of Galerius' or Maximian's victories, and indeed, the specific images employed depict an emperor not actually in the course of battle but at the battle's end, victorious (see Kolb, pp. 109–12). The date of *Pan.* 9, however, depends upon the interpretation of the allusions that follow. Historical judgment here is reduced to literary niceties: does Eumenius deliberately portray Galerius and Maximian victorious in foreign warfare for contrast, or does he do what panegyrists usually do, that is, describe a certainty of success while the outcome is still unknown? If the latter, then has Diocletian actually recovered Alexandria, or is he in control of the rest of Egypt only? Certain knowledge is not ascertainable, especially as the events described here and in *Panegyric* 8 have been used to date the panegyrics while the panegyrics have also been used to date these same events. In the notes that follow I essay a detailed rehearsal of the arguments for specifying and dating Eumenius' information.

82. There were two rebellions in Egypt during the 290s (two separate revolts are recorded in Zonar. 12.31 and Jerome/Eusebius [s.a. 293]: the number of incidents is correct; the leader[s] and dates are not). The earlier occurred in Upper Egypt in the vicinity of Koptos ca. 294. The later was based at Alexandria with a coin-minting usurper, L. Domitius Domitianus, at its head. Numismatic and papyrological evidence has eliminated Achilleus, named in the historians and chronicles (Eutr. 9.23; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.23 and 38; *Epit.* 39.3; Zonar. 12.31; Jerome/Eusebius [s.a. 298]; John of Antioch in Müller, *FHG* 4, frag. 164), as the man who assumed the purple. Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 77, date the revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus and its suppression to the year 294/295, with Diocletian staying in Egypt until 296. Mattingly, *CAH*, 12: 335; Schwartz, *L. Domitius Domitianus;* id., "L. Domitius Domitianus," *ZPE* 25 (1977) 217–20; and F. Kolb, "Die Datierung des ägyptischen Aufstands unter L. Domitius Domitianus und Aurelius Achilleus," *Eos* 76 (1988) 325–43, believe

the smitten hordes of the Moors,[83] or beneath your right hand, lord

that 296/297 is the proper date for the reign of Domitianus. Supporters of 297/298 include A. C. Johnson, "Lucius Domitius Domitianus Augustus," *CP* 45 (1950) 16 and 20; C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Egypte de 284 à 295*, Coll. Latomus 55 (1962) 44–61; T. C. Skeat, *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin* (Dublin, 1964) x–xv, 145 n. 162; A. K. Bowman, "Papyri and Roman Imperial History, 1960–1975," *JRS* 66 (1976) 158–60; id., "The Military Occupation of Upper Egypt in the Reign of Diocletian," *BASP* 15 (1978) 26–30; T. D. Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns, A.D. 285–311," *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 181; id., *New Empire*, 54; J. D. Thomas, "The Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus," *ZPE* 22 (1976) 276; id., "A Family Dispute from Karanis," *ZPE* 24 (1977) 233–40; and A. Geissen, "Numismatische Bemerkung zu dem Aufstand des L. Domitius Domitianus," *ZPE* 22 (1976) 280–86. The debate may continue for some time, and the panegyrists' device of not naming opponents does not help at all. For example, Thomas ("Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus," 261 and 275) believes that Eumenius describes here not the rebellion of Domitianus but the earlier revolt at Koptos. Eumenius' geographical description points to the delta, not Upper Egypt, but one surely cannot interpret this passage so strictly.

If in fact Alexandria is taken, Diocletian need not necessarily be in Egypt as Eumenius speaks. There is nowhere else to put him so as to locate him in the vicinity of a recent achievement, and rhetorical necessity is always more important than strict chronological or geographical exactitude. Even were the date of the rebellion not in question, it could not be used to prove more about this panegyric than that it was delivered after Diocletian began the recovery of Egypt; the panegyric itself certainly cannot be used to date the rebellion.

Procopius (1.19.27–35) writes about Diocletian's resettlement of the Nobatai in territory previously part of Roman Egypt and adds that financial considerations weighed as heavily as any, when the emperor reflected that the country was too poor to be a reasonable source of income and cost a large sum to defend. Cf. note 85 to *Pan.* 11. The agreement with the Nobatai was made at a price evidently lower than that for maintaining the Roman military presence; they would be a buffer against the Blemmyes as well. See Thomas, "Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus," 276–77, and Bowman, "Military Occupation of Upper Egypt," 28–30, who would date this visit in summer–autumn 298.

83. After Constantius secured Britain (see *Pan.* 8.13.2–3), Maximian set out for North Africa. His presence at Carthage is attested on 10 March 298 (*Frag. Vat.* 41). For evidence of coinage see *RIC* 6.422, nos. 1–2; 6.423–24, nos. 10–14; 6.425–26, nos. 17–26 (Carthage: FELIX ADVENT AVGG NN); 6.426, nos. 27–28 (SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS AVCTA KART); 6.42, nos. 29–34 (SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART). Inscriptions also attest Maximian's presence in Africa: e.g., *ILS* 645 (= *CIL* 8.8836) (Tubusuctu), 628 (= *CIL* 8.9324) (Caesarea in Mauretania). Most scholars have equated Maximian's entrance into Carthage

with the end of the war, although Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns," 180, writes: "Eumenius implies that fighting was still continuing in the summer of 298." Eumenius instead implies that Maximian has been victorious (whether or not he has been), and the date of the panegyric is not secure. See now the discussion in Kolb, "Zu chronologischen Problemen der ersten Tetrarchie," 112–14.

Between 10 March 298 and the end of 303, when he celebrated his joint consulship with Diocletian at Rome (*Pan.* 6.15.6; for explanation of *Pan.* 7.8.8 see C. E. V. Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307 and Maximian's Visits to Rome," *Phoenix* 35 [1981] 70–76), all that is known of his actions or whereabouts is that he visited Rome once prior to 303, on his return from Africa: *ILS* 646 (= *CIL* 6.1130): *Maximianus Aug r(edien)s ex Africa*; *Pan.* 7.8.7; *RIC* 6.149 (FORTVNAE REDVCI AVGG NN). There is no evidence for the year. Barnes, *New Empire*, 59, puts a question mark before the date.

A rebellion of the Moorish tribes (the Quinquegentiani of historians) required Maximian's presence. The Tetrarchs did not assume a victory title for the pacification of North Africa any more than for the return of Alexandria to allegiance. Three panegyrists refer only briefly to Maximian's battles with the Moors, all in different ways. The panegyrist of Constantius specifies Moors as the target (*Pan.* 8.5.2), but no particular area, and Eumenius has just described the location to be imagined as *Libyae arva sitientia*. "Hot" and "thirsty" are commonplace epithets for Africa (or Libya): see Virg. *Ecl.* 1.65: *sitientes Afri*; Pliny *HN* 10.73.94.201: *perpetuo sitientia Africae*; Sil. 1.194: *Libye torretur*; Symmachus *Or.* 1.1: *arentis Libyae sitim.* Thus our orator depicts a situation on his map in standard rhetorical terms. The orator of 307 (*Pan.* 7.8.6) mentions the mountainous aspect of North African geography along with the well-known difficulties of operating in such terrain. In the sixth century, the poet Corippus thrice has his hero Iohannes' opponents, the Laguantan (also called the Ilaguas in Corippus), claim that Maximian, with all his resources, had been unable to defeat their ancestors: *imperium vicere patres: nec vincere nostros / Maximianus avos, Romani fortia regni / sceptra tenens, potuit* (*Iohan.* 5.178–80; cf. 1.480–82). He allowed Maximian credit, however, for a successful struggle with other elements of the population (*Iohan.* 7.530–33). If in fact the emperor could not best the Laguantan in a decisive battle, his failure parallels that of other Romans fighting wars in North Africa, but not having annihilated the Laguantan is not the same as having been defeated. The reader of Livy, Sallust, and Ammianus has learnt that no number of Roman victories in the field was as efficacious in bringing war to a conclusion as the capture of the opposing leader, whether Syphax, Jugurtha, or Firmus.

Procopius calls the people named in Corippus the Λευάθαι (or λευκάθαι or some variant): e.g., 4.21.2 and 20, 4.28.27. See H. Dessau, "Laguantan," *RE* 12 (1925) 464; J. Desanges, *Catalogue des tribus africaines de l'antiquité classique à l'ouest du Nil* (Dakar, 1962) 101–2 (Laguantan/Ilaguas), 172–73 (Leuathae: same people, possible descendants of the Libues of Herodotus and others).

Constantius, Batavia and Britannia raising up their muddied heads from woods and waves,[84] or you, Maximian Caesar [Galerius], trampling
3 upon Persian bows and quivers.[85] For now, now at last it is a delight

84. Literal interpretation fails here. Eumenius has just pictured the Rhine only; now he adds Britain: Constantius cannot be in both places at once and need not be in either, although he is likely to be somewhere in Gaul. Wherever he is, he is depicted supervising the work of restoration. Two purposes are served by the portrayal of Diocletian and Constantius where they are: (1) *variatio* (see note 81) and (2) *pietas* : bellicose activity is represented only in Persia and Africa because Britain and Egypt had been held by usurpers.

85. The year 297 for Galerius' victory over Narses has numerous supporters, among them A. Arnaldi, "La successione dei *cognomina devictarum gentium* e le loro iterazioni nella titolatura dei primi tetrarchi," *RIL* 106 (1972) 45; Thomas, "Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus," 275; Bowman, "Military Occupation of Upper Egypt," 29; Kolb, "Zu chronologischen Problemen der ersten Tetrarchie," 116–24 (with new evidence). Barnes, *New Empire*, 63 and n. 77, dates it to 298 by two means: (1) *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (ed. W. Wright [Cambridge, 1882] chap. 7 init.) gives a date of the year 609 of the Seleucid era (= 1 October 297–30 September 298), and (2) this sentence of Eumenius' oration, which he interprets to mean "The revolt is over, but Diocletian is still in Egypt: therefore, Eumenius was speaking during the summer or autumn of 298." Although Diocletian is attested by other sources as being in Egypt during 298 (see Barnes, pp. 54–55), one must beware of using this passage in Eumenius to date anything (see note 82). Eumenius may be doing several of the things that panegyrists usually do: proclaiming a victory for an action still in progress (cf. *Pan.* 10 fin.), rehearsing a war that is over (*Pan.* 4), avoiding unpleasant details about civil insurrections. It is possible that Galerius has defeated Narses but that Diocletian has not yet taken Alexandria. It is equally possible that Diocletian has captured Alexandria and Galerius has also defeated Narses. This section of the oration is not a chronological narrative.

The images of an emperor at war (or at peace) prove nothing about the exact date of the oration or what Eumenius knew about the four rulers' whereabouts. Emperors were expected to be successful military leaders, preferably against foreign invaders, and panegyrists welcomed opportunities to represent them fulfilling this important function. One can posit a terminus post quem: hostilities have broken out in North Africa, Egypt, and Persia; thus 297 is the earliest date for the oration. But until the campaigns mentioned here became very old news or were replaced with something new and spectacular, Eumenius was free to choose these operations and group them together.

Equally, one cannot cite 18.4 and conclude that the war is not yet over because Eumenius named the Euphrates, not the Tigris, as the Empire's eastern

to see a picture of the world, since we see nothing in it which is not ours.[86]

You have, Your Excellency, the declaration of my desire and prayer, 4
and I ask you not to be reluctant to pursue it in a letter to the sacred ears, since the greatest and virtually the only return for those who desire what is right is that their wishes come to the divine knowledge of such great rulers.

boundary. Negotiations with Narses led to the institution of a frontier that included the Tigris (a situation that had existed prior to his reign according to the statements of earlier panegyrists). Cf. Petrus Patricius in Müller, *FHG* frag. 14: καὶ τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν ἑκατέρας πολιτείας ὁροθέσιον εἶναι. For a synopsis of the negotiations, see T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981) 18; cf. Kolb, p. 122.

86. This is a commonplace boast: cf. *Pan.* 8.20.3 and Symmachus *Or.* 3.11. If nothing is *alienum*, then all areas must be at peace. Although no one is really sure when Eumenius spoke, his closing remarks have often been cited as evidence for dating events. Yet the passage begins and ends with mutually exclusive elements and cannot stand a critical examination. The map is supposed to stir the viewers' memory of the emperors' *res gestae*; the messengers arrive to direct the recollection to specific localities. Those who bring the news are not only warm from exertion, having sped to their destinations with reports of fresh victories, but they are constantly to be expected (*calentibus semperque venientibus*); cf. Kolb, p. 112. All is as it should be: the emperors are busily engaged, often in war, always victorious. The messengers will bring news, as Eumenius specifies, from the four regions described in the first half of his list. To the end of 21.1 the image is of war (for which victory will be announced) in all *four* areas, not in the two singled out in 21.2 for depiction of martial activities. In 21.1 no military action is yet over in any of the locations, but one expects word of victory at any time. The next section (21.2) appears to restrict actual warfare, successfully concluded, to Africa and Persia, while Egypt with Batavia and Britain are undergoing pacification, news of which the messengers will bring. Finally, Eumenius rejoices in the ability to see a map on which nothing not Roman is visible (21.3). There is an artistic progression at work: at first martial endeavor is depicted in four parts of the world, then in two, then in none. The various parts of the passage do not fit together well as a static representation of a point in time, but that is not their function.

VII

PANEGYRIC OF MAXIMIAN AND CONSTANTINE

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This panegyric was delivered a little over two years after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian on 1 May 305, "dans une période assez trouble," as E. Galletier puts it (2: 3). The composition of the "Second Tetrarchy," with Constantius and Galerius as Augusti, and Galerius' nominees, Severus and Maximinus Daia, as Caesars, had left the imperial sons Constantine and Maxentius to one side, and in the conventional view, profoundly dissatisfied.[1] The death of Constantius in Britain in July 306 was followed by the proclamation of Constantine by his father's troops.

1. So Galletier, 2: 3; T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981) 25–26; D. DeDecker, "La politique religieuse de Maxence," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 472–562, esp. 487ff. Constantine had considerable military experience, in a subordinate capacity, before 305 (see commentary below, note 16), and his political ambitiousness is indisputable. The case of Maxentius is not so clear. As far as is known he had no military experience (conceded by DeDecker, p. 487) and was living a quiet life in a suburban villa in Rome (see below, note 41), albeit as a senator (*ILS* 666) and married to Galerius' daughter (see below, note 18). While Zosimus 2.9 attributes the rising in Rome to Maxentius' ambition, aroused by news of Constantine's proclamation, Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.1–3 indicates that the praetorians and the people of Rome, disaffected by Galerius' policies, were actively

On learning this, Galerius promoted Severus Augustus and reluctantly conceded Constantine the title of Caesar (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 25; *Pan.* 7.5.3). Shortly thereafter, on 28 October 306,[2] Maxentius was proclaimed by the praetorians in Rome and in the face of an invasion from the East issued an invitation to his father, Maximian, to come out of retirement and take up the purple again. This was accepted, perhaps after some hesitation (see commentary below, note 39). Severus invaded Italy but was abandoned by his troops, fled, and was captured; subsequently he was put to death.[3] Maximian, fearing that Galerius would seek to avenge Severus, "set out for Gaul in order to bring Constantine over to his side by marrying his younger daughter to him. Meanwhile Maximian [i.e., Galerius] collected an army and invaded Italy" (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 27.1–2). It is the wedding of Constantine and Fausta, together with the promotion of Constantine to Augustus, that is the main subject of our panegyric.

Galerius' invasion also failed, and Maximian returned to Rome. Jealous of Maxentius' power, Maximian made an unsuccessful attempt to depose his son, then fled again to Gaul and Constantine's court (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 27–28). For subsequent events, see the Introduction to *Panegyric* 6.

OCCASION, DATE, AND AUTHORSHIP

The panegyric celebrates the marriage of Constantine to Fausta, Maximian's daughter, and Constantine's promotion to the rank of Augustus

seeking a rival candidate. Constantinian propaganda against Maxentius frequently obscures, where it does not obliterate, the truth.

2. *CIL* 1.1^{2}, p. 274; *Pan.* 12.16.2; Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 44.4 is in error; see O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1921) 1: 484; A. Chastagnol, review of *Studies in Constantinian Chronology*, by Patrick Bruun (= Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 146, American Numismatic Society [New York, 1961]), RN^{6} 4 (1962) 323–33.

3. The chief accounts are those of Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26ff., Zosimus 2.9ff., and the Anon. Val. 6ff. The order of events, and their exact dates, is by no means certain. It is generally agreed (see E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* [Paris, 1959] 1: 84–86; F. Paschoud, *Zosime* [Paris, 1971] 1: 197) that at some points (e.g., the placing of the betrothal of Fausta, 2.10.6) Zosimus is in error. Most prefer to follow Lactantius, but the place, circumstances, and date of Severus' death, which ought to yield an important fixed point, are disputed, and while Lactantius has him killed before Galerius' invasion, Anon. Val. 10 puts his death during it. The choice between the two has implications for the dating of the panegyric.

by Maximian (1.1ff., 2.1, 5.3, 8.1). Although this has been disputed,[4] it seems clear from the words of the orator that the ceremony was a double one: *laetitiae qua tibi Caesari additum nomen imperii et istarum caelestium nuptiarum festa celebrantur* (1.1).

Marriage and promotion have traditionally been dated to 31 March 307, on the basis of entries for the *natalis Constantini* in the calendars of Philocalus and Polemius Silvius.[5] This date depends on *natalis* being interpreted as *natalis imperii*, and the entries not being an error for the actual birthday of Constantius (see n. 5 above). It further depends on the assumption that Constantine regarded the date of his promotion to Augustus by Maximian as his *dies imperii*. It also leads to an extremely compressed chronology: Maxentius' coup, 28 October 306; Severus' invasion and flight (death?), winter 306–307; Galerius' invasion, spring–early summer 307.

Furthermore the 31 March 307 date for Constantine's promotion to Augustus long troubled numismatists, who pointed to the large number of coins of Maximian that seemed to be similar in style and appearance to issues of Constantine as Caesar. To account for them, E. A. Sydenham suggested that Constantine delayed taking the title Augustus for some time after his marriage to Fausta, despite his promotion at the hands of Maximian.[6] P. Strauss then drew attention to a series of coins of Maximian and Constantine as Caesar with reverse legend PLVR (and MVLT) NATAL FEL, which, he argued, date from 307 and show that in that year Constantine celebrated 25 July as his *dies* or *natalis imperii* (for the expression, cf. *Pan.* 6.2.3).[7] While it is not impossible that the celebration was a joint one, involving as well the commemoration of

4. C. H. V. Sutherland, *RIC* 6.12–14, neglecting section 8.1.

5. J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne* (Paris, 1908) 1: lix; W. Seston, "Recherches sur la chronologie du règne de Constantin le Grand," *REA* 39 (1937) 200. For the calendars, see *CIL* 1.1^2, pp. 260–61, where Mommsen emended the former to N DIVI CONSTANTI, Constantine's birthday falling on 27 February (*CIL* 1.1^2, pp. 258–59; note his comments, pp. 301–2).

6. "The Vicissitudes of Maximian after His Abdication," *NC*[5] 14 (1934) 141–67, esp. 150–59.

7. "Les monnaies divisionnaires de Trèves après la réforme de Dioclétien," *RN*[5] 16 (1954) 19–69, esp. 23–39; C. E. V. Nixon, "The Occasion and Date of Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," *Antichthon* 14 (1980) 162–63; *RIC* 6 Trier 153, 155, 205–6, nos. 639–41, and 213–14, nos. 744–47 (all but no. 747 with OBV Constantine).

Maximian's actual birthday,[8] all of the relevant coin issues but one are for Constantine, not Maximian; Strauss's contention must be correct.[9] This gives us, then, a firm terminus post quem of 25 July for Constantine's promotion to Augustus and hence for our panegyric. How long the shared issues of Maximian Augustus and Constantine Caesar lasted is difficult to determine. Sydenham and J.-P. Callu both suggested several months, which would push Constantine's promotion and our panegyric toward the end of the year, but that is pure hypothesis and seems too late.[10]

The chronographer of 354 (*Chron. min.* 1.148 l.31) assigns Severus a reign of three years, four months, and fifteen days, yielding a date of 16 September 308 for his death; the precision is tempting, despite the error in the years. If we assume that he died on 16 September 307, either before Galerius' invasion (Lactantius) or during it (Anon.Val.; see n. 3 above), we have a plausible date of late summer or autumn for the invasion of Galerius, and perhaps late August or early September for the wedding of Constantine and Fausta, and Constantine's promotion. And it allows time enough for the coins of Maximian and Constantine as Caesar, without us having to prolong Maximian's negotiations.[11]

Recently, however, a date of 25 December has won widespread favor. J. Lafaurie argued that the epigraphical evidence could be explained only on the assumption that Constantine's *dies imperii* fell between 10 and 31 December: only thus could the count of consulships, tribunician powers, and imperial acclamations be reconciled. He boldly suggested that 25 December was chosen as the *dies Solis*.[12] His conclusions have been endorsed by A. Chastagnol with minor reservations and adaptations, and

8. J.-P. Callu, *Genio populi Romani, 285–316* (Paris, 1960) 74 n. 3; F. Kolb. *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie* (Berlin, 1987) 59.

9. The association of these PLVR (MVLT) NATAL FEL issues with VOT XXX AVGG (Maximian; die-linked: *RIC* 6.213–14, nos. 747 and 752) and VOT X CAESS (or CAESS NN) types confirms that imperial anniversaries are being commemorated (but the loose use of the figures is salutary).

10. Sydenham, "Maximian after His Abdication," 155; Callu, *Genio populi Romani*, 75; cf. *RIC* 6.151ff.

11. For a narrative that takes proper stock of all the evidence (and comes to a similar conclusion), see T. D. Barnes, "Lactantius and Constantine," *JRS* 63 (1973) 41 n. 143; id., *Constantine and Eusebius*, 28ff.; cf. id., *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) 69 n. 103.

12. J. Lafaurie, "Remarques sur les dates de quelques inscriptions du début du IV[e] siècle," *CRAI*, 1965, 200–210; id., "Dies imperii Constantini Augusti," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à A. Piganiol* (Paris, 1966) 2: 795–806. His scheme yields an embarrassingly high percentage of inscriptions dating from 10–31 December.

now by T. Grünewald.[13] It is held that each year Constantine celebrated two anniversaries or *dies imperii*, a "*dies Augusti*" in December, at which his imperial salutation was renewed, and a "*dies Caesaris*," to which the panegyrist of 310 gives the name *natalis imperii*;[14] further, that at some point later in the reign the base from which the imperial salutations were calculated was changed to 25 July.[15] Grünewald has shown that they cannot have been celebrated on the basis of the 25 December date in the year 314, and tentatively supports the suggestion of W. Seston that the change was made earlier in that year.[16]

I remain skeptical. The epigraphical difficulties have perhaps been exaggerated:[17] political considerations have certainly been largely overlooked. The distinction between a "*dies Augusti*" and a "*dies Caesaris*" is unknown to our sources. There is no clear evidence for the celebration of Constantine's "*dies Augusti*" outside this speech.[18] The speech itself was prompted by the actual promotion and an alliance that did not last three

13. A. Chastagnol, "À propos des Quinquennalia de Constantin," *RN*[6] 22 (1980) 108–9; cf. p. 118; T. Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, Historia Einzelschrift 64 (Stuttgart, 1990) 26, 163, and passim. Chastagnol correctly notes that it is not clear how important Sol was to Constantine in 307, but finds it difficult to resist the idea.

14. Chastagnol, "À propos des Quinquennalia de Constantin," 112; followed by Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 163–66.

15. See Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 164 n. 8, for a list of suggested dates, ranging from 310 (N. Baglivi, "Ricerche sul *dies imperii* e sulla celebrazione dei quinquennali di Costantino I," *Koinonia* 1 [1977] 121), the only one acceptable on political grounds (see below), and 314 (Seston "La chronologie du règne de Constantin le Grand," 206–7) through to 324 (Lafaurie, "Les dates de quelques inscriptions du début du IV[e] siècle," 206).

16. *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 164–65. He gives no further supporting arguments for the year 314.

17. Nixon, "Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," 157–69, esp. 166ff.

18. One might look for a reflection of it on early votive issues of coins for Constantine as Augustus. What of the unmarked 1/4 *folles* from Trier, dated by Sutherland to "autumn 307–end of 308"? These were minted for Constantine as Augustus (VOT X AVG N) and Maximian (VOT XX AVG N) (*RIC* 6.219, nos. 791–93). They would indeed be perfect candidates for connecting with the celebration of Constantine's promotion but for the fact that they have predecessors, viz. the unmarked 1/4 *folles* discussed above, with precisely the same combination of numerals, die-linked with PLVR NATAL FEL, for Constantine as Caesar and Maximian! The parallelism of the issues, their tralatician nature, suggests that the promotion did not affect, as is claimed, the computation of Constantine's imperial salutations.

years and ended in betrayal and the violent death of one of the partners. No attempt to identify this occasion in the *fasti* has been successful.

On the other hand, there is overwhelming evidence that Constantine always regarded his initial proclamation on 25 July 306 as his *dies imperii*, and regularly celebrated it as such. The coins discussed by Strauss (see above) almost certainly establish that such a ceremony took place on 25 July 307: *Panegyric* 6 proves conclusively that this was true in 310 (2.3, 2.5, 9.1). So, too, in 311. *Panegyric* 5 clearly implies that the celebration of the *quinquennalia* of Constantine by the citizens of Autun at the completion of the fifth year has followed a general celebration of the day *ex quo tu* [*Constantine*] *imperare coepisti* (13.1) at the beginning of the fifth year (*quinto incipiente*) a year before, without any hint of any changed procedure.[19] Constantine's *decennalia*, *vicennalia*, and *tricennalia* were likewise celebrated on 25 July.[20] It logically follows that the annual renewal of his salutation as *imperator* also took place on that day: it would seem strange indeed for Constantine to have celebrated his initial proclamation on 25 July as his *dies imperii* and yet have his imperatorial reckoning tied to another day, that on which he was subsequently promoted to Augustus (again).[21]

19. Nixon, "Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," esp. 157–58 and n. 4; see also Barnes, *New Empire*, 70 and n. 107, where the 25 July date is assumed.

20. The chronographer of 354 has two entries ADVENT D(IVI), which mark Constantine's entry into Rome on 18 and 21 July for his *decennalia* and *vicennalia*; see Mommsen, *CIL* 1.1^2, p. 268; Barnes, *New Empire*, 72 n. 114. For the *tricennalia*, see *Chron. min.* 1.235 (*Cons. Const.*; *Chron. Pasch.*).

21. Unless a precisely dated, contemporary Constantinian inscription turns up, this claim is incapable of formal proof. Nor should we be too hopeful (see Seston, "La chronologie du règne de Constantin le Grand," 199). But there is a very revealing item, namely, the so-called Edict of Toleration, April 311 (Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 8.17.3ff.), where Constantine is described as αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πέμπτον, implying that the reckoning began some time before April 307. As long as Constantine's promotion could be dated to 31 March (see above, p. 180), this edict could accommodate a theory that Constantine's imperial acclamations began with that promotion. Since Strauss demonstrated that the latter took place after 25 July 307, however, greater ingenuity has been needed. Recourse is had to the peculiar notion that on his promotion in December 307 Constantine took his *second* imperial acclamation; tabulation: Lafaurie, "Dies imperii Constantini Augusti," 804; Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 169; comment: Nixon, "Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," 169. It is surely more sensible to concede that Constantine tied his imperial salutations to the date of his original proclamation on 25 July 306. There was after all a recent and most pointed precedent for reckoning imperial acclamations from one's appointment as Caesar—although it had not been the practice in the

Of the whole body of evidence, only two inscriptions, both from North Africa, and dating to 313 or 314, do not conform to a 25 July base date.[22] While one could perhaps see reasons for Constantine to base his imperatorial salutations on the date on which he was promoted to Augustus by Maximian during the period 307–309, it makes no political sense for him to have reverted to this computation in the period ca. 312–314. Considering the weight of other evidence, these inscriptions are best set aside as anomalous.[23] We are then free to discard a December "*dies Augusti*" and to adopt a date of September 307 for the marriage and promotion of Constantine and the delivery of this speech.

The nuptial celebrations and the delivery of the panegyric presumably took place in the palace at Trier. Recently, however, Grünewald has made a spirited attempt to revive the view that Constantine's marriage and promotion took place in the palace at Arles, and that the panegyric was delivered there.[24] He was prompted by his observation that twenty-one out of the twenty-three inscriptions (all milestones) dating from the period 307–310 that have been found in the West are concentrated in an area

"First Tetrarchy" (Constantius imp. II in 306; *ILS* 651 = *CIL* 8.5526)—viz. Galerius, who planned to celebrate his *vicennalia* on 1 March 312 (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 20.4; 35.4), and who was αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ἐννεακαιδέκατον the year before (Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 8.17.3ff.). Obviously Galerius made the innovation upon Constantius' death.

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23. This may seem a drastic solution, but it is by no means certain that the details of Constantine's titulature on the two inscriptions are ultimately independent. How did such information reach Africa in the wake of Constantine's victory in Italy and the parading of Maxentius' head in Carthage (*Pan.* 12.19.1ff.)? With three sets of numerals, errors are to be expected, especially the omission of a I. In any case it should be emphasized that the evidence of *Panegyric* 6 is crucial. After Maximian's death in 310 Constantine celebrated his *dies imperii* on 25 July. Why on earth should he adopt, or revert to, a date associated with his dead adversary?

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centering on Arles. This is striking and certainly points to imperial interest in the area, but it may reflect somewhat later military activity, when relations with Maxentius had become a matter of concern.[25] Grünewald's supporting case is weak. He has to play down the imperial building program at Trier reported by the panegyrist of 310,[26] and to argue back from Arles's prominence some years later (313 and the years following). Above all, he neglects the pattern of gold-coin minting. Trier was the only mint in Gaul to produce gold at the time; the mint of Arles did not open till ca. 313.[27] Arles certainly figured in the exciting events of 310, when it may have been Maximian's residence, but Constantine's attention was still focused on the Rhine frontier until the eve of his invasion of Italy. Such importance as Arles had as an imperial residence dates from after his victory over Maxentius and return to Gaul.

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marriage was a political one that sealed the alliance of Maximian and Constantine against the common enemy, Galerius. Less than a year before, Maximian had emerged from retirement and with his son Maxentius had set up a regime outside the tetrarchic system, and now Constantine, most reluctantly acknowledged Caesar by Galerius, was defying him by joining his adversary Maximian and accepting promotion at his hands. As MacCormack remarks (p. 164), the speaker praises "what amounts to the collapse of the Tetrarchy."

Perfectly appropriately for a marriage celebration, but in conflict with Tetrarchic ideology, the panegyric emphasizes the dynastic prospects of Constantine (2.2ff., 14.7). Echoes of Tetrarchic phraseology can be found, to be sure, and are important, but in comparison with earlier panegyrics the omissions and adaptations are significant. The slogan *imperatores semper Herculii* (2.5) is arresting, and one recalls that for Lactantius, too, these cognomina symbolize the Tetrarchy (*Mort. pers.* 52.3), but the Iovii are nowhere to be found. It may be expressly stated that Constantine judged imperial power to be finer if not hereditary but rather conferred for merit by the supreme ruler (*virtutibus tuis debitum*, 5.3), but this blithely ignores the fact that it was Galerius who as *senior Augustus* or *summus imperator* should have been conferring such *imperium*. And, a further insult, Jupiter himself, patron deity of Iovii, is appealed to over Galerius' head to endorse the argument that Maximian was never without *imperium* (12.6; cf. 7.6). To crown the performance, the panegyrist sketches out the roles that Maximian and Constantine will play: Maximian will be the policymaker, Constantine the tireless executor (13.5–14.2). And their province is the whole world: "If anywhere in some distant lands some darkness hovers still, . . . yet at your nod light must dawn" (12.8). The program mirrors that of the original dyarchy of Diocletian and Maximian (*Pan.* 10.3.3ff.), but the divine analogy has been modified: there is no room for Iovii—*imperatores semper Herculii* indeed!

Thus the panegyrist has to justify Constantine's *imperium*. He does so first in terms of heredity: he is a true son of his father, exhibiting at an early age the four cardinal virtues (3.3ff.). His early exploits give promise of greater things to come (4.2ff.). And he is modest, having contented himself with the rank of Caesar, despite his imperial inheritance, until he should earn it by his *virtutes*, as he now has (5.3). But he was marked out for rule long since (6.1ff.). But on whose authority? It was a delicate point, to explain how Maximian came to be exercising imperial power once more.[29]

29. C. E. V. Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307 and Maximian's Visits to Rome," *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 70–76.

To put it more bluntly, he had to justify, or gloss over, usurpation. Upon the legitimacy of Maximian's authority depended Constantine's status. He handles the problem in masterly fashion. Maximian's *imperium* was god-given and could not be resigned (12.6; cf. 1.1, 7.6). Maximian's motives for abdicating, to uphold an old agreement with Diocletian out of *fides* and the desire for praise (9.2), may have been honorable, but, speaking frankly, as the panegyrist does through the medium of Rome itself, the abdication was illegitimate (11.1). Rome appealed to Maximian to correct his error and restore her liberty, and he answered his mother's call. He justified his return to power by his mighty deeds (12.7–8), just as he had formerly justified his rule by his Herculian prowess (8). The next panegyrist, speaking three years later, will have a very different song to sing.

Recently Grünewald has claimed that the panegyrist gives "an authorized version of the new imperial alliance," and that both emperors "used the speech to have a report released which was appropriate to their current situation."[30] But he goes on to assume that Constantine enjoyed a position of political superiority. How then does he explain the apparent primacy accorded to Maximian by the speaker (3.2, 5.3, and esp. 14.1)? He suggests that Constantine did not wish to take away from Maximian, on this festive occasion, the illusion of regaining his former luster.[31] It is certainly worth pointing out that Maximian was the suppliant and that Constantine had the army. But Maximian and even Constantius overshadow Constantine in this speech. In 307 Constantine was comparatively unknown in Gaul; Maximian, retired only two years, had been ruler of the West for twenty years. To a Gallic rhetor the latter doubtless appeared a much more substantial figure than he was to prove to be. Constantine's later importance could scarcely be predicted. Grünewald's study of Constantine's propaganda has led him to view matters too much from Constantine's perspective, and perhaps, at times, somewhat anachronistically. Certainly he assumes a more centralized and pervasive molding of opinion than was the case. The panegyrists are better seen as more independent interpreters of events and situations than as lackeys who simply promulgate official versions under the direction of an imperial chancellery.[32]

30. *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 26.

31. *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 32.

32. For a detailed critique of Grünewald, see now Nixon, "Constantinus Oriens Imperator."

THE ABDICATION OF DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN

This panegyric, with the panegyric of 310 (15.4), is alone in speaking of an old plan or agreement of Diocletian and Maximian to abdicate (9.2 below). Utterly at odds with this, our most detailed source, also a contemporary, represents the abdication as totally unplanned, indeed, not even a voluntary decision. According to Lactantius (*Mort. pers.* 18), Diocletian's abdication was the result of intense pressure, early in March 305, from his ambitious and power-hungry Caesar Galerius, who had first terrified Maximian with the threat of civil war if he refused to stand down (18.1). The weary old man—*senex languidus* (18.7)—capitulated. He had suffered for almost a year from a grave illness from which he had not completely recovered, and was now politically isolated (he had received a letter from his fellow Augustus, Maximian, endorsing Galerius' case). Many scholars have followed Lactantius and have rejected or ignored the evidence of the panegyrics.[33]

But Lactantius' whole account, cast in the form of a conversation between Diocletian and his Caesar, is open to challenge. His contention that Galerius browbeat Diocletian into retirement is of a piece with his view that Galerius was the real instigator of the persecutions. But surely Diocletian, the architect of the Tetrarchy, was responsible for the most important policy decisions (on the persecutions, see Lactantius himself, *Mort. pers.* 10).[34] And he retained his *auctoritas* after his abdication: when Galerius could not handle matters, he appealed to Diocletian for help (Carnuntum). Furthermore, Lactantius' account seems inconsistent. At 20.4 he has Galerius plan his own abdication in turn after his *vicennalia*, as if this were part of the tetrarchic system, a system or arrangement (*dispositio*) that Galerius is made to refer to and support (18.5). The discovery of the magnificent palace at Gamzigrad, surely intended as a retirement palace, strengthens the case for believing that Galerius did intend to lay down his

33. For example, R. Pichon, *Lactance* (Paris, 1901) 367ff.; N. Baynes, *CAH*, 12: 667–68 (see "Two Notes on the Great Persecution," *CQ* 18 [1924] 193); H. Grégoire, *Les persécutions dans l'Empire romain*, 2d ed. (Brussels, 1964) 78ff.; more recently, Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 25; G. S. R. Thomas, "L'abdication de Dioclétien," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 229–47.

34. On this question the arguments of M. Gelzer, "Der Urheber der Christenverfolgung von 303," in *Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden, 1963) 2: 378–86, still seem to me to be cogent.

imperium.[35] It may be conceded that Galerius profited by the appointments of the new Caesars, but this does not oblige us to follow Lactantius' account of the circumstances of the abdication: Galerius had obviously been in charge of affairs in the East during Diocletian's illness and was on hand to push the claims of his candidates, whereas Constantius was at the other end of the Empire and in any case had not been as closely connected with Diocletian. Finally, there is a real possibility that Lactantius' depiction of the relationship between Diocletian and Galerius is to be explained simply in terms of his polemical purpose: the emperor who died before his time of a ghastly and painful disease was obviously the architect of the persecutions.

But if Lactantius' account is rejected, there are other ancient explanations that point to an unplanned abdication. They are cast in terms of Diocletian's age, illness, and derangement (see 9.5 and note 36). While these can be regarded as complementing or supplementing Lactantius' version, they might be discounted as providing merely the official or public explanation of the matter (cf. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 19.3).[36] But, most important, they do not account for Diocletian forcing a reluctant Maximian to abdicate as well (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.48; Eutr. 9.27.1; cf. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.7). This can be explained only by conceding that Diocletian felt it proper (or prudent) for both Caesars to succeed him and his fellow Augustus simultaneously. Why not then concede that it had been in his mind for some time that the Augusti would give way to the Caesars? It is impossible to date precisely the commencement or completion of the building of the palace at Split, but it is difficult to imagine that construction had not started well before 305; Diocletian did not plan to run the Empire from the Dalmatian coast.[37]

35. See now D. Srejović, D. Janković, A. Lalović, and V. Jović, *Gamzigrad* (Beograd, 1983) (in Serbo-Croatian; English summary, pp. 193–203); D. Srejović, "Two Memorial Monuments of Roman Palatial Architecture," *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* 22–23 (1982–83) 41–49. The complex of palace buildings, temples, and other structures is far too elaborate for A. Mócsy's earlier suggestion, that the site is a "hunting castle," to be correct (*Pannonia and Upper Moesia* [London, 1974] 303). The coin finds suggest abandonment shortly after Galerius' death; see Srejović et al.

36. Zonar. 12.32, set after the *vicennalia*, provides a Christian-centric version. Diocletian and Maximian publicly gave out that they were abdicating to be rid of τὸν ὄχλον τῶν πραγμάτων; privately they confessed that they despaired of destroying Christianity.

37. The huge size of the palace suggests it would have taken years to complete (its circuit of defenses measures ca. 180 × ca. 215 m). But construction may well have continued for years after Diocletian's abdication. For a succinct description,

In sum, it would be unwise to reject the evidence of the panegyrics on the subject of the abdication, and to accept that of Lactantius, without very careful consideration (see further, 9.2 and note 34; *Pan.* 6.15.4 and note 71).

see D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1969) 316–20, or A. Boëthius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1970) 524–29. See, too, J. J. Wilkes, *Diocletian's Palace at Split* (Sheffield, 1986).

VII. PANEGYRIC OF MAXIMIAN AND CONSTANTINE

Certainly very many men have spoken, and many will speak in future, 1
in praise of all your deeds, and the merits of your outstanding virtues, most sacred rulers, Maximian, forever Augustus, whether you will or nay,[1] and Constantine, rising Emperor. I am resolved, however, to include in particular in this speech the special reasons we have for this joy with which we are celebrating the bestowal of the name of Emperor[2] upon you, Caesar, and the festival of these divine nuptials.

For the rest of your benefactions to the State can be extolled on many 2
occasions at various times; but a special speech ought to be accorded today to this marriage, which once contracted, will last forever. I know 3
that even now the enthusiasm of well-wishers is growing so vigorously throughout the world wherever Fame, surpassing the nature with which she is endowed by our imagination, taking wingèd flight and sounding with more than a thousand voices, spreads her good news, that it is consecrated by the rejoicing of all nations. What event in human affairs 4
could be more conducive to renown and glory, or more certain to provide security, than that there be added to your pristine harmony and your unbroken loyalty this pledge, too, venerable for its most intimate union of the highest names, inasmuch as an Emperor has given a daughter in marriage to an Emperor? But it is appropriate for us who are present 5
in person to witness this great boon to the State to surpass all men in our jubilation, and we feel at the very contemplation of your countenances

1. Immediately the panegyrist signals the line he will take to account for Maximian's reemergence after his enforced abdication (see the Introduction). His *imperator aeterne* (8.9, 11.5, 12.1, 13.3; cf. 2.2) conveys the same message; note the pointed use of *imperium aeternum* at 12.6. Maximian is addressed as *imperator aeterne* at *Pan.* 8.13.3, but the phrase is not otherwise found in the corpus as a form of address. There are, however, epigraphic parallels; e.g., *ILS* 644 (Diocletian and Maximian *aeterni Augg.*).

2. The *nomen imperii* is *imperator* (2.1) or Augustus, which, pace Sutherland, *RIC* 6.13, 29, are equivalents; cf. 5.3, 8.1; Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 25.5; *ILS* 657: *Maximiano et Severo imperatoribus et Maximino et Constantino nobilissimis Caesaribus*. Constantine is now of equal rank with Maximian, *imperatores* both (13.3, 14.5: *par imperii potestate*), albeit that Maximian is *senior Augustus*, Constantine *iunior imperator* (3.2). The passage speaks of a double celebration: the wedding and the promotion are simultaneous (see the Introduction, pp. 179–80).

that you have been so closely united, that you have so joined not only your right hands, but also your feelings and your thoughts, that, could it be done, you would each wish to enter into each other's heart.

2 For what more precious thing could you give, or you receive, since with this marriage alliance of yours, Maximian, your youth has been renewed for you through your son-in-law, while you, Constantine, have been enhanced by the name of Emperor through your father-in-law?
2 And so we give you the most heartfelt thanks in the public name, eternal princes, because in rearing children and wishing for grandchildren you are providing for all future ages by extending the succession of your posterity, so that the Roman state, once shaken by the disparate characters and fates of its rulers, may at last be made strong through the everlasting roots of your house, and its Empire may be as immortal as the offspring of its Emperors is perpetual.[3]

3 This is true piety, this the joy in preserving the human race, to give an example to the nations to seek marriage more eagerly, and to rear children, so that in the replacement of successions of individuals it should disadvantage us nothing that each single person is mortal, since the State is immortal though the offspring of all.

4 Wherefore if those laws[4] which have branded celibates with a penalty and have conferred rewards on parents are truly said to be the foundations of the State, because they have continually provided a nursery of youth and a font, as it were, of human strength for Roman armies, what name
5 can we find which is worthy of this service of yours to the State? For you are propagating the State not with plebeian offshoots but with imperial stock, so that that thing which we were congratulating you on finally

3. The sentiments are appropriate for a wedding speech, but they are not in harmony with the Tetrarchic theory of appointment of the most meritorious. Nevertheless, the latter had always to contend with the strength of hereditary feeling; see *Pan.* 10.14.1 and note 50, *Pan.* 8.20.1 and note 72, speeches that promote the Tetrarchy. Constantine's proclamation, and Maxentius' (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.6, 8), illustrate the view that prevailed.

4. The Augustan "marriage laws," the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* (18 B.C.E.) and the *Lex Papia Poppaea* (in the year 9)—for which, see *CAH*, 10: 448ff.—were still "on the books" in the late Empire, and although some of their provisions were modified or set aside, they are continually referred to in the codes; see *Cod. Theod.* 8.16.1 (320 = *Cod. Iust.* 8.57.1), 8.17.2, 9.7; 9.42.9.1; 13.5.7; *Cod. Iust.* 5.4.27, 28; 6.51.1b, 1c1; 8.58.2, etc.

coming to pass in the thousandth year after the foundation of the city,[5] that is, that the reins of our common safety not be handed down, subject to change, through new families, may last through all the ages, Emperors forever Herculian.[6]

What order, then, shall I adopt in proclaiming and venerating you 3
both? For so far concerning the hopes of both of you which have combined in this marriage bond I have spoken of you together. And I feel that you 2

5. Galletier, in "Notes complémentaires" to vol. 2, p. 18 (after p. 198), detects an allusion to Philip the Arab (244–249) giving the title Augustus to his nine- or ten-year-old son (Rome's millennium was celebrated in 248; cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 28, deploring the absence of any commemoration a hundred years later). Yet he is puzzled because father and son perished in 249; scarcely "de bon augure"! But why should such a deed be a matter of congratulation for Maximian and Constantine? No; the panegyrist is obviously referring to the present, with his allusion to Herculian emperors. His "thousandth year," then, either is a disturbingly loose approximation or is based on a heterodox foundation date. The latter ought to work out to ca. 694 B.C.E. But is such a "low" date known? The lowest I know of is the 729–728 of Cincius Alimentus (Dion. Hal. 1.74; see W. Kubitschek, "Aera," *RE* 1 [1894] 622). Enßlin deduced from this passage and Zosimus 2.7.1f. that Maximian celebrated the secular games in 304 ("Maximianus 1 [Herculius]," *RE* 14.2 [1930] 2509); Septimius Severus had celebrated them in 204 (Zosimus 2.4.30, 2.7.2), and Claudian mentions preparations for them in 404 (*VI. cons. Hon.* 388–91). Enßlin's view has not found favor; J. Gagé, *Recherches sur les jeux séculaires* (Paris, 1934) 107 n. 2, suggests rather that Maximian celebrated the *natalis urbis* with éclat in April 304; Paschoud, *Zosime*, ad loc., objects that there is no direct evidence that they were held in 304, that the 204 celebration is adequate to explain Claudian's learned passage, and that Zosimus' actual complaint is that Constantine and Licinius failed to hold them when they fell due, on the 110-year cycle, in 314, there being no implication that Maximian had just celebrated them. Stronger, surely, are arguments from probability: to celebrate the secular games in 304 was to risk anticlimax, if not penury, after the *vicennalia* in 303; to bring them forward (not unprecedented: cf. Augustus, Claudius, and Domitian) would detract from the achievements of the Tetrarchs themselves. And, finally, secular games are centennial, not millennial: it is not clear what relevance they have for the panegyric's allusion. Rome had already celebrated its millennium: it is not the sort of celebration one expects to take place twice.

6. For the cognomina Herculius and Iovius see the Introduction to *Pan.* 10, and for the absence of Iovius here, see the Introduction.

indeed, senior Augustus,[7] take precedence in majesty, and that you follow, junior Emperor. But assuredly just as divinity was conferred upon your father-in-law, Constantine, before you sought from him the pledge that was dearest of all to him, so now in this congratulatory address also I must speak first of those merits which, as he discerned them in you, made that great man who was the author of your imperial power, and that of your father, overjoyed at your request.

3 O that divine judgment of yours, Maximian, who wished that man who was your grandson by right of adoption, your son by ranking in majesty, to be your son-in-law as well;[8] the son, I say, of the deified Constantius, to whom the first blush of his father's youth has been transmitted, upon whose face Nature has stamped his father's heavenly features, who for us, still yearning for the sight of him who has been
4 transported to the councils of the gods, takes the place of two. For not only does your father's appearance manifest itself in you, Constantine, but also his temperance, his bravery, his justice and his wisdom,[9] in response to the prayers of nations.

4 For how could you better match the temperance of your father than by surrendering yourself to the laws of matrimony immediately your boyhood was at an end, so that you developed the mind of a married man at the very outset of adolescence, so that you admitted into this sacred breast no trace of promiscuous lusts, not a hint of the pleasures conceded

7. Taking over the titulature of the Tetrarchy, but ignoring the legitimate senior Augustus, Galerius, now in open conflict with Maximian and Constantine. For the *divinitas* of Maximian, see *Pan.* 10, note 8.

8. The most explicit statement of what could reasonably be inferred, that upon promoting Constantine's father Constantius to Caesar in 293, Maximian also adopted him as his son. By extrapolation then Constantine was Maximian's grandson *iure adoptionis* but was not perhaps formally adopted as his son. But as in the First Tetrarchy the Caesars had been adopted as sons of the Augusti, and the sons of reigning emperors had been styled Caesar long before this, the phrase *maiestatis ordine filium* is not inappropriate; see Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 20.3: *sed eum Caesarem facere noluit, ne filium nominaret*, and 13.3–4 below, where the panegyrist regards the two as father and son.

9. The four cardinal virtues, the "natural" virtues of scholastic philosophy, traceable as far back as Plato and Aristotle, and taken over by late Roman Christian philosophers such as St. Augustine. These were regarded by philosophers as essential to kingship; see Stob. *Flor.* 4.7.67, 279f. (Hense); Musonius Rufus *On the Need of Kings to Philosophize*. The panegyrist proceeds to treat them in order.

your age, so that a new marvel then appeared, a young man who was devoted to his wife?[10] But, as a matter of fact, with prophetic mind you schooled yourself in all the observances of modesty, you who were later to marry a wife of just such a kind. Moreover, from the very beginning you 2
already followed your father's brave example. Many thousands of Franks who had invaded Batavia and other lands on this side of the Rhine he slaughtered, drove out, captured or deported.[11] You have already begun with their kings themselves, and at the same time both punished their past crimes and bound the slippery faith of the whole race with bonds of fear.[12]

10. This is prima facie evidence that Constantine married in early manhood, and that Minervina, the mother of Crispus, was not his concubine, as writers drawing on a hostile tradition allege (*Epit.* 41.4; Zosimus 2.20.2), but his lawful wife.

Constantine's birth date is debated. Barnes, *New Empire*, 39ff., discusses the evidence and concludes that Constantine was born ca. 272–273. (Eight of the nine sources put his age at his death in 337 as sixty-two to sixty-five years.) Arguments for a later date, he claims, rest on subjective interpretations of terms such as *adulescens* and *iuvenis* in Lactantius and panegyric. But this does not settle the matter. Many of the later sources probably depend directly or indirectly on Eusebius, whose tendentious comparison of the life spans and reigns of Constantine and Alexander the Great (see *Vita Constantini* 1.5–9, 4.53) is open to some suspicion. Conversely it is not so easy to discount the contemporary evidence of the panegyrics. Section 5.2 below puts Constantine in his early twenties in 306 (see note 15). Thus another school advocates a birth date of ca. 282–283 (S. Calderone, "Eusebio di Cesarea e il computo dell'età di Costantino," *QC* 9 [1983] 5–12; N. Baglivi, "Paneg. VII(6),3,3 e l'età di Costantino," *Orpheus* n.s. 6 [1985] 437–41). On Seeck's extreme date of 288 (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1: 434) Constantine would have been a senior staff officer, and veteran of numerous campaigns, at the tender age of seventeen! But a birth date of 282–283 might still leave time for military service (but see note 16: ca. 280 is more plausible). A date of ca. 300 (or a little before) for his first marriage, and a birth date of ca. 302 for Crispus, would not seem unreasonable (Crispus' first child was born in 322; *PLRE* I.233). The family of Minervina is unknown. The tenor of the passage points to her having died before 307, rather than having been divorced to permit Constantine's marriage to Fausta; see J.-R. Palanque, "Chronologie constantinienne," *REA* 40 (1938) 247; Galletier, 2: 5.

11. Described in *Pan.* 8.8.1ff. (see note 27 ad loc.); *Pan.* 6.5.3.

12. The speaker is vague. *Pan.* 6.10.2ff. and Nazarius *Pan.* 4.16.5–6 give further details, adding inter alia the names Ascaric and Merogaisus; cf. Eutr. 10.3.2. Constantine had them killed by beasts in the arena; see 4.4 below. The panegyrist is at special pains to stress the salutary effects of Constantine's severity.

3 He liberated Britain from slavery; you ennobled it as well by emerging
4 from there.[13] By his victories he tamed a very great number of barbarian nations;[14] by his pardon he made them gentle; since all our enemies are restrained by terror of your zeal, at the moment an occasion for you to conquer is lacking.

5 But you have so imitated and followed your father's justice and piety that to all who flee to you and request help of various kinds, either against the wrongs inflicted upon them by others or for their own advantage, you seem as it were to be paying the legacies of your father, and rejoice that this very thing is proclaimed in your presence, that whatever you have done that is just and magnanimous necessarily demonstrates that you are a true son of Constantius.

2 Why, then, should I speak of your wisdom, in which respect we almost believe you will prove superior to your father himself, you who in assuming imperial power so early surpass those ancient leaders of the Roman state, the elder Africanus and Pompey the Great, whose valor carried them ahead of the course appropriate to their years, and with a courage that is only at its outset support the burden of these great affairs of state?[15]

13. Cf. *Pan.* 8 for Constantius' recovery of Britain in 296. When he died at York his son was proclaimed there by the troops, on 25 July 306 (*CIL* 1.1^2, 268–69; *Cons. Const.*, *Chron. min.* 1.231; Jerome *Chron.* 228^g; Eutr. 10.1.3, 2.2; Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 1.2.1; Anon.Val. 4).

14. *Pan.* 6.6.2ff. (310) describes Constantius' campaigns against the barbarians, both Franks and other Germans.

15. Passages like these create a vivid impression of Constantine's youth (see note 10 above); cf. *imperator adulescens* and the whole of 5.3, 13.5, 14.1; *Pan.* 6.17.1; Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 18.10, 24.4, 29.5. The panegyrist is here putting Constantine in his early twenties, or younger.

Scipio exercised proconsular *imperium* at the age of twenty-six and was consul by thirty-one; Pompey at the age of twenty-three, at his own initiative and at his own expense, raised an army of three legions with which he successfully championed the cause of Sulla; still an *eques*, he triumphed at the age of twenty-six; T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York, 1951–52) 1: 280, 2: 84–85. Eutropius (3.15, 5.9) says both were twenty-four, and this may be the tradition that reached the panegyrist. Barnes, *New Empire*, 40–41, observes that in certain contexts this emphasis on Constantine's youth would help dissociate him from the Tetrarchs, who inter alia persecuted Christians. Obviously this explanation cannot apply here. But there may be some exaggeration. The speaker is clearly embarrassed by the absence of martial achievements to celebrate (cf. the lame "climax" at 4.4). It is true, too,

For while you accomplished many things bravely, many things wisely, 3
when you were completing your first campaigns in those important tribunates of yours,[16] you must perceive these, youthful Emperor, as only the portents of great good fortune. But why in your case do I focus upon your age rather than your seriousness? For your maturity is so great that although your father had left you imperial power, nevertheless you were content with the title of Caesar and preferred to wait for the same man to declare you Augustus who so declared him. Thus indeed you judged that this imperial power would be finer not if you had acquired it as an inheritance by right of succession, but if you had earned it from the supreme Emperor as due reward for your merits.[17]

that *adulescens* is a flexible term, but if Constantine had really been in his mid-thirties, as Barnes believes (note 10), the panegyrist was risking ridicule by his repeated insistence on the new Augustus' youthfulness.

16. See Barnes, *New Empire*, 41–42, and "Sossianus Hierocles and the Antecedents of the 'Great Persecution,'" *HSCP* 80 (1976) 250ff., for a characteristically bold discussion of the evidence for Constantine's early career. Constantine had risen to the position of *tribunus ordinis primi* some time before 305 (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 18.10), implying earlier tribunates (see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* [Oxford, 1964] 640–41); this passage and Eus. *VC* 4.1.2 show against J. Moreau, *Lactance* (Paris, 1954) 2: 313f., that Lactantius has not confused *tribunus* with *comes* here. *Pan.* 6.3.3 claims that Constantine had a lengthy military apprenticeship, and the scattered information seems to confirm this. It is nicely symbolized by Fausta's gift to him of a plumed helmet (6.2 below). He served under Diocletian and Galerius "in Asia" (Anon.Val. 2), presumably against the Persians in 296–298. He claims to have seen the ruins of Memphis and Babylon (*Orat. ad sanctos* 16.2). Eusebius observed him in Palestine at the right hand of Diocletian (*VC* 1.19). In 303 and 305 he is recorded at court in Nicomedia (*Orat. ad sanctos* 25; Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 18.10, 19.1ff.). Shortly afterward he fought against the Sarmatians under Galerius (Anon.Val. 3; Zonar. 12.33; cf. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 24.4; Barnes, "Sossianus Hierocles and the Antecedents of the 'Great Persecution,'" 250ff., and *New Empire*, 41–42, seeks to date this to 299). Nevertheless, a birth date of ca. 280 is compatible with such a career. A Caesar's son is likely to have had an early start and quick promotion; indeed, the accounts hostile to the Tetrarchs imply as much.

17. After Constantine was proclaimed Augustus at York (4.3 and note 13 above) he sent his *imago laureata* to Galerius. The latter, on the advice of his friends, responded by sending Constantine the purple, but ordering him to be accorded the rank of Caesar; so Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 25.5. Constantine's acceptance of the lower rank was *prudentia* indeed. While the orator avers that his hereditary claim was a valid one, he concedes by implication that tetrarchic principles should have

6 For there is no doubt that he who had chosen you of his own accord, long ago, to be his son-in-law, even before you could have sought this,[18] was erecting for you at an early date that sacred pinnacle of divine power.
2 For this, I hear, is what that picture in the palace at Aquileia, placed in full view of the dinner guests, demonstrates.[19] In it a young girl already

prevailed. Constantius had no right under them to promote his son Augustus above the heads of the Caesars Severus and Maximinus Daia. Although it advantaged him to do so, Galerius did follow the accepted tetrarchic procedure in promoting the elder Caesar Severus to Augustus and ranking Maximinus, already Caesar, above Constantine (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 25.5; cf. 28.1, 32.1–3; J. A. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* [Stuttgart, 1939; reprint, 1964] 37–38). For the hereditary claim, see the Introduction, pp. 185ff. The panegyrist here evades the question by what right Maximian is enjoying the privileges of *summus imperator* and promoting Constantine. For a very different line, emphasizing Constantine's hereditary claims, see *Pan.* 6.2.1ff.

18. The possibility of an engagement between Constantine and Fausta years before does not rest entirely on the panegyrist's conceit that the "family picture" in the palace at Aquileia is a representation of a betrothal. Julian *Or.* 1.7D asserts that Constantius and Maximian arranged the marriage. This is plausible; not only did marriage ties bind the Caesars to the Augusti in the First Tetrarchy, but Galerius married his daughter Valeria Maximilla (the child of Diocletian's daughter Valeria?) to Maxentius some time before 305 (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 18.9, 26.6; Anon.Val. 7; *ILS* 666–67, 671; see Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 9).

Galletier, 2: 7 and n. 2, dismisses the notion of an early engagement with Fausta, broken off later, only to be resumed again in 307. But perhaps he both adopts too romantic a view and at the same time underestimates the flexibility of the political marriage.

19. From what is known of Constantine's early career the dramatic date of this picture in the palace can be no later than 296 and is perhaps closer to 293 (see Barnes, *New Empire*, 34). Fausta, then, cannot have been born ca. 298–299, as often stated (e.g., Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1: 34, line 18). This conclusion is derived from the information that she was born in Rome (Julian *Or.* 1.5D), and the fact that Maximian's first known visit to Rome was ca. 298–299 (below, 8.7). Barnes therefore suggests a visit before this—perhaps ca. 289–290 (pp. 34, 58, and n. 49). But pregnant women are not immobile, nor do busy imperial fathers always manage to be present at the birth of their children. Nevertheless, the suggested birth date of ca. 289–290 fits the passage (Fausta was *adhuc impar oneri suo*).

Incidentally the passage provides welcome confirmation that there was an imperial palace at Aquileia in regular use as early as the 290s. The site has not been located. Exactly what constituted the "palace" is another matter: it

adorable for her divine beauty, but as yet unequal to her burden, holds up and offers to you, then still a lad, Constantine, a helmet gleaming with gold and jewels, and conspicuous with its plumes of a beautiful bird, in order that her betrothal present might enhance your beauty, a result which scarcely any ornaments of clothing can produce.[20]

Lucky painter he, whoever he was, and although his skill may have 3
surpassed that of Apelles himself, and Parrhasius,[21] yet he was luckier in the subject of his painting than in his art. For although they themselves do 4
say that imitation of every beautiful form is extremely difficult, because whereas ugliness may be quickly depicted by particular blemishes of its own, a likeness of beauty is as difficult to attain as beauty is rare, yet that 5
painter did not so much experience difficulty in transferring the divine appearance from your face as he derived pleasure from gazing at you from close at hand, from examining you attentively, and carefully eliciting fixed and grave expressions from the gaiety of youth, and, finally, from expressing the unspoken presentiments of your love, so that you could clearly discern in the painting what each other's modesty denied you both.

But assuredly even then, Maximian, you had anticipated this in your 7
divine mind; this, when his age allowed it, you had wanted to be asked, when you were purchasing for yourself the joys of these nuptials in that most delightful seat of pleasure, so that by gazing at the same time at this little girl and this growing boy you might take pleasure in the expectation of a pledge which you have confirmed by this union.[22]

is conceivable that the emperor stayed in the residence of the *corrector Venetiae et Histriae*. An imperial constitution reveals the presence of Diocletian in Aquileia on 31 March 296 (*Frag. Vat.* 313 = *FIRA* 1.2, p. 533); Aquileia had a mint from ca. 294; see Barnes, *New Empire*, 56 n. 46, and references.

20. Barnes makes the plausible suggestion that this was not a betrothal present but a "going away gift" (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 9).

21. Apelles, the celebrated painter of the fourth century B.C.E. from Colophon (and Ephesus), famous for his paintings of Philip and Alexander, and for his Aphrodite Anadyomene. Parrhasius (fifth century B.C.E.) was notable for his paintings of mythological heroes; for Cicero he typified excellence (*Tusc.* 1.4).

22. Galletier reads *praedestinabas* for MS *praestinabas* (actually the emendation of Puteolanus, editio princeps 1482, anticipating Cuspinianus, 1513) and translates "tu te promettais les satisfactions," going on, "ainsi, voyant grandir ensemble cette petite fille et ce jeune homme." The emendation is unnecessary. The panegyrist focuses here not on the shared childhood of Fausta and Constantine (for which, Galletier, 2: 6) but on the painting itself. The "purchase"

2 For what could you have done that was more appropriate, what that
was more worthy of your foresight, than that you should now hand over
with feelings of deepest affection the pledge of supreme power to the son
of the man whom you had long since joined to you by ties of marriage
3 and associated with yourself in imperial majesty?[23] This is a largesse,
4 Maximian, that among all the princes, is peculiar to you. Others have
made presents of wealth, or offices, or even imperial power itself, but only
these; you, with a nobler spirit than the rest, are endowing both what your
dutiful affection holds dearest and your fortune most outstanding.[24]
5 But this greatness of spirit in you is not to be wondered at, Maximian,
upon whom the gods have heaped such great natural gifts and accoutre-
ments of fortune that, however liberally you bestow largesse, everything is
6 as much within your possession as if you alone controlled it. For just as that
Ocean which furnishes all the waters for heaven and earth is nonetheless
always whole in his movements, so you, Maximian, can make a gift of
7 imperial power, but you cannot be without it.[25] On this subject, when I
have come to that point, I shall speak in such a fashion that I may seem too
bold to some,[26] but that the reality of my devotion to you may be apparent.
8 Now it follows that since I have praised your virtues, Constantine
Augustus,[27] to your father-in-law, you too should hear (although you know
2 it best of all) how an alliance with such a great leader honors you. He
is the one who gave you the name received from the god who was the
founder of his family, who has proved himself to be the scion of Hercules,
3 not through the fables of flatterers, but by matching his prowess. He it
is who at the very outset of his divinity restored the Gauls to obedience to

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is of the painting, and the pleasure is in the contemplation of the *parvula* and (*iuvenis*) *crescens* depicted together.

But whatever else is concluded about the painting, it would seem to demonstrate the cordial relationship between Maximian and Constantius and their families that followed Constantius' marriage to Maximian's daughter Theodora (before 289? see *Pan.* 10, note 38).

23. For the marriage of Constantius and Theodora see note 22.

24. I.e., both his daughter and *summum imperium* (cf. 7.2). The claim is technically true in that Constantius and Galerius, presented both with imperial power and emperors' daughters, had become only Caesars.

25. For the tendentiousness of this, see the Introduction.

26. Such admissions of the delicacy of the speaker's task are rare in the panegyrics; cf. *Pan.* 6.14.1; Pacatus 2.23.1 and 24.2. They may connote genuine diffidence or be intended to reassure the audience.

27. Cf. note 2 above.

the State, to themselves for their salvation, when they were maddened by
the injustices of a former era.[28] It was he who first bore Roman standards 4
across the Rhine against barbarian nations, a feat which was ascribed
by a false tradition to the generals of old.[29] It was through the repeated 5
expeditions of this man and his brother that Germany was tamed, and
now either is satisfied to keep the peace, or rejoices, as if friendly, if she
is disposed to obey.[30] You overwhelmed, forced to capitulate and resettled 6
the fiercest tribes of Mauretania, who had trusted to their inaccessible
mountaintops and natural fortifications.[31]
Upon your first entry the Roman people greeted you with such joy, 7
and in such great numbers, that when they conceived a passion to convey
you to the lap of Capitoline Jupiter, if only with their eyes, they scarcely
allowed you through the gates of the city, such was the press.[32] Again, 8
when you were in your twentieth year as Emperor and consul for the
eighth time, Rome herself so wished to detain you in its embrace, so to

28. For Maximian's suppression of the revolts of Bagaudae, see *Pan.* 10.4.3–4, 11.5.3, and notes. The use of the word *iniuriis* is at first glance surprising. Is this a rare instance of government sensitivity toward the downtrodden? In fact the concession that the peasants in revolt had legitimate grievances is safely located in a vague past (*priorum temporum*). For *numen* ("divinity") see *Pan.* 10, note 2.

29. Of course it is the claim that Maximian was the first to cross the Rhine that is false. The phraseology is drawn from Mamertinus (*Pan.* 10.7.2), but here the speaker is very concerned to build Maximian up. Rome had for long held territory in Germany proper; much was relinquished under Gallienus (see *Pan.* 8.10.2 and note 32).

30. Evidently there was peace for the moment (4.4 above), but the speaker is doubtful about the Germans' real sentiments.

31. Cf. *Pan.* 8.5.2 and note 18; *Pan.* 9.21.2 and note 83.

32. *Primo ingressu* should mean that this was Maximian's first visit to Rome (pace Barnes, *New Empire*, 58 n. 49; see note 19 above). The implication of the panegyric that it followed his campaign in Mauretania is confirmed by the dedication of the Baths of Diocletian; *CIL* 6.1130 (*ILS* 646). Maximian was in Carthage on 10 March 298: *Frag. Vat.* 41; *FIRA* 1.2, p. 473; T. Mommsen, "Über die Zeitfolge der Verordnungen Diocletians und seiner Mitregenten," in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin, 1905) 2: 259, 265f. He was COS VI in 299 and may have reached Rome in time to take up office in person; see Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307," 71 n. 10.

A visit to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline was a matter of course; see J. Straub, "Konstantins Verzicht auf den Gang zum Kapitol," *Historia* 4 (1955) 297–313. Cf., for example, Herodian 1.7.6 (Commodus).

speak, that she seemed already to have a presentiment and fear of what
9 actually happened.[33] For what happened, eternal Emperor, was the one deed by which you almost earned the complaints of the State.

9 Listen to the free expression of our distress, since indeed even the gods themselves, because for the most part they neglect human affairs, pardon us when we complain that, while they are occupied perhaps with other matters, the hail lashes down, the earth gapes, cities are swallowed up. These things appear to happen, not because they wish it, but either because they are looking elsewhere or because the destined course of
2 things compels it. Such a thing you wished to do, Emperor, while all of us lamented and suppressed our groans; you were not indeed moved by lack of concern for the State or by evasion of work or by desire for idleness, but

33. A curiously explicit date for the genre. Maximian was consul for the eighth time in 304. "In your twentieth year as Emperor" in 304 might imply accession in either 284 or 285. While it is generally agreed that Maximian took the purple in 285 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 4, 57; A. Pasqualini, *Massimiano "Herculius"* [Rome, 1979] chap. 2), perhaps as Caesar (Eutr. 9.20.3), his *dies imperii* remains a mystery. See Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, chap. 3, for a review of the question, and *Pan.* 10, Introduction, pp. 47f. Pace Barnes, *New Empire*, 57, the *Passio Marcelli* is best interpreted as registering Maximian's actual birthday on 21 July (C. E. V. Nixon, "The 'Epiphany' of the Tetrarchs?" *TAPA* 111 [1981] 157ff., esp. 163). But even if it could be established that the panegyrist is referring to an event early in 304, and that Maximian's *dies imperii* was late in 285, as seems not unlikely, the panegyrist would not thereby be convicted of error in saying *vicesimo anno*, for at some stage, probably at the *vicennalia*, the Tetrarchy was further systematized by the assimilation of Maximian's regnal years to Diocletian's. The evidence was set out by A. Chastagnol, "Les années régnales de Maximien Hercule en Egypte et les fêtes vicennales du 20 novembre 303," *RN*[6] 9 (1967) 64–68 (and the table on p. 76), and the case reinforced by J. D. Thomas, "On Dating by Regnal Years of Diocletian, Maximian and the Caesars," *CE* 46 (1971) 173–79. Note that the panegyrist is not dating Maximian's arrival in Rome, but an attempted departure, so that the passage cannot be used to argue that Maximian was not in Rome in 303 to share in the celebration of Diocletian's *vicennalia* and a long-delayed triumph (Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307," 70–76, arguing against G. Thomas, "L'abdication de Dioclétien," 229ff.). The panegyrist is selecting incidents in Maximian's career that involve demonstrations of public support for him in Rome, in order to pave the way for his presentation of Rome's appeal to Maximian to rescue her from chaos (11.1ff. below). If we press the panegyrist here, and there seems no reason not to, we must conclude that as late as 304 there had been no public announcement at Rome of Diocletian and Maximian's abdication—there could only be a presentiment of what was to follow.

by adherence to a plan long since resolved upon, in fact, by you both,[34] and by fraternal piety, so that in the sharing of some deed you would not desert a man whom you have always had as a partner for the whole of your life and in the most important affairs, and would not yield to him the praise for it—of whatever kind that may be, certainly a novel one.

But you had very diverse reasons for laying aside your burden or 3
continuing to shoulder it, although, even if you were to put forward age as your whole excuse,[35] even then you would have no right so to refuse to
undertake the responsibilities of government. For if the oldest helmsman 4
is the most dependable for the safety of the passengers, is not he the best Emperor who is the most experienced in actual practice? Or will our sons and grandsons ever suffer you, Constantine, even when you have reached extreme old age, to draw in the sails of state which you have filled with such

34. This passage and *Pan.* 6.15.4 are alone in mentioning a plan, agreed upon in advance, for Diocletian and Maximian to abdicate (see the Introduction). *Pan.* 6.15.6 adds more precise information, that Maximian had given Diocletian his oath in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline that he would resign; presumably this took place during the *vicennalia*, November 303 (see *Pan.* 6.15.6 and note 73). But the oath, supposing it to be historical, might well be a reaffirmation of an agreement made at some earlier date. *Olim* may mean simply "previously," or, on the other hand, "long ago." So the way is open to argue that Diocletian and Maximian had planned to abdicate much earlier than 303 (see *Pan.* 6, note 73).

While it might be argued that the panegyrist of 310 had a powerful motive for inventing a prior agreement of Maximian to abdicate (*Pan.* 6, note 73), it is more difficult to account for such a fiction on the part of our panegyrist here. The supposition that Maximian had submitted to a recent and unilateral decision of Diocletian, who had succumbed to threats and pressure from Galerius, far from discreditable to Maximian (G. Thomas, "L'abdication de Dioclétien," 240), would have made it much easier for the panegyrist to justify his emergence from enforced retirement: for example, he had not wished to *provoke* civil war by defying Diocletian, but once Italy was threatened by Galerius and his henchmen, who had obtained their positions by illegitimate means, he nobly rose to its defense in response to the pleas of its inhabitants. Maximian's formal agreement to a plan to abdicate made the panegyrist's task harder. The very mention of the *consilium* in these circumstances is an argument for its historicity. Nor is it an invention to counter the criticisms rebutted in 9.2; this is an "Aunt Sally": Maximian could scarcely be charged with "lack of concern for the state" or "desire for idleness."

35. This would not be a very convincing explanation, for Maximian was only about fifty-five or a little older when he abdicated (he was *sexagenarius* when he died in 310; *Epit.* 40.11). The panegyrist goes on to concede as much (9.5).

5 favorable winds even as a young man? But nonetheless, however right it might have been for that prince, whom his years constrained or whose health failed, to sound the retreat, we wonder that you yearned for an untimely leisure, you whose strength is even now whole and unimpaired, whose entire body is yet vigorous, whose fiery glance is still that of an
6 Emperor.[36] What else, indeed, could have excused your colleague in majesty for retiring but that you would succeed to imperial power in place of both?[37]

10 But assuredly the natural fickleness of Fortune, which had been permitted to change nothing as long as you both held the Empire, insisted on this, that that uninterrupted felicity of twenty years should be marked off by some interval; or else indeed the immortal gods wished to prove that it was by leaning upon you that the State stood firm, since it could not
2 stand without you. Although in these parts, to be sure, it has not lacked its former stability, in those from which you had departed, Maximian, it has

36. Diocletian was not so very old when he abdicated (*Epit.* 39.7: sixty-eight when he died in 313, and so about sixty in 305; Malalas 12.311.1 makes him seventy-two at death, thus about sixty-five at abdication; Barnes, *New Empire*, 30–32). But he had been near death, according to Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 17.3ff., and was far from well in 305 (17.9). Several other sources account for his abdication in terms of his age (Eutr. 9.27.1; Julian *Caes.* 315B), illness, and/or derangement (Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 8.13.11; Constantine *Orat. ad sanctos* 25: διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀφροσύνης βλάβην); Victor (*Caes.* 39.47–48), as often, is highly personal: Diocletian, *imminentium scrutator*, foresaw troubles ahead and retired from the fray although *valentior.* The latter comment harmonizes with Lactantius. Clearly this unique event caused great speculation, as Victor's account makes clear (*aliis alia aestimantibus*), and some confessed themselves mystified (Eus. *VC* 1.18: οἱ ... τῷ χρόνῳ προάγοντες οὐχ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑπεξίσταντο τῆς ἀρχῆς). Diocletian's illness dates to after his departure from Rome, and hence after the alleged *consilium* (note 34 above), but it may have provided an official explanation for his abdication.

Maximian's "fiery glance"—*hic imperatorius ardor oculorum*: the phrase is Cicero's, used of Marius (*Balb.* 49; see A. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," *RhM* 66 [1911] 549).

37. The panegyrist does not claim that Diocletian was led to abdicate only by the desire to make Maximian his successor, "et de le voir régner sur les deux *partes imperii* [*sic*]" (G. Thomas, "L'abdication de Dioclétien," 239). The question is rhetorical. The only reason that could justify Diocletian's abdication, the panegyrist asserts, would be that in Maximian he had a successor capable of ruling for both (*pro duobus*). But that was never in Diocletian's mind. The passage is not inconsistent with 9.2, pace Thomas: it does form a satisfying ensemble.

collapsed almost from its very foundations: to such an extent did it have great stability where it was supported, but where deserted, did it totter precariously.[38] For just as the ground is wont to shake when winds and 3
waves are let in beneath it and it is robbed of its solidity, so the whole of Italy and Rome itself, when your right hand which had supported it was suddenly removed, shook and almost toppled. But I pass over this hastily, 4
for why should we even recall unhappy events, when we see everything restored by your return? For Rome itself has acted out of regard for 5
the majesty of her name and demonstrated that she can command even Emperors. She withdrew her armies and restored them to you, and when you had brought the authority of a prince in private life to the quieting of their spirits,[39] she cried out, stretching out her suppliant hands to you, or, rather, complaining:

38. As the panegyrist has already indicated (4.2, 4.4), Constantine's terror tactics had dissuaded the barbarians from invading Gaul. In Italy, however, there was turmoil; Maxentius' coup in Rome had been followed by the invasion of Severus, and that of Galerius was imminent (see the Introduction).

39. An enigmatic reference to events in Rome (and Italy?) at the time of Maxentius' coup, events that the panegyrist glosses over, and that are imperfectly known from the confused accounts in Zosimus 2.9–10 and Anon.Val. 6ff., and the tendentious one of Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26–27. The withdrawal of Rome's armies is perhaps a reference to the desertion from Severus of his Moorish cavalry (Zosimus 2.10.1; cf. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.8), which had served under Maximian (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.5–6) and were thus "restored" to him when he joined his son. Another possibility, more pertinent to the city of Rome, is a reference to the praetorian troops who rebelled and proclaimed Maxentius when Galerius decided to tax Rome and abolish the Guard (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.3; cf. Zosimus 2.9.3). Galletier, 2: 25 n. 1, thinks the withdrawal refers merely to Maximian's loss of troops consequent upon his abdication in 305, but clearly what is required is an allusion to some dramatic intervention of Rome.

The artful phrase *auctoritatem privati principis* maintains the view that Maximian's authority was unbroken, although Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1: 85, line 2, followed by E. Groag, "Maxentius," *RE* 14.2 (1930) 2426–27, holds it to imply that Maximian did not take the imperial titles at first (see Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.5; but note Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.7). The hostile tradition, however, has Maximian eager to resume power (see note 42 below). "The quieting of their spirits" may allude to some otherwise unknown difficulty that Maxentius was having in controlling Rome, or it may just refer to Maximian's part in suppressing Severus. Seeck ("Die Münzpolitik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger," *ZfN* 17

11 "How long, Maximian, am I to suffer myself to be shaken to pieces
while you remain inactive? To be deprived of my liberty, while you enjoy a
2 discharge which is not permitted you? Or should what was not permitted
the divine Augustus after seventy years of age and fifty years of rule be so
3 swiftly granted to you?[40] Or was it for this that Hercules, whose countless
altars, temples and names I revere, gave you to me, that, yielding to
idleness on your suburban estate, you should abandon the practice of
4 valor consecrated to me?[41] Restore yourself to my helm, and since you
have hastened to enter the harbor when the sea is calm, go through the
waves, anxious indeed in your love for me, but secure in your majesty.
Yet it will be your own fault if you should suffer injury in restoring me.
Aforetime you ruled at the request of your brother, rule again at the behest
of your mother!"

5 O your celestial piety, Emperor eternal, which alone has conquered
6 that ever invincible spirit of yours! You could not resist the command
of that holy parent, and, albeit unwillingly, you obeyed, and surrendered
yourself to those nightly vigils and those responsibilities which you had
7 undergone for twenty years. With what rewards, O mistress of nations,
can you repay this dutiful obedience of your Emperor, who knows from
such great experience how arduous is the task of ruling, but for your sake
does not now enjoy that pleasure which he had tasted, but takes up the

[1890] 48 n. 2; cf. id., *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1: 85) detected a hint of trouble already between Maximian and Maxentius. This cannot be right. Maximian returned to Rome from Gaul and ruled jointly with his son for some time before the rift (see Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 452). Seeck (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1: 85) also takes the panegyric too literally in assuming that Rome's speech reflects an actual plea of the Senate to Maximian to come out of retirement and restore the situation.

40. An approximation. Augustus was almost seventy-six when he died (Suet. *Aug*. 100–101), and his sole rule lasted about forty-five years.

41. *In suburbano* suggests Maximian was close to Rome. Other sources put him farther afield: Campania (Lactant. *Mort. pers*. 26.7); Lucania (Eutr. 10.2.3; Zosimus 2.10.2). Maxentius, on the other hand, was certainly living *in suburbano* in 306, on the *via Laticana* in the *ager Praenestinus* (see *Kleine Pauly* 3.1103), 6 miles from the city, where he was proclaimed (*Epit*. 40.2; Eutr. 10.2.3). The truth may be that Maximian moved from estate to estate (see J. Polzer, "The Villa at Piazza Armerina and the Numismatic Evidence," *AJA* 77 [1973] 143 n. 30); some were presumably confiscated from senators, even if Lactantius exaggerates (*Mort. pers*. 8.2–6).

huge burden of government after his retirement.[42] It would have been 8
easier to rule without interruption; for although the labor be great, habit
makes one unaware of it, but if there be an interruption, one feels the
need for new strength.

What great foresight you needed, Emperor eternal, what great au- 12
thority, to set up the props of state that had been cast down, to breathe life
into the lifeless, to pick up the scattered pieces. We marveled that you 2
were a private citizen after having been an Emperor; it is much more
remarkable that you are wielding imperial power after having retired.

They say that only that god, by whose gifts we live and see, was 3
capable of taking up the reins which had been unwisely entrusted and
steering the chariot again when it had been thrown off course by its errant
driver.[43] You, Emperor, accomplished a similar feat, and even did it with
ease. Nor is that any wonder, for imperial power did not recede from 4
you; despite your wish to be called a private citizen your inborn majesty
clung to you. However patiently they bore your retirement after such 5
great accomplishments, none of your armies and none of your provinces
ever believed that you had ceased to rule.

What do you think Jupiter himself replied to you, Maximian, when 6
you said with noble-mindedness: "Take back, Jupiter, what you have
lent"? Assuredly he replied as follows: "I did not hand this over to you as
a loan, but forever. I am not taking it back, but saving it for you." Then 7
as soon as you curbed the State in its headlong course, and took back
the helm as it wavered, the hope of salvation dawned for everyone. The 8
winds dropped, the clouds scattered, the waves subsided, and if anywhere
in some distant lands some darkness hovers still, or some residual dashing
of waves still sounds faintly, yet at your nod light must dawn and silence
reign.[44]

42. The topos of the unwilling but dutiful shouldering of the burden of government ill accords with the earlier dismissal of the idea that Maximian hankered for *otium* (9.2). Other sources portray him as all too anxious to return to power (Lactant. *Mort. pers*. 26.7; Eutr. 10.2.3), and subsequent events make this highly plausible.

43. The tale of Phaethon, son of Helios (Sol), splendidly told by Ovid (*Met*. 2.19–328). The panegyrist has Maxentius in mind; see R. Turcan, "Images solaires dans le Panégyrique VI," in *Hommages à J. Bayet* (Brussels, 1964) 697–706 and 700; and Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 33.

44. The discreet allusion is to Galerius' realms, and his preparations for the invasion of Italy. The discretion perhaps suggests that the possibility of an

13 As befits the occasion, most sacred Emperors, I have spoken about those things which you ought to admire and love in each other, as indeed you do. It remains for me to unite, in the conclusion of my speech, those very things which I spoke about separately concerning your virtues, as is appropriate to this marriage tie.

2 Immortal gods, how many things have you renewed for the Roman
3 Empire which had, truth to tell, already yielded to old age![45] Constantine, the new Emperor, has begun to be more than a son to Maximian, the eternal Emperor. The latter favors the former as he advances, while he in turn is at hand to aid the elder. May this relationship, which has always united the leading men in the State in harmony, grow firm on the
4 everlasting roots of piety. For if the marriage of Gracchus and Cornelia reconciled their families despite their differences,[46] if Agrippa, only a son-in-law, clinched the victory at Actium for the divine Augustus,[47] what must one look forward to when a bond of marriage in addition has cemented
5 the undying affection of father and son? Now if P. Scipio undertook the Punic war as a young man, and then went on to conquer Hannibal, if Marius recaptured the city from the Sullan faction as an old man—and the memorable thing about those events is that they came to pass after a great interval of time[48]—how readily may the Roman state lay aside all its fears,

eventual rapprochement with Galerius could not be dismissed. Note that it is to Maximian, and not the youthful Constantine, that the speaker looks to still the waves. He makes the decisions, and his assistant, if he needs one, goes unnamed.

45. The notion that Rome had reached old age was not confined to the late Empire. Lactant. *Div. inst.* 7.15 claims that Seneca applied the concept of ages to Rome. This may be an error for Florus, through a reference to Annaeus; see Flor. 1, intro. 4–8, and S. Brandt's edition of *Div. inst.*, *CSEL* 19, ad loc. But in any case renewal of Rome's youth and vigor was for long considered a possibility—under forceful emperors (so Flor.; cf. Amm. Marc. 14.6.3ff.). In his *Relatio* on the Altar of Victory (3.9–10) Symmachus looks only to the past, but in the pages of the later poets an aged Rome continues to be rejuvenated (see Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 17ff. and 208ff.; Sid. Apoll. 7 [*Panegyric on Avitus*] 538ff.). For the whole subject, see A. Demandt, *Zeitkritik und Geschichtsbild im Werk Ammians* (Bonn, 1965) 118ff.

46. See Livy 38.57.

47. This is an anachronism, for Agrippa became Augustus' son-in-law only upon marrying Julia in 21 B.C.E.

48. That is, that there was such an interval of time between Scipio's first appointment as a young man and his eventual defeat of Hannibal, and between Marius' first ascendancy and his eventual recovery of Rome from Sulla in old

when it is defended by the combined rule of men of two different ages, and makes equal use of the valor of the youth and the maturity of the elder!

It becomes you, father, to survey from your pinnacle of command the 14
world you share, and with celestial nod decide the fate of human affairs, to announce the auspices for wars which have to be waged, and to impose the terms when peace is to be concluded. You, young man, it behoves to traverse the frontiers tirelessly where the Roman Empire presses upon barbarian peoples, to send frequent laurels of victory to your father-in-law, to seek instructions, and to report what you have accomplished.[49] So it 2
will come about that both of you will have the counsel of one mind, and each the strength of two.

Divine Constantius, fortunate in your rule, and even more fortunate 3
after your rule, for surely you hear and see these things, you whom the sun himself took up on a chariot almost visible, to carry you to heaven when, in setting, he was seeking once more his sunrise nearby.[50] How 4

age. Scipio was twenty-six when he received proconsular *imperium* in 210 B.C.E.; he defeated Hannibal at Zama almost a decade later. Marius was about seventy when he returned to Rome with Cinna; given the bloodbath that ensued, the allusion is not entirely felicitous.

49. This duplicates the distinction made in *Pan.* 10 between the Jupiter-like Diocletian, who makes the policy decisions, and Maximian, who in Herculian fashion labors to carry them out (see *Pan.* 10.3.3–4.2, and the classic statement at 11.6). The image of the emperors looking down at the whole world from their pinnacle of imperial power also echoes *Pan.* 10 (3.3). It is a common image in both literature and the visual arts; see especially the Arch of Galerius at Thessalonica, with its scene of Diocletian and Maximian enthroned over earth and sky; W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (Paris, 1946) 248ff. (with the modifications of MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," 183 with n. 183). For the whole subject of consecration in the late Empire, see S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981) pt. 2, "Consecratio," esp. pp. 127ff.

50. Ascent to heaven in the chariot of Sol was one of several methods of representing the apotheosis of the emperor. For Trajan, see the Antonine Altar of Ephesus (C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* [Cambridge, Mass., 1968] 107–9) and *PGiess.* 20 (see J. R. Fears, *Princeps a diis electus*, Papers and Monographs, AAR 26 [Rome, 1977] 238–39). See further MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 93ff., esp. 106ff. As MacCormack points out, Constantius' *consecratio* is here dissociated from any action of the Senate or of Constantine; it takes place not at Rome, as was traditional, "but in a remote part of the empire, far from the gaze of the vulgar" (p. 108). She goes on to discuss an ephemeral attempt to bring *consecratio* by chariot into conformity with

much delight will you obtain, how much pleasure will you enjoy, when the same man, as father, father-in-law and Emperor, has ushered into the possession of your Empire this great son of yours who was the first to make
5 you a father! For this is your special immortality, surpassing that of all the other deified Emperors, which we are now beholding: a son similar in
6 appearance, similar in character, and equal in imperial power. Although they begrudged us you, the Fates could not, however, deprive your house of anything.[51] For neither does Maximian lack a son such as you were, nor
7 Constantine a father. On the contrary, in order that your relationship be renewed in every way, this man is again a father-in-law, this man again a son-in-law, so that the most blessed Emperor may always be enriched by descendants from your stock.[52]

Christian ideas after the death of Constantine (pp. 122ff.); see L. Schumacher, review of *Funus Imperatorum: Los funerales de los emperadores romanos*, by J. Arce, *Gnomon* 61 (1989) 527–28; Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 159–62, with references.

51. I.e., by Constantius' premature death.

52. The conceit is awkwardly expressed, and it is necessary to take *hic . . . hic* as the equivalent of *hic . . . ille*: the present marriage as it were renews the relationship of Constantius and Maximian through the person of Constantius' son (see Galletier, 2: 11 n. 3). "The most blessed Emperor" is Maximian, and the "your" (*tua*) refers to Constantius.

VI

PANEGYRIC OF CONSTANTINE

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

Our speaker is anonymous, but something of his personality and career emerges from his oration. He is a man of mature years, perhaps in his fifties (1.1: *mediae aetatis*; cf. 22.7, 23.2), and has had considerable experience as a public speaker both in a private capacity and at the imperial court (*hanc meam vocem diversis otii et palatii officiis exercitam*, 23.1), the latter doubtless at Trier. While he is currently engaged in a private role (23.3), presumably as a rhetor in the schools of Autun (23.2; 22.4 and 7 and notes ad loc.),[1] he hopes once more to find employment at court (23.3). He has five sons, the most successful being advocate of the fisc (*summa fisci patrocinia tractantem*, 23.1), and boasts that many of his pupils are serving

1. Perhaps he specialized at one point in forensic oratory, as A. Stadler, "Die Autoren der anonymen gallischen Panegyrici" (Diss., Munich, 1912) 39ff., argued. Stadler suggested not implausibly that he may have been employed at the palace as *a libellis*, in charge of responses to those involved in judicial suits; see, too, Galletier, 2: 32–33. B. Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310 auf Konstantin den Großen*, Palingenesia 31 (Stuttgart, 1990) 12, 307, is wrong, I believe, to conclude that this is his first ceremonial speech before the emperor, the crowning point of his career. It is his first, no doubt, before the new emperor Constantine, to whom he now consecrates his voice, which is so familiar to others (23.1).

as provincial governors, while others are advocates in the forum (23.2). Despite his hesitation at a delicate stage in his speech (14.1) and his parade of modesty (1.3–4, 23.2) he exudes the confidence of a practiced orator with a considerable reputation. He is from Autun, and proud of it (22, esp. 22.4 and 7).

OCCASION AND DATE

The speech was delivered in Trier on the occasion of the anniversary of the foundation of that city (1.1, 13.2—the Mosel, 22.4). Unfortunately we do not know on what date this fell, but it was evidently very shortly after the anniversary of Constantine's proclamation by his father's troops at York, that is, 25 July.[2] The date 1 August has been suggested, on no compelling grounds, but it is likely to be approximately right.[3] The year is usually held to be 310, and this may well be correct, too, although it is not as secure as often assumed.[4] The broad termini are 307 (*Pan.* 7, relating Maximian's alliance with Constantine) and 311 (*Pan.* 5, to be dated to 25 July 311,[5] celebrating Constantine's visit to Autun and benefactions bestowed upon it; in *Pan.* 6 Constantine has not yet visited Autun: 21.7–22.4). Maximian's death is a recent event: the wounds that these *novi motus* left are still fresh (14.1–3). The description of his revolt and death follows the panegyrist's account of Constantine's campaign against the Franks and Bructeri and forms the climax of the narrative. The *Consularia Constantinopolitana* (*Chron. min.* 1.231) alone dates Maximian's death and puts it in 310. While this date can be reconciled with Lactantius' narrative, which contains quite a detailed account of Maximian's movements after his return to power in 306–307 (*Mort. pers.* 26.7–30), and with other data,

2. See *Pan.* 7, Introduction, pp. 179–80 and n. 6.

3. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1926; reprint, Brussels, 1964) 7: 104 n. 4; T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) 70 n. 105. Barnes points out that 1 August is the birthday of Claudius, who made the city a *colonia*. This argument would fail if E. M. Wightman (*Gallia Belgica* [London, 1985] 211, 235) is right in supposing that Trier was formally refounded by Constantine's father; see note 99 on 22.5 below.

4. For example, Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 104 n. 4, dates the panegyric to 310 for no better reason than that the panegyrist would not have announced Constantine's hereditary claim to be master of the world (2.4) before Galerius' illness (February 310 at the latest)!

5. C. E. V. Nixon, "The Occasion and Date of Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," *Antichthon* 14 (1980) 157ff.; Barnes, *New Empire*, 70 n. 107.

the *Consularia* is frequently inaccurate even in the case of well-known dates.[6] Furthermore, as Lactantius switches to Galerius at chapter 31 and *Panegyric* 5 (311) contains virtually no references to external events, cross-checks are unobtainable, and 309 remains a distinct possibility.

The orthodox date of 310 would seem to involve either a "blank year" (309, according to Barnes, *New Empire*, 70) or acceptance of Lactantius' tale (*Mort. pers.* 29.8–30) of Maximian's pardon after his revolt, and of his subsequent plotting against Constantine's life (see Galletier, 2: 51; C. H. V. Sutherland, *RIC* 6.31). Reluctance to accept either alternative would entail a date of summer 309, both for the death of Maximian and for the delivery of *Panegyric* 6 (surely delivered soon after Maximian's death).

Both alternatives have apparent awkwardnesses. In T. D. Barnes's chronology there is a gap in Constantine's activities (especially his military endeavors), which one might expect a panegyrist to fill. Then the panegyrist gives the casual reader the impression that Maximian revolted shortly after his arrival in Gaul following the conference at Carnuntum, when some sort of pact, and provision of Maximian's retirement, had been made (see esp. 14.6–16.1). What was Maximian doing in the eighteen months between his arrival and his revolt?

These difficulties can perhaps be met. One could reply that the summer of 309 was a quiet one on the Rhine frontier after Constantine's victories of 308 (see *Pan.* 6.12, 13.1, 13.5); hence the fuss made about the building of the bridge (surely 309–310; see the commentary, note 60). As for Maximian, Barnes has him functioning as "an apparently trusted adviser" of Constantine (*Constantine and Eusebius* [Cambridge, Mass., 1981] 34)—which is possible, if surprising—and even as a lieutenant in charge of troops! If true, Constantine would seem to have been asking for trouble. But there is some warrant for the suggestion in the panegyric (see further 14.6, 15.1, and notes 66, 68, and 77), if not from Lactantius *De mortibus persecutorum* 29.3–4. Indeed, one of the most tantalizing questions posed by this panegyric is the status and influence of Maximian in Gaul in the period between Carnuntum (indeed, the panegyric of 307) and his death.

The alternative, which would put Maximian's revolt and pardon in autumn 309, and his death early in 310 after his plot (Galletier, 2: 51), involves separating his death and the panegyric by many months, and believing that Constantine would pardon the irrepressible old emperor after yet another spectacular act of treachery and ingratitude. The melodramatic and tendentious nature of the tale in Lactantius does

6. For example, it puts the Edict on Maximum Prices in 302 and the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in 304, which is hardly reassuring!

nothing to diminish one's skepticism, and the silence of the panegyrist becomes very awkward indeed.

Although to date Maximian's revolt and death to the summer of 309 remains tempting, the chronology that follows adopts the orthodox date of 310.[7]

25 July 306	Proclamation of Constantine (York)
28 Oct. 306	Proclamation of Maxentius (Rome)
306–307	Severus' invasion of Italy and capture (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.5ff.; Zosimus 2.10.1; see *Pan.* 12.3.4 and note 16)
	Constantine vs. Franks (*Pan.* 7.4.2; *Pan.* 6.10)
Aug.–Sept. 307	Constantine's marriage to Fausta and investiture as Augustus by Maximian (*Pan.* 7)
Autumn 307	Galerius' invasion of Italy
	Maximian's return to Italy (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 28.1)
April 308	Maximian's expulsion from Italy and extended stay in Gaul (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 28.4–29.1; *Chron. min.* 1.67, 231, with Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 32, and *New Empire*, 112, 116)
Summer 308	Constantine vs. Bructeri (T. D. Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns, A.D. 285–311," *Phoenix* 30 [1976] 192; *Pan.* 6.12.1–3)
November 308	Conference at Carnuntum; Licinius' investiture as Augustus (*Chron. min.* 1.231)
	Maximian's second "abdication"
Late 308–early 309	Maximian in Gaul for third time
309(?)	Constantine on Rhine, building bridge at Cologne (*Pan.* 6.13.1–5)
Spring/Summer 310	Constantine again on Rhine, continuing to build bridge at Cologne (*Pan.* 6.13.1–5) in period of calm (?*Pan.* 6.21.3, but cf. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.3)
	Maximian's revolt against Constantine (*Pan.* 6.14.1ff.)
	Constantine's march south (*Pan.* 6.18)
	Ephemeral Frankish disturbance (*Pan.* 6.21.2–3; cf. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.3)
	Meanwhile, Maximian's capture at Marseilles
	Maximian's death
August (?) 310	Delivery of *Panegyric* 6

7. See, too, Galletier, 2: 51 (E. A. Sydenham, "The Vicissitudes of Maximian after His Abdication," *NC*5 14 [1934] 141–67); Barnes, *New Empire*.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE

Panegyric 7 (307) celebrated a marriage alliance between Maximian, the senior Augustus who had emerged from retirement, and Constantine, and looked forward to a dynasty of *imperatores semper Herculii* (2.5). With *Panegyric* 6 (310) there is an abrupt change. Maximian, who in 307 had just invested Constantine with the title of Augustus, had plotted treacherously against his son-in-law and is dead. Constantine's authority comes from another quarter: all but unheard-of descent from Claudius Gothicus (2.1–3) gives him a hereditary claim to rule that is preeminent among his fellow emperors (2.4–5). This is buttressed by his nomination by his father, Constantius, whose exploits are so memorable (4–7.2), and his election by the gods (7.3–5) and the army, a choice quickly ratified by the *seniores principes* (8.2). No mention of Herculii, or Hercules, here. On the contrary, Constantine has a new divine patron, Apollo, who appears before him in a vision, promising not a share in a *concors* ... *et socia maiestas* (1.4) but *totius mundi regna* (21.5). Despite the lip service paid to the other emperors (none so much as named) and to the tetrarchic ideal (1.4–5, 15.4–5), it might appear that the panegyrist is setting aside the tetrarchic system of adoption into collegiate government, and providing Constantine with both a unique hereditary claim to rule, which goes back a generation before his upstart rivals, and divine sanction to be emperor of the whole empire. Opinions differ about the extent to which the panegyrists are mouthpieces of the court, but these highly personal elements (a new genealogy; a personal vision) have naturally suggested that this speaker at least was giving voice to his emperor's own claims and aspirations. In the light of Constantine's subsequent behavior it might be argued that this panegyric heralds his bid for sole rule.

It is not as if these claims were really necessary. Constantine had not lost his legitimacy with the death of Maximian. He was a Herculius, recognized as Caesar by Galerius in 306 (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 25.3–5) and confirmed in his status by the conference at Carnuntum in 308 (note 66). He could even appeal to the right of Constantius, as senior Augustus at the time of his death, to nominate his successor. He had always celebrated 25 July, when he was acclaimed at York, as his *dies imperii*.[8] Furthermore, by the time this speech was delivered, Galerius had almost certainly given up trying to maintain Constantine and Maximinus Daia in a position of

8. See *Pan.* 7, Introduction, pp. 179–80.

formal inferiority and had conceded them the title Augustus.[9] Thus these new claims could be viewed as gratuitous and aggressive.

On the other hand, it has been maintained that this is both to exaggerate the wider political significance of the speech ("It is easily forgotten that the panegyrics are not proclamations for empire-wide distribution, but ephemeral formalities, occasions for which would arise several times every year")[10] and to neglect its immediate political context. The senior Augustus, ruler of the West for some twenty years, had just met a violent end. Constantine was very much on the defensive. Lactantius' elaborate account of Maximian's initial pardoning and his further plotting, only after the exposure of which was he invited to choose the manner of his death (*Mort. pers.* 29.8–30), may also be an indication of this.[11] In the circumstances, Constantine's legitimacy did need buttressing. On this view, the claims in the panegyric do not constitute a carefully formulated propaganda campaign designed for wide circulation, heralding Constantine's crusade for sole rule, but are a fleeting by-product of an immediate political embarrassment. Other positions are tenable, and the debate continues.[12]

Apart from the two striking claims discussed above, there is much in the panegyric that is conventional, as B. H. Warmington reminds us.[13] The panegyrist spends much time on the exploits of Constantius (4–7), and there is material that is new to us. While the rhetorical handbooks provide a rubric for family's and father's exploits, if worthy, one might be inclined to think not only that Constantius had been popular in Gaul and that his name was worth lingering upon (note 17) but that Constantine as yet had limited achievements to his name (10–13), memorable incidentally for their cruelty (10.1ff., 12.3–4). In all this, there is the usual understandable preoccupation with the security of the Rhine frontier.

9. For the date (March–May? 310) see Sutherland, *RIC* 6.15–16. Constantine and Maximinus are still described as *filii Augustorum* (for which see Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 32.5) on a papyrus of 27 February 310 (*PSakaon* I, ed. Parássoglou), which provides an approximate terminus post quem for the concession.

10. B. H. Warmington, "Aspects of Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini," *TAPA* 104 (1974) 372.

11. Unless the story was concocted later to meet Maxentius' charges; see T. D. Barnes, "Lactantius and Constantine," *JRS* 63 (1973) 41f.

12. For instance, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that a bold speaker devised a new genealogy and a personal vision for his emperor. For further discussion, see the commentary, esp. notes 6 and 92.

13. "Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini," 382.

The centerpiece of the speech, however, is the suppression of the revolt of Maximian (14–20). It is a delicate subject (14.1–2), and the speaker handles it gingerly, exculpating Maximian as far as possible. It was clearly embarrassing for Constantine (notes 61, 78, 88)—perhaps, too, for the orator, if he had served Maximian at court (see the section "The Author" above). Constantine's success culminated in the epiphany of Apollo before him (21). The speaker, impressed by Constantine's benefactions to Trier, hopes that the emperor will be as generous at Autun (22), and recommends his children and himself to him (23).

VI. PANEGYRIC OF CONSTANTINE

1 I would do, most sacred Emperor, what a great number of people have
been urging upon me just now, namely, since your majesty has allotted
to my modest talents this day which is so celebrated in this city for my
speech,[1] to derive the beginning of my discourse from that circumstance
itself, did two reasons not dissuade me from this course. I reflected that a
man of mature age has no business making a display of his talent for ex
tempore speaking, and that nothing should be brought to the ears of such
a great divinity which has not been long in the writing and frequently
2 revised.[2] For he who extemporizes before an Emperor of the Roman
3 people has no feeling for the greatness of the Empire. In addition there
are already rather large numbers of people who expect me to say too
much, and they judge so, I presume, not from my talent, which is slight,[3]
but from the abundance of your praiseworthy attributes. I shall disappoint
their expectations, however, albeit reluctantly, by the brevity of my speech.
In truth, I had planned to say more, but I would rather my speech were
4 brief than spurned. And so I shall make my first abridgment in that,
although I esteem you all, invincible rulers, whose majesty is harmonious
and united, with the respect that is your due, I shall dedicate this address,
5 trifling as it may be, to your divinity alone, O Constantine.[4] For just as we
sometimes worship the immortal gods individually in their own temples

1. The day is the anniversary of the foundation of the city of Trier (see the section "Occasion and Date" in the Introduction). It is clear that the speaker had little advance notice of the exact day when he would be called upon to perform. This and what follows bears on the question of how closely the court paid attention to the content of the speech and the stage-managing of the occasion.

2. *neque ad aures ... ⟨nisi⟩ diu scriptum et saepe tractatum afferri oportere* here is an imitation of the exordium of Cic. *Man.*: *nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria afferri oportere;* cf. A. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," *RhM* 66 (1911) 551–59, for a collection of other verbal echoes and reminiscences of Cicero and others (not always convincing). In general this panegyric is extremely derivative, verbally, especially from *Pan.* 8 (Klotz, pp. 558–59), but Klotz remarks that the panegyrist draws, schoolmasterlike, on a narrower field of literature than most of his peers.

3. A conventional, self-deprecating remark (Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 551, compares Cic. *Arch.* 1).

4. The speaker pays lip service to the tetrarchic ideal of collegiality and cooperation, but, as we shall see immediately, Constantine's preeminent claims

and abodes, although we revere them all in our hearts, so I consider that it is proper for me, while piously calling to mind all the rulers, to celebrate with my praises the one who is present.

And so I shall begin with the divinity who is the origin of your family, of 2
whom most people, perhaps, are still unaware, but whom those who love
you know full well.[5] For an ancestral relationship links you with the deified 2
Claudius,[6] who was the first to restore the discipline of the Roman Empire

to rule are pressed (see the section "Historical Context and Significance" in the Introduction).

5. The orator confesses that he is springing a surprise. Given that Constantine's father ruled for thirteen years before him, it would be startling, to say the least, if a genuine genealogy of such superiority had not been widely advertised long before this. Certainly the tetrarchic principle was promotion by merit, not heredity, and Diocletian and Maximian's goodwill was not to be hazarded rashly by overweening claims. But such a truth would out despite ideology and prudence: given the sparse sources our ignorance is explicable, but not that of the audience. Besides, what panegyrist could have resisted this jewel? The conflicting versions of the relationship in our sources are a further powerful barrier to its authenticity (see the next note). For the special point to its emergence in 310 see the Introduction. Nonetheless, scholars can be found who have accepted it (J. Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne* [Paris, 1908] 1: lxxiii–lxxiv; Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 101 n. 6) or who are prepared to leave the matter open (Galletier, 2: 42, 84; R. MacMullen, *Constantine* [New York, 1969] 21). We do not believe that the numerous references to the genealogy in the *Historia Augusta* (e.g., *Elag.* 2.4, 35.2; *Gallienus* 7.1, 14.2; *Claud.* 1.1, 2.8, 3.1, 9.9, 10.7, 13.1–4; *Aurel.* 44.4–5) go back beyond 310; A. Lippold, "Constantius Caesar, Sieger über die Germanen—Nachfahre des Claudius Gothicus?" *Chiron* 11 (1981) 347–69, esp. 357ff., makes a vigorous case for supposing that they derive from a eulogistic biography of Constantius produced in the wake of his victories sometime after 297 (perhaps for his *decennalia*, 303), but his speculations fall short of proof.

6. *Avita cognatio* is ambiguous, suggesting kinship either through a grandfather or, more vaguely, through any ancestor. One might assume from what follows here that Constantius was Claudius' son, but there was confusion in antiquity, which arouses suspicion. Eutr. 9.22.1, for example, claims that Constantine was descended from Claudius' daughter, while Anon.Val. 1.2 makes him a descendant of Claudius' brother, as does SHA, *Claud.* 13.2, shrewdly naming the brother Crispus! It is as if the later sources were aware that there was something awry with the direct line of descent. Several inscriptions (*ILS* 699, 723, 725, 730, 732) do imply that Claudius was Constantius' father, but Julian *Or.* 1.6D and 2.51C and *Caes.* 313D are discreetly vague. The inscriptions (one Constantinian,

when it was disordered and in ruins, and destroyed on land and sea huge numbers of Goths who had burst forth from the Straits of the Black Sea

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the others dating to the time of his sons), the coins of 317–318 from Constantine's realm (DIVO CLAVDIO OPT[IMO] IMP; *RIC* 7.180, 252, 310, 429, 502), and the passages in Julian reveal that the genealogy was accepted officially, if somewhat sporadically (cf., too, *Pan.* 4.2.5 and 4.2). But the *Historia Augusta*'s spurious details apart (*Claud.* 13.2), nothing precise is known of Constantius' ancestry. No source provides his filiation. On the other hand, Anon.Val. 1.2 gives his early career (*protector, tribunus, praeses*). This in itself suggests a humble background; cf. Maximinus Daia: *scutarius, protector, tribunus, Caesar* (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 19.5; see R. Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes* (Paris, 1906) 93 n. 2; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* [Oxford, 1964] 636–37); R. I. Frank, *Scholae Palatinae*, Papers and Monographs, AAR 23 (Rome, 1969) chap. 2, gives a rather different impression of the Guards as young nobles, esp. pp. 41, 44. For his *origo* (possibly Dacia Ripensis), see R. Syme, "The Ancestry of Constantine," in *Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium 1971*, Antiquitas 4.11 (Bonn, 1974) 237–53.

How important was the claim to Constantine? Warmington, "Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini," 374ff., argues that it has been much exaggerated, that it was only locally and ephemerally important in the wake of Constantine's embarrassment at the execution of a senior Augustus, for twenty years a colleague of Diocletian and a successful commander in Gaul, and that "this does not mean that Constantine is claiming sole rule by hereditary right" (p. 375). While it is true that the link is not immediately made on Constantine's coins, and when it was made it was in conjunction with Divus Maximianus, it was taken up officially in other ways (see above), and together with Apollo's promise (21.4–5) it seems to harmonize extraordinarily well with those political ambitions of Constantine that were to be revealed so starkly and so soon, commencing with his invasion of Italy only two years later (see the Introduction, pp. 215ff.).

Why was Claudius chosen as the fictitious ancestor (see Syme, "The Ancestry of Constantine," 244f.)? Presumably it was a combination of his fame as a destroyer of Goths (see SHA, *Claud.* 9.3ff.; P. Damerau, *Kaiser Claudius II Goticus* [Leipzig, 1934; reprint, 1979] 62ff.) and his short reign: conveniently little was known of him. Warmington, on the contrary, avers (pp. 375–76) that the significance of Claudius in Gaul must have been negligible by 310, except precisely in Autun, where his help was invoked in vain and the city destroyed in 269 after a seven months' siege by Gallic rebels (see *Pan.* 5.4.2–3 and note 21; Damerau, pp. 76ff.). But if this memory were such an embarrassing one, a speaker from Autun would scarcely introduce the subject unless instructed to do so.

and the mouth of the Danube.[7] Oh, that he had been a longer-lived restorer of mankind, rather than too premature a companion of the gods!
And so although that most blessed day which we have just now celebrated 3
with reverence is considered the anniversary of your accession,[8] since it first adorned you with the garb you now wear, your imperial fortune, however, had already descended to you from that renowned founder
of your family. Furthermore, that ancient prerogative of your imperial 4
house advanced your father himself, so that you now take your place on the highest rung, above the destinies of human affairs, as the third
emperor after two rulers of your line. Among all who share your majesty, 5
I aver you have this distinction, Constantine, that you were (born) an Emperor, and so great is the nobility of your lineage that the attainment of imperial power has added nothing to your honor, nor can Fortune claim credit for your divinity, which is rightfully yours without campaigning and canvassing.[9]

No chance agreement of men, nor some unexpected consequence of 3
favor, made you Emperor:[10] it is through your birth that you merited
the Empire. Indeed this seems to me to be the first and greatest gift of 2

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7. For the Gothic invasions of 267 see Zosimus 1.42–46; Zonar. 12.26; Amm. Marc. 31.5.15–17; and the embroidered account, not fundamentally at odds with Zosimus, however, in SHA, *Claud.* 6ff. (also SHA, *Gallien.* 5.6, 13.6ff.). All presumably derive from Dexippus' *Scythica*, the surviving fragments of which are conveniently assembled in Jacoby, *FGrH* 2A (no. 100); see too Damerau, *Kaiser Claudius II Goticus*, 62–75.

8. 25 July; see the Introduction.

9. Despite the panegyrist's acknowledgment of the actuality of collegiate rule (cf. 1.4, 15.4–5) he is asserting Constantine's paramount claim to rule by hereditary right in defiance of tetrarchic principles and in marked contrast with the emphasis in *Pan.* 7.5.3, for example. The Latin *ambitu et suffragatione* perhaps hints at bribery and special influence in the rearrangements in the conference at Carnuntum, which saw Licinius promoted over Constantine (and Maximinus) as second Augustus; cf. "some unexpected consequence of favor" at 3.1; see now Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 68. It does not detract from the significance of this claim to point out that Constantine (or his panegyrist) was not unique in so doing (Warmington, "Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini," 372). If Maxentius were doing the same precisely in 310 (see *RIC* 6.346–47, 381ff.) it was for identical reasons: the Tetrarchy as constituted and led at the time did not satisfy his political ambitions either.

10. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 79, detects a disparaging reference to Maxentius here.

the immortal gods, to enter upon life instantly blessed by Fortune, and to inherit as a family possession what others obtain with difficulty only as the result of the labors of a whole lifetime.

3 For although it is a great and wonderful good fortune to climb to that pinnacle of majesty[11] after serving one's time in the ranks and passing through all the grades of the military hierarchy,[12] and to attain such great measure of power solely by relying on foundations of valor—which indeed you, too, have accomplished, as far as your age has allowed—and although Fortune has placed you above all checks to the acquisition of glory, you wished to advance by serving as a soldier,[13] and by confronting the dangers of war and by engaging the enemy even in single combat[14] you have made yourself more notable among the nations, since you cannot become more noble; great, I repeat, as it is to start on one's own and
4 to attain the greatest heights, yet it is one thing to struggle over difficult ground and to make for the mountain peaks from the plain, another to occupy the pinnacle of fortune supported by the sublimity of one's birth, and to possess supreme power rather than aspiring to it.

4 You entered this sacred palace, not as a candidate for empire, but as Emperor designate, and straightaway the household spirits of your father
2 recognized you as his legitimate successor.[15] For there was no doubt but that the inheritance would fall to him whom the Fates bestowed upon the Emperor as eldest son. And it was you whom that great man, an Emperor on earth and a god in heaven, fathered in the first flower of his youth,[16] when he was still completely vigorous in body and endowed with that energy and bravery which so many wars have witnessed, and above all

11. *Ad fastigium istud maiestatis;* cf. *Pan.* 7.6.1: *sacrum istud fastigium divinae potestatis.*

12. As Diocletian, Maximian, and most of the Tetrarchs had done, and indeed Constantius himself; see Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.26–28 and note 6 above.

13. For Constantine's early career and campaigns, see *Pan.* 7.5.3ff. and note 16 ad loc.

14. For highly colored tales of Constantine's exploits, and the dangers to which he was exposed by Galerius, see Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 24.4; Anon.Val. 2.3; Zonar. 12.33; Praxagoras 62.21 (Jacoby, *FGrH* 2B, no. 219.2).

15. For the circumstances of Constantine's arrival in the West and his proclamation, see below, 17.4–5 and notes 30–31.

16. Constantine was born of the union of Constantius and Helena, perhaps ca. 282–283; see *Pan.* 7, notes 10, 15, and 16 (but cf. Barnes, *New Empire*, 39ff.). His three half brothers, the sons of Constantius and Theodora, are ignored (not surprisingly) in this championship of primogeniture.

the fields of †Vindonissa.[17] This is why it is that such a close similarity 3
in appearance has been transmitted from him to you that it seems that Nature herself has impressed and stamped it upon your features. For it is 4
the same countenance that we revere once more in you, the same serious brow,[18] the same calmness of eye and voice. In the same way your blush is an indication of your modesty, and your conversation a witness to your sense of justice. Accept, O Emperor, this ambivalent confession of our 5
feeling: it grieves us that Constantius is departed from us, but, when we gaze upon you, we cannot believe that he is gone. But why do I say that 6
he is departed, when his immortal deeds live on, and hover on the lips and before the eyes of all mankind?

For who does not—I won't say "remember"—but still see in some **5**
fashion or other in what great ways he augmented and embellished the State? After obtaining the Empire, immediately upon his arrival he shut 2
off the seething Ocean from the innumerable enemy ships, and blockaded on both land and sea the army which had encamped on the shore of the town of Bononia,[19] when he interrupted the tides of the sea by throwing

17. *Videris idonei* M; *videre Sydonii* h,w (= corrector cod. Vat. Lat. 1775); *videre Vindonii* Arntzen pater, followed by all recent editors. This conjecture has the speaker allude to the fighting near Vindonissa in the late 290s at the earliest (see 6.3 and note 25 below). Barnes, *New Empire*, 36–37, maintains that an allusion to the time of Constantius' youth and Constantine's birth would be more appropriate. But the speaker refers to a youthful energy that was exemplified over a period of time, and an allusion to an important victory in the West would have much more impact on a Gallic audience than one to an obscure episode long ago and far away. Besides, the final battles in Aurelian's campaigns were around Antioch and Palmyra, not Sidon (Zosimus 1.50ff.); see Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 84.

18. *Eadem in fronte gravitas* . . . ; cf. *Pan.* 8.19.3: *in fronte gravitatis* . . .; see Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 558–59, for a whole series of such parallels between *Pan.* 8 and 6. The great prominence accorded Constantius in the panegyric might suggest that initially Constantine owed not a little of his popularity to him.

19. The allusion is to Constantius' capture in 293 of Boulogne, which was then in the hands of Carausius' supporters; see *Pan.* 8.6.1ff., upon which account this panegyrist obviously draws.

In *Pan.* 8 (6.1, 14.4) Boulogne is called Gesoriacum. It seems clear from the evidence set out by J. Heurgon, "De Gesoriacum à Bononia," in *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont*, Coll. Latomus 2 (Brussels, 1949) 127–33, that the official name of Boulogne was changed between 297 and 310, probably by

up dikes among the billows so that those whose gates were washed by the waves had lost contact with the sea even though they still touched
3 it.[20] When he had captured this same army through his courage, he left it unharmed through his clemency; while he prepared for the recovery of Britain by building fleets, he rid of every enemy the land of Batavia, which was occupied by diverse tribes of Franks under the leadership of a former native of the place.[21] Not content with having conquered, he transported the peoples themselves into Roman territory, so that they were compelled to put aside, not only their weapons, but their ferocity as well.

4 Indeed what shall I say about the recovery of Britain; to which he sailed over such a calm sea that the Ocean, astonished at such a traveler, seemed to have abandoned its customary motion?[22] He was so conveyed that Victory did not accompany him, but rather awaited him.

6 What shall I say of his compassion in sparing the conquered? What of the justice with which he restored to the despoiled their lost possessions? What of the foresight with which he acted as judge of the allies who were united with him, with the result that those who had suffered servitude rejoiced in the restoration of their liberty, while those who were conscious

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Constantius in the wake of the Carausius episode. Heurgon goes on to draw a distinction, largely on the basis of subtle differences in the phraseology of the two panegyrics, between an upper city of Bononia, which aided Constantius against the rebels, and a lower city (Gesoriacum) on the shore—*Bononiensis oppidi litus*. While Heurgon's analysis has not won universal consent, it is accepted, for example, by R. Delmaire, "Civitas Morinorum, pagus Gesoriacus, civitas Bononiensium," *Latomus* 33 (1974) 274.

20. Reading *adlueret* (M), *mare etiam* (Livineius, for M *et*). *Ei* (Ellis, followed by all modern editors) occurs nowhere in the *Pan. Lat.* and is rare in most late texts. *Adluerat* (Langius; edd.) falsely assumes that the water no longer reached the city (cf. *Pan.* 8.6.2–3). So T. Janson, "Notes on the Text of the *Panegyrici Latini*," *CP* 79 (1984) 20–21.

21. For this campaign see *Pan.* 8.8.1ff. and notes 27–28 ad loc., and *Pan.* 7.4.2. The "former native" (*quondam alumnus*) is Carausius, from Menapia (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.20). His crime was the more dastardly because he had betrayed his native province. For the history and movements of the Menapii and Batavii, see Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 97–98.

22. The contemporary *Pan.* 8.14.4, on the other hand, asserts that Constantius sailed in stormy weather. The apparent contradiction is neatly resolved if there were *two* voyages; see *Pan.* 8.14ff. and especially note 63. Alternatively, the calmness may be purely symbolic; so Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 100–101.

of their guilt were recalled to repentance by being pardoned?[23] What shall 2
I say, moreover, about those nations from the interior of Francia, now torn away no longer just from those areas which the Romans had invaded in the past, but right from their original homeland and from the farthest shores of the barbarian world, so that, having been settled in the deserted regions of Gaul, they both promote the peace of the Roman Empire by cultivating the soil and Roman arms by swelling the levy?[24]

Why should I recall the victory in the territory of the Lingones, made 3
notable by the wounding of even the Emperor himself? Why the fields of Vindonissa, strewn with the corpses of the enemy and still covered with bones?[25] Why the huge multitude of Germans from every nation, which, 4

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23. See *Pan.* 8.19 for the aftermath of the rebellion of Carausius and Allectus.

24. Franks were settled in Gaul after the campaign in the Low Countries, 293 (see *Pan.* 8.8.4–9.4, 21.1, and notes 27–28, 76), but the order of events here would suggest another expedition beyond the Rhine after the recovery of Britain in 296. Barnes, *New Empire*, 61, and "Imperial Campaigns," 179, 187, dates this victory over the Franks to 300–301, but see below, note 25.

25. Eutr. 9.23 *Circa Lingonas die una adversam et secundam fortunam expertus est.* He records that Constantius was caught by a sudden irruption of Alamanni, and as the city gates of Langres, the city of the Lingones, had been closed, he had to be lifted over the wall on a rope. Then his army arrived, and within five hours the Romans had slaughtered sixty thousand of the barbarians. Other authors have similar notices (Zonar. 12.31; Jerome *Chron.* 2317, a.300, Helm 227; Jordanes *Rom.* 300; see J. Kolendo, "La chronologie des guerres contre les Germains au cours des dernières années de la tétrarchie," *Klio* 52 [1970] 200, for additional sources), and presumably all rest on Enmann's *Kaisergeschichte*. Eutropius inserts this notice after the recovery of Britain (296), introducing it with the words *per idem tempus*, and follows it with Maximian's expedition against the Quinquegentiani in Africa in 297 (see Barnes, *New Empire*, 59). While Eutropius has precise information about the event and clearly locates it in the context of the late 290s, to which it is usually dated (see, for example, Galletier, 2: 58 n. 3), he is scarcely to be relied upon for chronological precision (cf. his telescoping of events in 9.22).

Kolendo has argued for a date of 302 on the basis of *CIL* 10.3343, where Diocletian is Germanicus Maximus VII, having been Germanicus Maximus VI in 301, Edict on Maximum Prices, *CIL* 3, pp. 802–3 (see below). A diploma from Grosseto, early 306 (*AE*, 1961, 240), reveals Constantius as Germanicus Maximus V (having been Germ. Max. II in 301). The first of the four victories mentioned by *Pan.* 6 (and his second all told) is pre-301 (Batavia); the others (Lingones; Vindonissa, Rhine island) must therefore date from 302–305 (so, too, Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns," 179, and *New Empire*, 61). Kolendo further argues

enticed by the freezing of the Rhine, had dared to cross over on foot to an island which the same river encircles with its divided course?[26] There they were cut off by a sudden thawing of the river, and, besieged by boats immediately sent out against them, were compelled to surrender in such a way that they had to choose by a common lot who among themselves were to be given up to captivity (a very difficult thing), and to carry home with the remnant of their number the obloquy for the betrayal of their fellows.

7 The day would end before my speech, if I were to recapitulate all the deeds of your father, albeit in this brief fashion. Even in that final expedition of his he did not seek out British trophies, as commonly believed, but when the gods were already calling him approached the
2 very threshold of the earth.[27] For it was not that he who had accomplished

that Eutropius conflates Langres and the victory over the Alamanni, which was separate and gave Diocletian his eighth victory title. Lippold, "Constantius Caesar," 362–63, thinks that Barnes attaches too much weight to victory titles on inscriptions, which may be incorrect (and is too concerned to pin down the panegyrics to specific events), and prefers to give credence to Eutropius. He also suggests that as Eutropius fails to mention Vindonissa and the panegyrist the Alamanni, perhaps the actions at Langres and Vindonissa are two stages in the one engagement, resulting in Constantius taking his second victory title (in the 290s, after the recovery of Britain). Certainty is unattainable. One can point to inaccuracies both in the relevant inscriptions (see G. Forni in M. Bizzarri and G. Forni, "Diploma militare del 306 d.C. rilasciato a un pretoriano di origine italiana," *Athenaeum* 38 [1960] 16f.) and in Eutropius' chronology. Furthermore, to divorce the great victory over the Alamanni from the vicinity of Langres is to remove Constantius from the scene of the victory. It may well be that Vindonissa is a likely spot for an engagement between Roman forces and Alamanni retreating from Langres (see the map on p. xii), but by road the distance between the two is over 100 miles, so that there can be no question of the emperor's personal involvement, as the sources either state or imply, or indeed of the involvement of any of the troops engaged at Langres—if, that is, the two clashes took place *die una*, which is the cardinal point of the story.

26. This episode is otherwise unknown. Barnes, *New Empire*, 61, dates it plausibly enough to late winter, 304.

27. This was a campaign against the Picts in northern Scotland (Anon.Val. 2.4, and below) that was undertaken in 305 (see note 32). On the basis of apparent destruction layers and inscriptions dating to 296–305 recording reconstruction at some forts on Hadrian's Wall it used to be thought that the Picts had taken advantage of the depletion of the garrison under Allectus to wreak havoc in

so many great feats thought it worthwhile to acquire—I won't mention the forests and swamps of the Caledonians and the other Picts—either nearby Hibernia or Farthest Thule, or the Isles of the Blest themselves, if they exist,[28] but rather—something he did not wish to speak of to anyone—when he was about to join the gods, he gazed upon the Ocean, that father of the gods, who rekindles the fiery stars of heaven, so that when about to enjoy thereafter perpetual light, he might now see there almost continuous daylight.[29] For in truth immediately the temples of the gods were opened 3
for him, and he was received by the divine conclave, and Jupiter himself extended his right hand to him.[30] What is more, he was immediately asked

296. Later research suggests that it is more likely that these forts had fallen into disrepair, that 296 was not a year of crisis; see, among others, M. Todd, *Roman Britain, 55 B.C.–A.D. 400* (London, 1981) 214–15; S. Frere, *Britannia*, 2d ed. (London, 1974) 382ff. (see 3d ed. [London, 1987] 332 and 348 n. 14); P. Salway, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1981) 312ff.; D. J. Breeze and B. Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall* (London, 1976) 209ff. In any case this campaign was almost a decade later and can scarcely be related to Allectus' actions. If pressed, the panegyrist's words might suggest there was no obvious *casus belli*, that Constantine was "trophy hunting."

28. Hibernia is Ireland. Thule is the farthest known land in this direction (hence, "Ultima"), and therefore a variable, signifying, for example, the Shetlands (Tac. *Agr*. 16.4) or Iceland (Pytheas ap. Strabo 1.63; six days' sail from Britain). For the Isles of the Blest, see, for example, Hor. *Epod*. 16.41ff.

29. "Almost continuous daylight": cf. *Pan*. 7.14.3. Constantius died at York (Eutr. 10.1.3; Anon.Val. 2.4; Jerome *Chron*. Helm p. 228) on 25 July 306 (*Chron. min.* 1.231).

30. This motif, apparently derived from the East (see A. Alföldi, "Die Geburt der kaiserlichen Bildsymbolik," *MH* 7 [1950] 10, with further references), is commonly encountered in pictorial representation. It was readily Christianized; cf. Constantine's consecration coins, with the hand of God reaching down to the veiled emperor standing in a quadriga (*RIC* 8.142–43, 446–47, etc.; described by Eus. *VC* 4.73; illustrated in S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* [Berkeley, 1981] pl. 33; see also pls. 32 and 34, and for *consecratio* in general, pp. 93ff.). Divine assistance at apotheosis was regular. In *Pan*. 7.14.3 Constantius is taken to heaven in Sol's chariot; see Eus. *Hist. eccl*. 8.13.12 for Constantius' proclamation *inter divos*. The panegyrist gives Constantine a multifaceted claim to *imperium*: heredity, the vote of the dying emperor, and divine election. For the latter, see J. R. Fears, *Princeps a diis electus*, Papers and Monographs, AAR 26 (Rome, 1977), p. 181 for this passage. Later the hand-of-God motif found very wide application. Eunapius (frag. 78 Müller-Dindorf = 68 Blockley) was enraged at circus paintings of a battle that failed to give recognition to the bravery of

his opinion as to whom he would decree the command, and he spoke as
4 befitted Constantius Pius: for manifestly you were chosen, O Emperor, by your father's vote.[31] And this indeed not only does truth bid me to say, but I see that this is most gratifying to your piety. But why should I flatter only your private feelings, since that was the opinion of all the gods and indeed it has been long since authoritatively recorded, although at that time it was confirmed by the full conclave?

5 For you were summoned even then to the rescue of the State by the votes of the immortals at the very time when your father was crossing the sea to Britain, and your sudden arrival illuminated the fleet which was already making sail, so that you seemed not to have been conveyed by the public post, but to have flown in some divine chariot.[32]

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the emperor or the soldiers but rather depicted a hand extended "as if from the clouds" with the inscription "the hand of God driving away the barbarians."

31. Lactantius asserts, plausibly enough, that before his death Constantius commended his son to his troops and handed over command to him in person (*imperium per manus tradidit, Mort. pers.* 24.8; see, too, Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 8.13.12, *Vita Constantini* 1.21; Oros. 7.26.1). Most sources stress Constantine's proclamation as Augustus by the army; see 8.2ff. below and note 34; *Epit.* 41.3; Anon.Val. 2.4; Zosimus 2.9.1. Galerius sent him the purple, conceding him the rank of Caesar, thus quashing (he hoped) any dynastic claims of Constantine (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 25).

32. Constantine's escape (if that is what it was: see references in note 14) from the court of Galerius is highly dramatized in many of the sources, and the episode lent itself to all sorts of tendentious interpretations. The best-known version of the flight has Constantine obtain leave from a reluctant Galerius, who even yet was intending to check his journey (or have Severus halt him), then remove, maim, or kill all the post-horses at each stage, preventing effective pursuit, and finally reach his father as he lay dying in Britain (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 24.8; Praxagoras, Jacoby, *FGrHist* 2B, no. 219.2; Eus. *VC* 1.21; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.2–3; Zosimus 2.8.3). The reality was otherwise. *AE*, 1961, 240, reveals that Constantius and Galerius were styled Britannicus Maximus II by 7 January 306, and therefore that Constantius' campaign against the Picts (7.1 and note 27) took place in 305. Anon.Val. 2.4 reports that Constantine reached his father at Bononia, and the contemporary version of this panegyric clinches the point—Constantine's arrival was a full year before his father's death (see Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns," 189–91, and *Constantine and Eusebius*, 27).

What then of Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 78: "Constantine is revealed . . . [as] above all things ambitious for power. . . . When he hastened to his father's death-bed in 306 he must have calculated that if he were on the spot at the crucial moment, his father's troops would be likely to acclaim him emperor; and he was

For no Persian or Cydonian weapons ever hit their targets with such 8
sure blows as you, when you reached your father's side as he was about to depart this earth, a most timely companion, and assuaged by the security of your presence all those cares which preoccupied his silent, foreboding mind.[33] Good gods, what felicity you bestowed upon Con- 2
stantius Pius even on his deathbed! The Emperor, about to make his journey to heaven, gazed upon him whom he was leaving as his heir. For no sooner had he been snatched from earth than the whole army agreed upon you,[34] and the minds and eyes of all marked you out, and although you referred to the senior rulers the question of what they thought should be done in the interests of the State, the soldiers anticipated in their eagerness what those leaders soon approved by their decision.[35]

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not disappointed"? (Cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.2: *Constantinus, cuius iam tum a puero ingens potensque animus ardore imperitandi agitabatur.*) Jones may have been fooled by the legend, but his characterization of Constantine may still be sound.

Who took the initiative? On this the sources disagree. Lactantius (*Mort. pers.* 24.3–4) and Anon.Val. state that Constantius requested Galerius to send his son to him, and that Galerius feared the consequences. Zosimus (2.8.2) and Victor attribute the initiative to Constantine himself and link it with his political ambitions. Lactantius makes Constantius' motive his illness. But the chronology outlined above, and the details furnished by our panegyric, render Lactantius' picture of a sickly Constantius long expected to die (20.1–2) very suspect. Given this, Galerius may have had less reason to suppose that he would soon be senior Augustus than Lactantius indicates (20, 24.1–2). His motives in urging abdication on Diocletian would then be less compelling, and Lactantius' account less persuasive. See below 15.4–6 and notes 71, 73.

33. *Praesaga et tacita mente*; cf. *Pan.* 7.4.1: *mente praesaga.* Cydonian = Cretan, from Cydonia, a town on the northwestern coast of Crete (modern Khania); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.17. Of course, arrows are meant.

34. See references, note 31. *Epit.* 41.3 mentions (uniquely) the influence of Crocus, an Alamannic king. Presumably the Alamannic contingents implied by this passage accompanied Constantius as a result of the Romans' recent spectacular victory over these barbarians (see note 25).

35. The panegyrist stretches the truth. An image of Constantine wreathed in laurel was sent to Galerius to announce the fait accompli, and Lactantius claims that Galerius deliberated a long time before responding (*Mort. pers.* 25 and note 31 above). See *Pan.* 7.5.3 and note 17 ad loc. for a similar distortion. Eus. *VC* 1.22 has Constantine invest himself with the purple of his father. J. Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Konstantins des Grossen* (Bern, 1950) 379, followed by Galletier, 2: 60 n. 2, thinks that by *seniores principes* the panegyrist means Diocletian and Maximian,

3 And as soon as your appearance gave them an opportunity, straight-
away the soldiers threw the purple over you despite your tears, taking
more account of the public advantage than your feelings, for it was not
right to mourn any longer a ruler who had been consecrated as a god.
4 You are even said, invincible Emperor, to have tried to escape the ardor
of this army which was demanding you by spurring on your horse. To
5 tell the truth, this was to commit a youthful error.[36] For what Cyllarus

now in retirement, and, Galletier suggests, perhaps also Galerius. Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 134–35, demurs, pointing out that there is otherwise no sign of the retired emperors' involvement in affairs in 306, and concluding that Galerius and the two Caesars Severus and Maximinus are meant. Her observation is correct, but how can Caesars of a year's standing be regarded as "senior"? It is more likely that Constantine, being pessimistic about Galerius' reaction, tried to involve Diocletian too, whose authority Carnuntum proves was undiminished upon abdication, when Diocletian and Maximian were accorded the titles *seniores Augusti* (cf. inscriptions and coins post-305, e.g., *ILS* 645–47; *RIC* 6.27, 127, 206, and passim: see index, *RIC* 6.690ff.), and as well as the image sent to Galerius one was also sent to Rome, which enraged Maxentius (Zosimus 2.9.2).

36. Here and at 12.1 the epithet *invictus* is applied to Constantine for the first time in the panegyrics (but cf. *invictissimi*, 1.4, of the whole college). Its association with Sol (cf. the coins with reverse legend SOLI INVICTO COMITI, which are common in the West from 310, *RIC* 6.42–43), together with its appearance in Constantine's titulature (see below), might suggest that its use is pointed, and even encourage the identification of Sol with the Apollo of the vision (21.4 and note 92 below). But the speaker does not make any such connection explicit, and at 12.1 the context—it introduces a vivid description of Constantine's successful campaign against the Bructeri—imposes a purely military significance on the epithet. T. Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, Historia Einzelschrift 64 (Stuttgart, 1990) 52ff., argues that the use of *invictus* reflects its incorporation in Constantine's official titulature. One wonders. *Invicte* is the standard mode of address for Constantius (when Caesar) in *Pan.* 8 (297), but it was not his official title at the time. As a title it was reserved, with very rare exceptions (e.g., *ILS* 5826; 653 for Galerius) for the Augusti, Diocletian and Maximian, and later, Constantius and Galerius. The coins of the period only rarely incorporate *invictus* into Constantine's titulature (a unique Trier gold multiple, *RIC* 6.221, no. 806, and three *aes* issues from London, *RIC* 6.133, 135, and 139). Inscriptions regularly do but are difficult to date. Closely datable examples give a range from December 311 to 315 (see Grünewald, p. 171), but the terminus ante quem is provided by the appearance of ἀνίκητος in Eusebius' version of the "Edict of

or Arion could snatch you away,[37] you whom the Empire pursued? The
sovereignty, that sovereignty I say which was offered you by Jupiter's
will, was not entrusted to Iris, messenger of the gods, but to the wings
of Victory, and it was attached to you as easily as messages sent from
heaven are swift to arrive on earth. And so your attempt to defer your 6
rule showed your modesty and piety, but the good fortune of the State
triumphed.[38]

O Britain, fortunate and happier now than all lands to have been 9
the first to have seen Constantine Caesar![39] Justly has Nature provided 2
you with all the gifts of heaven and earth, land in which neither the
severity of winter nor the heat of summer is too great, in which there
is such a fecundity of crops as to supply the gifts of both Ceres and
Bacchus,[40] in which there are forests without savage beasts, and lands
without venomous snakes, but rather there is a countless multitude of

Toleration," April 311 (see Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 35.1).

For *recusatio imperii*, see J. Béranger, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat* (Basel, 1953) 137ff.; Pacatus *Pan.* 2.11.1–12.1.

37. Cyllarus was the steed of the Dioscuri (Virg. *G.* 3.90; Sen. *Phaedr.* 811); Arion, that of Adrastus (Prop. 2.34, 37); they are mentioned together by Statius (*Silv.* 1.1.52–54).

38. The familiar imperial virtues *pietas* and *felicitas* are here, unusually, in conflict. As R. Seager, "Some Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrics," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983) 146, puts it, "Only when Rome's *felicitas* is victorious over Constantine's *pietas* can Constantius' *pietas* win the *felicitas* which constitutes its proper reward."

39. The panegyrist gives Constantine the title that Galerius conceded him (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 25). Anon.Val. 2.4 and Zosimus 2.9 mistakenly report that he was *proclaimed* Caesar.

40. It seems evident that the panegyrist draws, either directly or indirectly, upon Tacitus' *Agricola* for his description of Britain (see B. Baldwin, "Tacitus, the *Panegyrici Latini*, and the *Historia Augusta*," *Eranos* 78 [1980] 175–78, who points out, not unreasonably, that knowledge of Tacitus was not confined in late antiquity to the late fourth century). Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 553, claims that the panegyrist here *misunderstands* Tac. *Agr.* 12 *solum praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta patiens frugum, fecundum.* This is a rash charge, and the evidence, although tantalizingly scanty, seems enough to prove that viticulture was practiced in Roman Britain, presumably after Tacitus' day; see Frere, *Britannia*, 2d ed., 330–31 (3d ed., pp. 284–85); Salway, *Roman Britain*, 654–55. But it cannot have been an important activity. The panegyrist is a little carried away.

3 peaceful herds distended with milk and laden with fleeces. Furthermore, a thing which makes life very pleasant, the days are very long, and no night is without some light,[41] while because of the extreme flatness of the shores no shadows are cast, and it is possible to see the sky and stars beyond the boundaries of the night, so that the sun itself, which to us seems to set, there appears to pass overhead.[42]

4 Beneficent gods, why is it that new divinities, destined to be worshipped the whole world over, always come from some most remote part of the earth? So Mercury from the Nile, the source of which river is unknown, and Liber from the land of the Indians, who are almost privy to
5 the sunrise, have shown themselves to mankind as gods manifest.[43] It must be that regions next to heaven are more holy than mediterranean ones, and it is closer for an Emperor to be sent by the gods from where the land ends.

10 And so, son of an Emperor (and a very great one at that), and one who has so felicitously obtained command, how have you begun to defend the State? You have visited with punishment for their rashness, I believe, some contemptible band of barbarians who tested the very beginnings
2 of your reign with a sudden attack and unexpected brigandage.[44] You did not hesitate to punish with the ultimate penalty the kings of Francia themselves, who took the opportunity of your father's absence to violate

41. *Nullae sine aliqua luce noctes*; cf. Tac. *Agr.* 12: *nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis*, etc.

42. Tac. *Agr.* 12: *quod si nubes non efficiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfirmant*. So Jordanes *Getica* 3.21 of Scandinavia: *et quod nobis videtur sol ab imo surgere, illis* [viz. *Scandzam insulam incolentibus*] *per terrae marginem dicitur circuire*.

43. Mercury (Hermes) by the mid-Empire was identified with Egyptian Thoth as Hermes Trismegistos; see W. Kroll, "Hermes Trismegistos," *RE* 8 (1913) 792–823. Liber (Bacchus) is more usually said to have arrived in Greece from Thrace or Phrygia, and to have gone to India. Alexander reached Nysa in India, which claimed to be a foundation of Dionysus (Arr. *Anab.* 5.1; *Indic.* 1.1; cf. Pliny *HN* 6.59). The conceit is presumably developed independently of Maxentius' Rome-centric propaganda, pace N. Baglivi, "Osservazioni su Paneg. VII(6),9," *Orpheus* n.s. 7 (1986) 329–37. For the phrase "almost privy to the sunrise" (*consciis solis orientis*) cf. *Pan.* 10.2.1: *conscio occidui solis Oceano*.

44. A reference to a Frankish invasion in 306; see *Pan.* 7.4.2 and note 12. As O. Seeck says (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 4th ed. [Stuttgart, 1921] 1: 74), it provided a welcome reason for Constantine to lead his army back to Gaul from Britain and secure the Continent.

the peace, and were not at all afraid of the perpetual hatred of that race and their implacable fury.[45] For why should an Emperor who can secure 3
what he has done think twice about any hatred arising from a severity that is just? Clemency is secure[46] insofar as it spares enemies and protects 4
its own interest rather than pardoning them. But let our enemies hate you as much as they please, Constantine, provided that they are terrified of you.[47] For this is true courage, that those who do not love you yet remain at peace. Certainly to keep one's foes bound by pardoning them is more prudent, but it is more courageous to trample them down in their fury.

You have renewed, O Emperor, that old confidence of the Roman 5
Empire which exacted capital punishment from captured enemy chiefs. For then captive kings graced triumphal chariots from the gates right up to 6
the Forum, and as soon as the commander began to turn his chariot toward the Capitol they were cast into prison and killed. Perseus alone escaped 7
the harshness of that law when Paulus, who had received his surrender, himself interceded on his behalf;[48] all the rest were deprived of their lives in prison, and furnished a warning to other kings that they should choose to court Roman friendship rather than provoke Roman justice. And so punishment inflicted upon the enemy leads to this additional advantage, that not only does the enemy not dare to vent his anger but even our friends respect us more earnestly.

Hence this peace, Emperor, which we now enjoy. For we are protected **11**
now not by the boiling waters of the Rhine, but by the terror aroused by your name. Let this river dry up with the heat of summer or freeze with the cold as it will, the enemy will dare to exploit neither opportunity to

45. The punishment took place before September 307, as it is mentioned in *Pan.* 7.4.2; see 11.3 and 11.5 below. Galletier, 2: 36, believes that the kings were from the Bructeri, for in section 12 Constantine raids the territory of the latter, and the transitional passage in 11.6 lends some strength to this view.

46. Galletier follows Acidalius in reading *stulta* for MSS *tua*. But *cautior licet* (below) would seem to be picking up the sentiment of *tuta*: the panegyrist contrasts the utility of pardon with the bolder (but equally effective) approach of terror. And *tuta* surely echoes *tueri* in the previous phrase.

47. *Oderint hostes, dum perhorrescant*: cf. the *Atreus* of Accius, quoted in Cic. *Sest.* 102: *oderint dum metuant*.

48. After the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.E.). See Livy 45 for the story (45.8 for Paulus' intercession, 45.42.4 for the Senate's vote to send Perseus to Alba Fucens for safekeeping). Of course, Perseus was not unique (see Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 160–61, for other examples).

2 cross.[49] For Nature shuts off nothing with such an insuperable rampart
that audacity may not penetrate, if one is left some hope in trying. But it is
3 an impenetrable wall which the reputation for courage erects. The Franks
know that they can cross the Rhine, and you would freely admit them
to their death, but they can hope for neither victory nor pardon. What
remains for them they judge from the execution of their own kings, and so
far are they from endeavoring to cross that river that they are rather in
4 despair at the bridge you have begun.[50] Where now is that famed ferocity
of yours, that ever untrustworthy fickleness? Now you do not even dare to
live at a distance from the Rhine, and can scarcely drink in safety from
5 the rivers of the interior. On the other hand the forts placed at intervals
on our side are more an ornament for the frontier than protection.[51]
The farmer cultivates that once terrible bank unarmed, and our flocks
immerse themselves all along both branches[52] of that river. O Constantine,
this is your everyday and eternal victory from your punishment of Ascaric
and Merogaisus,[53] one to be ranked above all former successful battles:
6 defeated once in battle, they have become an example for ever. For the
common herd does not comprehend its own defeat, however many have
perished; the swiftest way to conquer the enemy completely is to have
removed its leader.

12 However, so that the monstrous power of the barbarians might be
broken in every way, and so that the enemy should not merely grieve
over the punishment of their kings, you have made in addition, invincible

49. A variation on the epigram at *Pan.* 10.7.7 (cf. 7.3–4). It sits a little awkwardly with the bridging of the river (below).

50. See 13.1.

51. Far from these forts on the Rhine frontier being merely ornamental, they were reinforced by forts behind the frontier. Additions to this frontier defense system in depth, which was apparently commenced before the Tetrarchy, were made by Constantine and his successors and concentrated on the major road system, e.g., the Cologne-Bavai-Boulogne road; see Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, 208ff., with references; E. Zöllner, *Geschichte der Franken* (Munich, 1970) 14, with references. For the concept of "defense in depth," see E. N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore, 1976) chap. 3 (contra, sweepingly, J. C. Mann, "Power, Force and the Frontiers of the Empire," *JRS* 69 [1979] 180).

52. The branches are the main stream of the Rhine itself, and the Waal. Virgil used *bicornis* of the Rhine (*Aen.* 8.727), and the phrase was much imitated; see, for instance, Auson. *Mos.* 437.

53. The Frankish kings mentioned above.

Emperor, a devastating raid on the Bructeri.[54] In this the first aim of 2
your strategy was to attack them when they were off guard by suddenly
throwing your army across, not that you, who would have preferred to
attack openly, doubted the outcome of an open battle, but that this nation,
which is accustomed to frustrate warfare by taking refuge in forests and
marshes, should lose the opportunity for flight. And so countless numbers 3
were slaughtered, and very many were captured. Whatever herds there
were were seized or slaughtered; all the villages were put to the flame;
the adults who were captured, whose untrustworthiness made them unfit
for military service and whose ferocity for slavery, were given over to
the amphitheater for punishment, and their great numbers wore out the
raging beasts.[55] This is to be reliant on one's courage and good fortune, 4
Emperor; this is not to buy peace by sparing the foe, but to procure victory
by inciting him.

In addition, by also building a bridge at Cologne you lord it over the 13
remnants of a shattered nation, so that it may never put aside its fear,
but must always quake, always stretch out suppliant hands.[56] But you do

54. See 10.2 and note 45 above, and the brief notice in Nazarius *Pan.* 4.18.1. Barnes puts the campaign in 308 (*New Empire*, 70; "Imperial Campaigns," 192; "The Victories of Constantine," 150–51) for reasons that seem sound (Licinius does not share the victory title; *ILS* 679). The Bructeri originally lived opposite the lower Rhine, north of the Lippe, but appear to have moved south in the first and second centuries. The Peutinger Table puts them between the Wupper and Sieg in the Wuppertal-Cologne region; this conforms with 13.1 (see Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 173, with references).

55. Note the implication that it was the regular procedure to use barbarian captives in Roman armies; see, among others, the conquered Germans Constantine used in his campaign against Maxentius (Zosimus 2.15.1), or the Alamanni of Constantius (note 34 above). Constantine followed his father's example in slaughtering captive barbarians in the amphitheater: cf. *Pan.* 8.17.1 (Franks, in London, in 297); *Pan.* 12.23.3f. (his later slaughter of Franks in 313). It has been calculated that the amphitheater at Trier had room for eighteen thousand spectators; the actual arena measured ca. 70 × 50 m (see Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 178). It was still used in the fifth century (Salv. *Gub. Dei* 6.87–89). Constantine's military success was not inconsiderable: there appears to have been a lasting peace on the Rhine until the mid-fourth century, punctuated only by intermittent hostilities.

56. The Cologne bridge led to the Constantinian fortress at Deutz, the building of which is dated to 310 by an inscription (see Zöllner, *Geschichte der Franken*, 15, with references in n. 3); see O. Kraus, "Die römische Rheinbrücke zu

this more to add glory to your command and an ornament to the frontier than to give yourself an opportunity, as often as you wish, of crossing into enemy territory, since the whole Rhine is furnished with armed ships, and soldiers are posted, poised for action, on every bank right down to the Ocean.[57]

2 But it seems a fine thing to you (and indeed it is a very fine thing) not only that the Rhine should be crossed in its upper reaches, where it has many shallows by reason of its breadth, or is insignificant because of its proximity to its source, but also that it should be trodden by means of a new bridge just where it is at its greatest, where it has already absorbed the many waters which this huge river of ours,[58] and the barbarian Neckar and Main, have carried into it, and where, now turbulent because of its mighty flow, and impatient of a single bed, it seeks to spill out into
3 its branches. Assuredly Nature herself serves your divinity, Constantine, since the foundations of such a mighty structure, sunk in the depths
4 of the whirling waters, will find a sure and firm footing. Although a very powerful king of the Persians once connected the narrows of the Hellespont by linking his fleet together, that crossing was but temporary. By means of a similar connection of ships the second Caesar after Augustus spanned the Bay of Baiae:[59] that was a pleasure ride for a ruler who had nothing better to do. This project is both difficult of accomplishment and
5 of permanent usefulness. Certainly, indeed, from its very commencement it has prompted the submission of the enemy, who have sought peace as suppliants, and offered the noblest of hostages. From this no one can

Köln und die Stadtmauer der Südseite," *BJ* 130 (1925) 232–53; H. von Petrikovits, *Das römische Rheinland* (Köln-Opladen, 1960) 77ff. Timberwork from the bridge has been discovered and has been used to build up a thousand-year dating sequence through dendrochronology; see E. Hollstein, *Mitteleuropäische Eichenchronologie*, Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen 11 (Mainz, 1980) 74, for the Cologne bridge, with the cautionary remarks of D. Baatz, "Bemerkungen zur Jahrringchronologie in der römischen Zeit," *Germania* 55 (1977) 173–79; cf. *Germania* 56 (1978) 547.

57. "Poised for action" gives lie to the claim at 11.5 that Roman forts on the frontier were merely ornamental, and "every bank" really means the left bank!

58. The Mosel, flowing through Gaul—the speech was delivered at Trier; the Neckar and Main, right-bank tributaries of the Rhine, flowing through barbarian Germany.

59. Xerxes (Hdt. 7.34ff.) and Gaius (Suet. *Gaius* 19).

doubt what they will do when the bridge is finished, since they are already subservient when it is only begun.

When you were concerned with these projects which were so useful 14
and worthwhile for the State, seditious intrigues of that man, who ought to have welcomed your successes warmly, diverted your attention to themselves.[60] I am still very hesitant as to how I am to speak about this man, and I am awaiting for your divinity to advise me with a nod.[61]
For however just the accusations and complaints of your piety, a private 2
individual, on the other hand, ought to moderate his language, especially since contemplation of you compels men, however angry, to revere him who has shown himself so ungrateful to you in return for your very great benefactions to him, and the great favor which flowed from kinship with you.[62]

60. Lactantius (*Mort. pers.* 29.5: *paucis diebus expectatis*, etc.) may convey the impression that Constantine was well south of the frontier when he began his march against the Franks, but even if this were true, it does not mean he was then living in Arles (see note 66 below). The projects from which Maximian's revolt diverted Constantine surely centered upon the building of the Cologne bridge (the subject of the previous section), which has only just begun (11.3, 13.5). It must therefore date to 309–310, not 308 (pace Barnes, *New Empire*, 70; so J. Moreau, *Lactance* [Paris, 1954] 2: 369ff., followed by J. Creed, *Lactantius* [Oxford, 1984] 110 n. 6). Moreau explains Lactantius' reference (*Mort. pers.* 29.3) to Franks in arms at the time of Maximian's revolt by suggesting that they were resisting the building of the bridge. This is not impossible. The panegyrist claims that the frontier was calm when Constantine left it (21.3), but that may be to forestall criticism that the emperor had jeopardized the safety of Gaul.

61. Clearly the subject was still a sensitive one (see note 88). While Maximian had lost some prestige since 307 (see the Introduction, p. 213), at the time of his revolt he still enjoyed respect as one "who had been for some twenty years the successful colleague of the prestigious Diocletian, with his own share of military success in Gaul" (Warmington, "Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini," 376; see A. Piganiol, *L'empereur Constantin* [Paris, 1932] 47–48), and of course he was still Constantine's father-in-law and *auctor* of his *imperium*. This is why in what follows the speaker engages in no abuse or vilification of Maximian, in contrast to the treatment of Carausius in *Pan.* 8 and that of Maxentius in *Pan.* 12 (so Warmington; see G. Sabbah, "De la rhétorique à la communication politique," *BAGB* 4 [1984] 383). Rather he exculpates Maximian as far as possible by adducing the operations of ineluctable Fate.

62. Through Constantine's marriage in 307 to Maximian's daughter Fausta, celebrated in *Pan.* 7.

3 What shall I do, then, to touch such deep wounds with a light hand?
Indeed I shall employ those customary defenses of all crimes, which for
the most part, however, are asserted even by philosophers, that no man
commits a sin unless he is fated to,[63] and that those crimes of mortals are
the acts of Fortune, while on the other hand virtues are the gifts of the
gods.
4 Be thankful, Constantine, for your nature and your character, for
Constantius Pius sired you such, and you were so formed by the decrees
5 of the stars, that you cannot be cruel.[64] I believe that when that man
was about to come into the light of day and receive a choice of the life
he was to lead, he encountered a fate that could not be evaded, one which
would bring an unjust end to many men, and finally a voluntary death
6 to himself.[65] For, not to speak of other things, has not the inevitability
of fate brought this very thing to pass, that he gave you this return for
your piety, the man whom you received in your provinces, in your armies,
in your palace, when he was driven out of the City, had fled from Italy,
and was spurned by Illyricum?[66]

63. A Stoic precept. Galletier (ad loc.) cites Gell. 7.1, quoting Chrysippus on the necessity of opposites (Περὶ Προνοίας 4), an idea going back to Heracleitus.

64. Rather breathtaking in the light of 10.1ff., 12.3–4.

65. The speaker is concerned to insist that Constantine was not responsible for Maximian's death (*voluntarium ... exitium*). This is difficult to believe; see 20.3–4 and note 88.

66. Maximian had attempted to strip his son Maxentius of his power and was driven from Rome (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 28.1–4; Zosimus 2.11; and Eutr. 10.2.3ff. are confused). This is apparently to be dated to April 308, when Maxentius and his son Romulus assumed the consulship (*Chron. min.* 1.66–67, 231) in place of *consules quos iusserint domini nostri Augusti* (see Moreau, *Lactance*, 2: 364–65; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 32, and *New Empire*, 112, 116). Maximian thereupon returned to Gaul a second time (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.1) before traveling to Illyricum, specifically to Carnuntum. Details of the conference there differ in the sources. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.1–3 has Maximian seeking out Galerius to discuss the division of power and finding Diocletian already present (cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.8). Diocletian, requested to resume power, refused (*Epit.* 39.6; Zosimus 2.10.4). Galerius succeeded in having Diocletian endorse the appointment of his comrade Licinius as Augustus, in place of Severus, over the heads of the indignant Caesars Constantine and Maximinus Daia. Maximian, who had hoped to have his *imperium* confirmed, was "spurned by Illyricum" (cf. 16.1: *depositum tertio ... imperium*). If the conference at Carnuntum saw Licinius' formal investiture as Augustus, as seems very probable (see Lactant. *Mort. pers.*

What did he want, I ask you, what did he wish for? To obtain 15
something more than those things he had received from you? You had given him the most splendid and divine gifts, the ease of a private citizen and the wealth of a king; †for him departing you had sat at the rings†;[67] you had commanded that our deference be paid even more earnestly to

29.2), it can be dated to November 308 (*Chron. min.* 1.231). The panegyrist has simplified and compressed a complicated succession of events, eliminating Maximian's second sojourn in Gaul, April to November 308 (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.1 and above), which presumably saw Constantine giving his father-in-law a reasonably warm welcome. Maximian may have gone to Carnuntum ostensibly as Constantine's spokesman (see Sutherland, *RIC* 6.30). The mention of armies and palace suggests that Maximian sought Constantine at Trier upon his return from Carnuntum (so Galletier, 2: 66 n. 2; argued out by the latter in "La mort de Maximien d'après le panégyrique de 310 et la vision de Constantin au temple d'Apollon," *REA* 52 [1950] 290–91). There is no good reason to think that Constantine was based in Arles at this stage (Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1: 105; Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 35ff.); see *Pan.* 7, Introduction, pp. 184f. To suggest that Maximian came to Constantine at Arles (Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1: 105) introduces unnecessary complexities, such as having Maximian accompany Constantine north, then return to Arles (see Moreau, *Lactance*, 2: 369–70; and 16.1ff. below, with note 77). It is perhaps possible to take "received ... in your armies" (*tuis copiis ... recepisti*) to mean that Constantine actually put Maximian in charge of some of his troops (see Introduction, p. 213). Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.4 alleges Maximian tricked Constantine into taking only part of his army to the frontier, but implies that Maximian had no such command.

67. *Cui digredienti*, "for him departing": Maximian was off to his retirement sanctuary, presumably Arles, the goal of Constantine's journey, 18.1ff. (Galletier, "La mort de Maximien," 290–91). After this the MSS read *ad anulos sederas*, "you had sat at the rings," upon which Mynors remarks: "quid sibi velit, nescimus." Livineius thought that it meant to sit on the left, or ring side; presumably this was a mark of respect (see Arntzen's edition, pp. 391–92). But there is a further difficulty with the reading: it implies that Constantine traveled "with" Maximian, which does not seem to fit in with subsequent events (see L. C. Purser, "Notes on the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Hermathena* 46 [1931] 23). What is clear is that the panegyrist is referring to another undeserved privilege. The weakness of the ingenious conjecture of E. Baehrens, printed by Galletier, *aulicos mulos et raedas*, "the mules and the carriages of the court," which fits the circumstances (cf. 16.1), is that it breaks the sequence of pluperfects and offers only a detail illustrative of *regias opes*. The reading of w, *anulos dederas*, "you had given [him your] rings," makes excellent sense, but the repetition of *dederas* is weak.

him than to you; you had so decreed that all his orders be obeyed that, while you had the appearance, he had the reality of power.[68]

2 What was this enormous—I won't say craving for power (for what could he not do with you as ruler?)—but delusion of an old age which has lost its reasoning,[69] that he sought such heavy burdens, and civil war, when
3 so laden with years? No gifts of Fortune, in fact, satisfy those whose reason does not impose a limit to their desires, and their felicity passes them by unappreciated, so that they are perpetually full of hopes but empty of advantages, and are deprived of the present while looking to the future.[70]
4 That godlike man, however, who was the first who both shared and laid down imperial power does not repent of his plan or his deed,[71] and does not consider he has lost what he transferred of his own accord; fortunate and truly blessed is he whom such great rulers as you honor
5 with your reverence as a private citizen. But he, supported by an Empire

68. The panegyrist is inconsistent here: first Maximian is said to have *privatum otium et regias opes*; now he has the reality of power. According to Lactantius, he had no official status (*Mort. pers.* 29.3: *deponit regiam vestem*). Furthermore, Constantine had ceased to mint coins for Maximian shortly after Carnuntum: Maximian and Licinius do not overlap on his issues; cf. the QVIES AVG type for Maximian at Trier, *RIC* 6.218, no. 788, with pp. 156–58. But it is only fair to add that Sutherland believes that Maximian may have had effective control of the mint at Lyon, which coined for Constantine and Maximian but not Licinius before closing ca. 310; *RIC* 6.42; see esp. pp. 260ff. One might speculate that initially Maximian was without power, but that later he was given troops and sent south as a check against Maxentius (so Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 34); see the Introduction, p. 213, and notes 66 and 77.

69. Another attempt to explain Maximian's actions without being too harsh. Maximian was in fact only about sixty at the time (*Epit.* 40.11); contrast *Pan.* 7.9.5 on his *adhuc . . . integrae solidaeque vires*.

70. Galletier, 2: 48, compares Lucretius' reflections on the madness of envy (3.944ff.).

71. The panegyrist's claim is given added point because "that godlike man" (Diocletian) had recently, at Carnuntum, refused to take up power again when requested to do so (see note 66). For the assertion that the abdication was planned in advance, and not forced upon an ailing Diocletian by the ambitious Galerius, as Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 18 would have it, cf. *Pan.* 7.9.2, and for arguments for accepting the version of the panegyrics see the Introduction to *Pan.* 7, "The Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian," and note 34 to *Pan.* 7; see also note 73 below. (Contra, esp. J. A. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* [Stuttgart, 1939; reprint, 1964] 84ff.)

with many in the team, is glad to be covered by your shade, for he knows you have grown from his stock, and with justice claims credit for your glory.[72] So this fellow was ashamed to imitate that man who had adopted 6
him as a brother, and regretted having sworn an oath to him in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter.[73] I do not wonder that he betrayed his word even to his son-in-law!

This is good faith, this scrupulous fulfillment of the oath sworn in **16**
the inmost shrine of the Palatine sanctuary,[74] to execute one's journey

72. Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 219, observes that the image of imperial government changes abruptly from that of a quadriga to that of a tree with many branches: *multiiugo imperio . . . umbraculo.*

73. For Maximian's adoption as brother, see *Pan.* 10, Introduction, p. 45. The most likely occasion on which he and Diocletian could have met to discuss the question of their abdication and to swear oaths to each other is the celebration of Diocletian's *vicennalia* in Rome in November 303 (see Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1: 37; W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* [Paris, 1946] 187; A. Chastagnol, "Les années régnales de Maximien Hercule en Egypte et les fêtes vicennales du 20 novembre 303," *RN*[6] 9 [1967] 66 n. 2, citing Oros. 7.25.14). See C. E. V. Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307 and Maximian's Visits to Rome," *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 70–76, for rebuttal of the claim of G. S. R. Thomas, "L'abdication de Dioclétien," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 229–47, that Maximian was not even in Rome in 303. While this panegyrist might have reason to invent a solemn oath taking in order to cast Maximian as an oath breaker, *Pan.* 7 (307) can have none to claim falsely that the abdication was planned long in advance (see note 34 to *Pan.* 7). And in view of Maximian's obvious reluctance to yield power it would have been prudent of Diocletian to insist on a binding agreement. I see no reason not to accept the panegyric here. A premeditated abdication cannot be ruled out simply because it did not take place at Diocletian's *vicennalia*, the "most natural" date (H. Mattingly, *CAH*, 12: 340–41; see A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* [London, 1948; reprint, Toronto, 1978] 56: "It cannot have been long premeditated, or a more obvious date, such as the emperor's twentieth year of rule, would have been chosen"). As Chastagnol remarks (p. 66 n. 2), one would expect "quelque empirisme." And for this reason the fact that there was no public announcement in advance (see *Pan.* 7, note 33) does not mean that an agreement to abdicate was not reached long ago. The loyalty of the Caesars, surely a vital concern of Diocletian's, would be promoted by such a plan, as Mattingly concedes.

74. The panegyrist claims that Maximian solemnly swore an oath to Constantine, too (in the palace at Trier; see note 66 above). For the sacred character of the imperial palace, see A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt, 1970) 31ff. Presumably he promised to be loyal to Con-

slowly and deliberately, no doubt already hatching those schemes for war, consuming the supplies in the post stations so that no army could follow, suddenly to take up a position within the walls,[75] clad in purple, and usurp imperial power, twice laid down,[76] for the third time, to send dispatches to suborn the armies, to try to undermine the loyalty of the troops by a display of rewards—to contemplate using, clearly without a scruple, an army which he had taught to have an itchy palm![77]

2 Indeed, O Emperor, that man's miscalculation has demonstrated how great is the love of your soldiers which embraces you, who preferred you to all the gifts he had promised, to all his offerings of preferments.[78]

3 That rare virtue of restraint, adhered to with difficulty, yet adhered to from time to time, by a few teachers of philosophy, has become, thanks

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stantine and to renounce all his imperial claims (see Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.3, who writes as if Maximian abdicated in Gaul, rather than at Carnuntum). Constantine's exaction of such an oath is all too credible, given Maximian's recent activities! (See Galletier, "La mort de Maximien," 290; and see 21.7 and note 95.)

75. Within the walls of Arles (cf. 18.4.6). Arles is over 700 kilometers from Trier.

76. I.e., in 305, and again after Carnuntum, 308 (note 66 above).

77. The panegyrist is irritatingly vague. Where were the troops? One would expect most of Constantine's forces to have been on the Rhine frontier (Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 103 n. 3; Galletier, "La mort de Maximien," 290). Lactantius' version is equally imprecise (*Mort. pers.* 29.3–6). He seems to presume that Constantine and Maximian were together (in Arles? cf. below) when the Frankish emergency arose. Maximian waited a few days until he reckoned that Constantine was in barbarian territory (hardly starting from Trier), then assumed the purple; he is next found at Marseilles (*Mort. pers.* 29.6). Lactantius evidently assumes a starting point in Arles for Constantine, I believe wrongly (see note 66). Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 34, suggests that Constantine had sent Maximian with part of his army to protect southern Gaul from attack by Maxentius. This would explain how supplies in the post stations might be consumed, and makes some sense of the panegyrist's claim (15.1) that Maximian had *potestas . . . imperii*.

78. The panegyrist insists on the enthusiasm of Constantine's troops for their leader at such length (16.2–19.6) that the reader is skeptical. But he must at all costs divert attention from the embarrassing fact that part of Constantine's army had proved disloyal to him. There seems no reason, however, to disbelieve the panegyrist's claim (here and at 20.2) that the troops were seduced by lavish bribes. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.5 has a similar line: *thesauros invadit, donat ut solet large* (and he told *ficta*). Arles was a mint city and had a treasury (Moreau, *Lactance*, 2: 371, cites *Not. dign. occ.* 11.33, 43). Lyon was another, which Sutherland speculates was seized by Maximian (*RIC* 6.238).

to you, Constantine, common to all men, not only those whom reason, letters and a quiet life have civilized, but even soldiers, fierce of disposition, who out of respect for you have come to despise monetary gain. There 4
may have been some armies the equal of yours in spirit and in strength; to your lot alone it falls to have an army of sages. In former times, perhaps, 5
many generals, corrupt and outmatched, contended by use of bribery. But their popularity was brief and fleeting, and whoever imitated them easily overcame them. A steadfast and perennial guardian of the State 6
is he whom his soldiers love for his own sake, to whom neither a fawning nor a purchased adulation keeps them loyal, but a simple and sincere devotion. Your gifts, Constantine, are clearly pleasing to your soldiers, 7
but the more pleasing in this respect, that they come from you. Whatever 8
you offer with your hand becomes more acceptable. No one can rival you in this method of canvassing! This kind of largesse cannot be matched, when the reward for the soldier is the commander himself! And so you 9
give to your armies even more than they desire, but what commends you more is your name, the authority that is yours because of the memory of your father, the charm of your age, and finally that beauty of yours which inspires respect.

For it is a wonderful thing, beneficent gods, a heavenly miracle, **17**
to have as Emperor a youth whose courage, which is even now very great, nonetheless is still increasing, and whose eyes flash and whose awe-inspiring yet agreeable majesty dazzles us at the same time as it invites our gaze. Such a man I conceive that great king to have been, such a 2
man the Thessalian hero, whose combination of supreme courage and beauty is celebrated.[79] Not without reason do learned men claim that 3
Nature herself metes out bodily domiciles worthy of great minds, and that it can be gauged from a man's countenance and the beauty of his limbs how great a heavenly spirit has entered them as a tenant. And so 4
when your soldiers see you walking, they admire and love you; they follow you with their eyes; you are in their thoughts; they consider that they are submitting themselves to a god, whose form is as beautiful as his divinity is certain.

Consequently no sooner had they heard about that foul crime than of **18**
their own accord they sought from you the signal to march out; when you were distributing travel allowances they exclaimed that this was causing

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79. The "great king" is surely Alexander, the Thessalian hero, Achilles (see Claud. *In Rufin.* 2.179f.; *Nupt. Hon. et Mar.* [10] 16ff.). Galletier, 2: 68 n. 1, confuses them.

a delay for them, and that they already had more than was sufficient
2 from your largesse. Then snatching up their arms they made for the
gates, and completed that journey of so many days from the Rhine to
the Saône without taking rest, for their bodies were tireless, their hearts
on fire, and their eagerness for vengeance grew day by day the nearer
3 they approached their quarry.[80] Then indeed your concern, Emperor, to
provide ships from the harbor at Chalon in order that they might replenish
their strength almost displeased them in their haste. That sluggish and
leisurely river never seemed slower;[81] with the keels slipping along silently,
and the banks receding so slowly, they cried that they were not moving
at all, but standing still.

4 Then making their hands do the work of their feet they leaned on
their oars and overcame the nature of the river by their exertions; having
surmounted at length the delays of the Saône, they were scarcely content
with the Rhône itself. It seemed to them that its rushing course was too
tardy, and that it was hurrying toward Arles less rapidly than usual.[82]
5 What more to be said? It must be confessed, Emperor: despite this bodily
strength of yours, and your eagerness of spirit, at times you struggled to
6 keep up with the army you commanded! For such was the enthusiasm by
which all were impelled that when they learned that he had abandoned
Arles and had departed for Marseilles[83] they hastily flew from their ships
and in a wild rush outstripped no longer just the course of the Rhône, but
7 as it were the very gusts of wind. So great a love of your divinity was
kindled in them that, although they realized that the city to be attacked

80. Constantine's army marched from Cologne (note 60) southeast up the Rhine, then turned south (via Trier?) down to the Saône, where Constantine had organized a fleet to meet them at Chalon (Cabillonum). They then rowed down the sluggish Saône to Lyon and the junction with the Rhône, and down the fast-flowing Rhône with the mistral behind them (18.6 ad fin.) (Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 103 n. 5). See Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.6 for Constantine's *celeritas*, more plausibly attributed to Constantine himself in his desire to check the revolt than (with the panegyrist) to his adulatory troops.

81. For the sluggishness of the Saône see Caes. *BGall.* 1.12; Sen. *Apocol.* 7.2.11–12 (contrasting the Rhône); cf. Claud. *Cons. Manlius* (17) 53: *lentus Arar, Rhodanusque ferox.* Claudian often imitates the Gallic panegyrics, especially Pacatus (see notes 61 and 92 to *Pan.* 2).

82. Arles, their destination, where Maximian had assumed the purple (18.6).

83. Presumably because Marseilles was easier to defend than Arles, as the event showed (see 18.7ff.).

was extremely well fortified, they believed it was sufficient for them but
to arrive.

Now Marseilles, I am told, stands above deep water, and is girded by a 19
most strongly fortified harbor, into which the southern bay flows through a
narrow entrance; it is linked to the land by only 1,500 yards,[84] where there
stands a very strong wall, bristling with towers. Indeed long ago even 2
the terrain itself taught the Greeks and Italians who had migrated there,[85]
although they were proficient in technical and intellectual pursuits, to
expend all that would prove useful in war more particularly on that part
which could admit an approach, since Nature had remitted the expense
of works in the other places.

And so when it closed its gates against Caesar, to its great misfortune, 3
in favor of an older general, and when machines were moved up against
it by land and sea, and ramparts built, it was more frequently attacked
than terrified by naval battles, and it was only opened up with difficulty
by a lengthy siege, since those petty Greek magistrates repulsed both
Caesar himself and then his generals and troops not so much by their own
strength as by their ramparts.[86]

But now, O Emperor, upon your first arrival and at the first attack 4
of your army, neither the height of the walls of this same Marseilles nor
its host of towers, nor the nature of the terrain, would have delayed
you from taking the harbor and city immediately, had you wished it.
For the soldiers had attacked the whole wall with such confidence that 5
they would have immediately made the ascent without hesitation had not
its loftiness deceived the conjecture of their eyes in their preparation of
scaling ladders to be moved against it. Even so, many, frustrated by the 6
shortness of the ladders, made up the distance which was needed for the
climb by stretching their bodies, and, by being lifted up on the shoulders
of those ascending below them, had already penetrated the gaps between
the pinnacles by clawing their way up with their hands. So little did they
fear any danger in their quest for vengeance that it seemed to them that
they were not climbing a wall but making an attack on level ground.

84. Galletier ad loc. observes that this figure is more than twice the correct one. As the panegyrist tells us here, he depends upon secondhand reports.

85. Marseilles was a Greek colony founded from Phocaea, ca. 600 B.C.E., and an ally of Rome in the Second Punic War.

86. Pompey is the "older general." Caesar describes the siege of 49 B.C.E. in *BCiv.* 1.34–36, 56–58; 2.1–16, 22.

20 But what remarkable piety you displayed, Constantine, which ever preserves its sense of duty even amid arms! You gave the signal for retreat and put off your victory, so that you might have an opportunity to pardon all, and an angry soldier might not behave more violently than the nature
2 of your clemency allowed.[87] In this I admit that with the solicitude of an excellent Emperor you took care that soldiers seduced into disloyalty might receive time for repentance and might of their own volition pray for pardon, but as we contemplated your most humane sentiments (for nothing is so patent as the goodness of your heart), we understood that you had spared him whom no one could have rescued from the sword had the first onslaught allowed such an opportunity.

3 Thus as far as your piety is concerned, O Emperor, you saved both him and all whom he had welcomed as allies. Let anyone who refused your benefaction, and judged himself not worthy to live, ascribe that to his own account, since you permitted him to remain alive; you, and
4 this should satisfy your conscience, spared even the undeserving. But—pardon me for saying so—you cannot accomplish everything; the gods avenge you even against your will.[88]

87. The panegyrist makes the best he can out of a bad job. Clearly the siege was a military failure, as the account reveals (*Epit.* 40.5 *Maximianus ... apud Massiliam obsessus, deinde captus, poenas dedit* is too laconic to confirm the existence of another tradition). The panegyrist does not explain how Constantine came to be in a position to spare his adversaries. Lactantius' tendentious account (*Mort. pers.* 29.7–8) reveals that there were "negotiations," then the troops within the city opened the gates and returned to their allegiance to Constantine; Maximian himself was spared. For the sequel, see note 88. Stripped of its *Tendenz*, Lactantius' account is credible. Constantine had every reason to negotiate to avoid a bitter civil war.

88. The panegyrist is extremely allusive and obscure, and it is clear that he is dealing with something that he finds embarrassing. It is of course Maximian who is spoken of in the previous sentence. Earlier the panegyrist alleged that his death was a voluntary one (14.5). That will have been the official version. The truth eludes us. Constantine was certainly entitled, according to the morality of the day, to execute a man to whom he had given sanctuary and who had then acted so treacherously, but political considerations may have stayed his hand (see note 61). Whether Maximian was executed or encouraged to commit suicide cannot be determined. The sources are divided (listed by Moreau, *Lactance*, 2: 375–76; see Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 204), and the distinction is not an important one in any case.

What we must always hope for, indeed, is that you prosper and 21
succeed even beyond your prayers, we who put all our hopes in the lap of your majesty, and wish for your presence everywhere, as if that boon
were feasible. Take for instance the short time you were away from the 2
frontier. In what terrifying fashion did barbarian perfidy vaunt itself![89] Of course all the while they asked themselves: "When will he reach here? When will he conquer? When will he lead back his exhausted army?" when all of a sudden upon the news of your return they were prostrated,

While both the panegyrist and Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.8 are in agreement that Maximian was pardoned by Constantine, there is not a hint in the panegyric of Maximian's subsequent plot against Constantine's life, which was revealed by Fausta and followed by the miscreant's suicide. This plot finds its way in various forms into many of the sources, including those that omit the revolt (see Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 8.13.15; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.22; Eutr. 10.3.2; Zosimus 2.11.1). It is obviously the product of Constantinian propaganda, and the panegyrist's silence would seem to condemn it out of hand. It must be said that this elaborate and heavy-handed justification of Maximian's death is puzzling and might lend weight to a theory that Maximian surrendered at Marseilles on conditions that Constantine failed to meet (pace Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.7–8). Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 40–41, suggests that this propaganda was a later response to Maxentius' posthumous championship of his father in 311–312 (he blamed Constantine for his death; Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 43.4; Zosimus 2.14.1). The idea is not unattractive. For further discussion, see Galletier, "La mort de Maximien"; W. Huss, "Das Ende des Maximianus," *Latomus* 37 (1978) 719–25. The latter takes the pardon seriously and argues that Maximian's suicide was eventually enforced when it was learned that he was hoping to escape and join Maxentius (see Eutr. 10.3.2). Psychologically, this is plausible: Maximian would not want to live out his days under suspicion in Constantine's realm. But where did Eutropius get the story? And note that he makes it depend on Maximian's breach with his son being a ruse, which is scarcely credible.

89. Presumably Frankish "perfidy." Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 29.3 says that the Franks were in arms at the time of Maximian's revolt. The panegyrist claims (21.3) all was calm when Constantine left the frontier to march south against the rebel. Upon receiving news of the barbarian rising, Constantine, who was already on his way back after suppressing the revolt, redoubled his speed (*geminatum itineris laborem*) rather than turning back from anywhere (see Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 45.2: *mansionibus geminatis*; the notion is of doubling the stages of the journey; so Galletier, "La mort de Maximien," 295). But this anxiety lasted only one night, as a second message came with the news that the disturbance was at an end.

as if thunderstruck, so that no more than one night's anxiety should lay its claim on your pledge[90] to save the commonwealth.

3 For on the day after that news had been received and you had undertaken the labor of double stages on your journey, you learnt that all the waves had subsided, and that the all-pervading calm which you had left behind had been restored. Fortune herself so ordered this matter that the happy outcome of your affairs prompted you to convey to the immortal gods what you had vowed at the very spot where you had turned aside toward the most beautiful temple in the whole world, or rather, to the
4 deity made manifest, as you saw.[91] For you saw, I believe, O Constantine, your Apollo, accompanied by Victory, offering you laurel wreaths, each one of which carries a portent of thirty years.[92] For this is the number

90. Literally "touched" (*tetigisset*), sc. laid hands upon it, invoking its fulfillment.

91. Constantine, who had already turned aside to fulfill his vows to the gods upon the successful outcome of his campaign against Maximian, can now offer thanks, too, for the stilling of barbarian unrest. Most have accepted Jullian's suggestion that the temple in question was that of Apollo Grannus at Grand, Vosges (*Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 107 n. 2), on the border of Belgica and Germania Superior. According to Jullian, Constantine will have already passed through Lyon and Chalon, and turned off (*deflexisses*) the military route from Langres to Trier before Neufchâteau. (See, too, Galletier, 1: 43–44, and "La mort de Maximien," 298; and for more up-to-date archaeological references, G. Billoret, "Grand," in *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites*, ed. R. Stillwell et al. [Princeton, 1976] 365, and now Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 339–50. Over the years the importance of the site as a cult center has become even clearer, and excavation continues. Imperial statuary of Severan date has been found, and recently a fragment of an inscription that appears to link the Roman and Celtic gods' names at Grand for the first time; see Y. Burnand, "Informations archéologiques," *Gallia* 40 [1982] 342–43: [APOLLIN]Ị G̣RA[NNO]. More pointed, however, is the earlier discovered inscription testifying to the practice of incubation, *AE*, 1937, no. 55: [GR]ANNO CONSI[N]IVS [TRI]BVNVS SOMNO IVSSVS. As Müller-Rettig, p. 347, observes, a religious sanctuary dispensing prophetic dreams is the perfect place for an emperor to have a vision. A fragment of imperial [Severan?] statuary has been found at the site.)

92. One is inescapably reminded of the common VOTA coin type (e.g., VOT XXX SIC XXX in wreath, *RIC* 6.174, Trier) reflecting public prayers to the gods for a certain number of years' rule by the emperor. In this case, instead of such prayers Apollo spontaneously offers Constantine years beyond the normal span of human life. Two such laurel wreaths might suffice for this, Constantine then being about thirty (see *Pan.* 7, notes 10, 15, and 16), but *singulae* suggests more than two (B. Rodgers, "Constantine's Pagan Vision," *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 267 n. 16: *utraque* would be used for two), so that we should perhaps think of four (Apollo and Victory each offering two; so Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 36).

There is a vast bibliography on the "pagan vision" (see Rodgers, "Constantine's Pagan Vision," 259–61) and its relation to the later "Christian vision" (see Galletier, 2: 45 n. 2, for the debate in the 1930s). Trouble has been caused by looking at the latter issue in isolation: R. MacMullen, "Constantine and the Miraculous," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 81–96, is a useful corrective. There was divine assistance, if not visions, everywhere, although it took the Christian challenge to sharpen pagan claims (see MacMullen, p. 86; cf. Nazarius 14 and 29 for the divine reinforcements in shining armor, Constantius at their head, who marched with Constantine toward Italy in 312 and fought beside him at the Tiber).

On the vision itself, scholars speak of a figment of the panegyrist's imagination, or of Constantine's; a concoction of priests; a real experience; the product of a dream (see Rodgers, p. 260 n. 5, for a sample of views). It is certainly not necessary (although it may be tempting) to believe that the panegyrist had a detailed brief from Constantine on the subject, or that he was the recipient of Constantine's candid revelations (for arguments against regarding the panegyrics as "official," see C. E. V. Nixon, "Latin Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period," in *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, ed. B. Croke and A. M. Emmett [Sydney, 1983], 88–99; and id., "Constantinus Oriens Imperator: Propaganda and Panegyric," *Historia* 42 [1993] 229–46, although one might regard this panegyric as exceptional). For example, Barnes, p. 36, avers that the panegyrist speaks as he does in order to "persuade Constantine to extend imperial generosity to the cult of Apollo in Autun" (cf. 21.7ff.). But one cannot conclude with Barnes that the *credo* is intended to express rhetorical doubt and distance the speaker from the scene. Rather, it emphasizes the intimacy of the vision, which only Constantine can confirm (this is also conveyed by *tuus Apollo*); so Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*.

Obviously the significance of the passage will depend in some measure upon whether one thinks the panegyrist was instructed or informed by Constantine or not. Many suppose that this demonstration of Apollonian patronage is a political ploy, and that with it Constantine announces new divine legitimation intended to replace that hitherto provided by the Tetrarchic Hercules. Together with Constantine's new genealogy it would constitute a superior claim to rule that challenges the Tetrarchic *imperium multiiugum* (15.5). Support for this interpretation is sought in coinage, where Sol Invictus suddenly becomes very prominent (although Mars is regular as well); a fundamental change in Constantine's coin types can be observed precisely in 310: J. Maurice, "Les discours des Panegyrici Latini et l'évolution religieuse sous le règne de Constantin," *CRAI*, 1909, 168; id., *Numismatique constantinienne* (Paris, 1911) 2: xxff.; Galletier, 2: 43; Sutherland, *RIC*

of human ages which are owed to you without fail—beyond the old age of
5 a Nestor. And—now why do I say "I believe"?—you *saw*, and recognized
yourself in the likeness of him to whom the divine songs of the bards had
6 prophesied that rule over the whole world was due.[93] And this I think

6.111, 161–62. While not everybody is happy to identify "the relatively new and Oriental Sol Invictus with Apollo, in Gaul above all a god of healing and patron of sacred springs" (Warmington, "Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini," 377; cf. J. J. Hatt, "La vision de Constantin au sanctuaire de Grand et l'origine celtique du labarum," *CRAI*, 1950, 83–85), the coincidence is hard to ignore (and one can reply that the identification was made, in Gaul; see *Pan.* 5.14.4 and note ad loc.). Nor is Constantine's adherence to "Helios" in any serious doubt; see Julian *Or.* 4.131C, 7.228D; H. Castritius, *Studien zu Maximinus Daia* (Kallmünz, 1969) 29–30. Nor can it be disputed that the panegyrist emphasizes the political implications of the vision; 21.5 is decisive. At the least, as Rodgers says (p. 264), Constantine "is not unwilling to hear himself described as the man fated to take over the entire earth." At the most, he promoted that notion. Müller-Rettig has recently denied that Constantine is promised world rule *expressis verbis* (p. 337). This is to be excessively literal minded. The orator's language is evocative, and most will surely feel that world rule is what is being promised, even if indirectly. What *religious* significance (in our sense of the term) the vision, or indeed Apollo-Helios-Sol, had for Constantine is impossible to gauge. The Romans would not make such a sharp distinction between categories, but in any case the panegyrist does not speak in such terms: that is, there is no point of contact between it and the speculation of, for example, J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford, 1979) 281ff., on the meaning of Sol for Constantine. Nothing in the above discussion debars the possibility that some kind of experience in the Temple of Apollo prompted Constantine to feel that Apollo held him in especial regard, and that he underwent what we might term a "religious conversion," one that took him back to the deity of his father and his "ancestor" Claudius (see Castritius, pp. 25ff., for Sol worship being traditional in Constantine's family).

With "your Apollo" the panegyrist evokes Virg. *Ecl.* 4.10, *tuus iam regnat Apollo*, where *tuus* refers to Diana (see note 93).

93. It is usually believed that the speaker here represents Constantine as recognizing himself in the likeness of Apollo as the one who has been promised rule over the whole world (e.g., Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 36). Rodgers, in a carefully argued article ("Constantine's Pagan Vision"), suggests that in the person to whom the gods prophesied world rule lurks Augustus. Constantine is the new Augustus, fulfilling an old prophecy of the return of the Golden Age. The notion is a seductive one. Certainly, as Rodgers herself admits, with the adjectives *iuvenis*, *laetus*, *salutifer*, and *pulcherrimus* (21.6) "one cannot help thinking of Apollo"

has now happened, since you are, O Emperor, like he, youthful, joyful,
a bringer of health and very handsome. Rightly, therefore, have you 7
honored those most venerable shrines with such great treasures that they do not miss their old ones, any longer.[94] Now may all the temples be seen to beckon you to them, and particularly our Apollo, whose boiling waters punish perjuries—which ought to be especially hateful to you.[95]

Immortal gods, when will you grant that day on which this most 22
manifestly present god, with peace reigning everywhere, may visit those groves of Apollo as well, both sacred shrines and steaming mouths of springs? Their bubbling waters cloudy with gentle warmth seem to wish to smile, Constantine, at your gaze, and to insert themselves within your lips.

You will certainly marvel at that seat of your divinity too, and its 2
waters warmed without any trace of soil on fire, which has no bitterness of taste or exhalation, but a purity of draught and smell such as you find
in icy springs. And there you will grant favors, and establish privileges, 3
and at last restore my native place because of your veneration of that
very spot.[96] The ancient nobility of this city, which once prided itself 4

(p. 273). On the other hand, if the *species* is that of Apollo, and Constantine sees himself as Apollo, then the force of the words *tuus Apollo* is undermined. Furthermore, one then has to take *imperator* (21.6 ad fin.) as vocative, when it is surely more natural to take it here as a nominative, which would support Rodgers' identification of the person alluded to as Augustus. Finally, one could argue that *augustissima* is put immediately after the conceit in case the Virgilian allusion has been missed. Müller-Rettig, however, has taken issue with Rodgers and endorsed the traditional interpretation (*Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310*, 280ff.).

94. Presumably the old treasures were looted, but one can only guess at when. Excavation has revealed that the town of Grand was destroyed several times (see Billoret, "Grand").

95. "Our Apollo": 22.4 identifies the speaker's native place (*patriam meam*, 22.3) as Autun, although no hot springs are to be found there today (Galletier, 2: 31 n. 3). With his comment about the hatefulness of perjury to Constantine the speaker maintains his claim that Maximian had sworn an oath to Constantine (16.1).

96. No one can doubt the self-confidence of our panegyrist (cf. 23.1ff.)! One might suspect that he would be unlikely to commit the emperor publicly to such expenditure without some prior assurance on the point, but he gives the emperor an "out" at 22.7. In any case the imperial visit and favor forecast here eventuated within the next twelve months (see *Pan.* 5). But the warm waters at Autun remain a mystery; no hint of them survives outside this passage.

upon the name of brother of the Roman people,[97] awaits the assistance of your majesty, that the public places and most beautiful temples there too may be repaired through your bounty, just as I see here this most prosperous city, whose birthday is being celebrated by your piety,[98] being rebuilt so splendidly along its entire circuit of walls that it might be said to rejoice that it had collapsed into ruins, since it has become greater by your benefactions!

5 I see a Circus Maximus to rival, in my opinion, that at Rome, I see basilicas and a forum, palatial buildings, and a seat of justice raised to such a height that they promise to be worthy of the stars and the sky, their
6 neighbors.[99] All these, assuredly, are favors due to your presence. For in whatever places your divinity distinguishes most frequently with his visits, everything is increased—men, walls and favors; nor more abundantly did the earth send forth fresh flowers for Jupiter and Juno to lie on[100] than do cities and temples spring up in your footsteps, Constantine.

7 For that reason would it answer my prayers for you to see my native land, led there by your dutiful concern, for it will be restored at once,

97. *Quondam fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriatam*—taken from Eumenius *Pan.* 9.4.1 (*olim fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriatam*). This establishes the city as Autun; cf. Caes. *BGall.* 1.33.

98. See the section entitled "Occasion and Date" in the Introduction.

99. The great "Basilica of Constantine," the Porta Nigra (perhaps late second century to mid-third century?), and traces of other late Roman buildings such as a new bath complex and what was possibly a palace still stand today. The building program the panegyrist mentions was obviously designed to put Trier on an architectural footing with other Tetrarchic capitals, such as Nicomedia, Milan, and Aquileia. The city had suffered badly in the 270s (Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, 234; id., *Roman Trier and the Treviri* [London, 1970] 55–57). Wightman, *Roman Trier*, pp. 102ff., discusses the evidence for Tetrarchic buildings at Trier in relation to this passage and concludes that the program started under Constantius. For instance, an honorific inscription to Constantius found in the vicinity of the Circus suggests that its construction may have been begun by him (pp. 102–3). Wightman argues (pp. 108–9) that the extant great Basilica is likely to have served as an imperial reception chamber (*consistorium*, *sacrarium;* cf. Ambros. *Ep.* 29.3; Auson. *Grat. act.* 10 and 14), and that it is the "seat of justice" that will be a neighbor to the skies. Later, in the 320s, a large Christian church on a double-basilica plan was built and perhaps housed yet another piece of the True Cross.

100. Cf. *Il.* 14.346–49.

if you see it. But of course your good fortune must decide whether it should happen in my lifetime.

Meanwhile, since I have had my prayers answered in full, thanks to **23**
your esteem, in being able to consecrate this voice of mine, such as it is, trained in the manifold duties of private and palace life,[101] to your ears, I give cordial thanks to your divinity. It remains for me to recommend my children to you, and especially that one who is now looking after the highest interests of the imperial fisc.[102] To him all my paternal hopes have been transferred. His fruitful service, should your eye light upon him one day, would harmonize most fittingly with your age.[103]

However, in that I have spoken about all my children, my ambition, 2
Emperor, is wide. For in addition to those five I have fathered, I count as if my own as well those whom I have advanced to the guardianship of the courts, to offices at the palace.[104] Indeed many streams, not without renown, flow from me, many of my protégés even govern your provinces. I am gratified by their successes, and consider the honors of them all as my own, and if perchance my speech today has fallen below the expectations held of me, I trust that I have given satisfaction through them.

If, however, your divinity will grant me this as well, that I may carry 3
away from this oration testimony not to eloquence, which is asking too much, but at least to some measure of discretion,[105] and to a mind devoted to you, then away with the ignoble cares of private studies! The Emperor who has given me his approbation will provide a supply of material for my speeches that is inexhaustible.

101. For the speaker and his career, see the Introduction.

102. The *advocatus fisci* was a senior legal officer. The post was created by Hadrian, and in each province its incumbent represented the interests of the imperial treasury against private individuals.

103. The speaker was perhaps in his fifties (see the Introduction in the section "The Author"), and his eldest son in his thirties and of an age with the emperor.

104. For the connection between the Gallic schools of rhetoric and the imperial court see, for instance, *Pan.* 9 passim; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London, 1977) 98–99, 503–4; Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike*, 146ff.; Nixon, "Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period."

105. *Prudentiae*: the speaker seems to advert again to the delicacy of his assignment.

V

SPEECH OF THANKS TO CONSTANTINE

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

A native of Autun (1.1–2; 2.1, 3; 5.2; 14.5), the author explains that he is on this occasion "the mouthpiece not now of a private study of letters, but of public thanksgiving" (1.2). Presumably then he normally taught in the schools of Autun. A child at the time of the siege of his city in 269–270 (4.2), he was probably born between ca. 255 and 260 and would thus have been in his fifties when this speech was delivered.

He was also a local senator (1.3; cf. 9.4, 11.2), indeed one of considerable prominence, self-confident enough to think of addressing Constantine on the spur of the moment (1.3) and subsequently to go as an official spokesman to Trier to convey his city's thanks to the emperor for tax relief (1.2; 2.1). He is likely to have been one of the senators who responded to Constantine's inquiries during his visit to Autun (9.1ff., 11.1–2); he may well have had some direct responsibility for the collection of taxes (see 11.4 and note 48).[1]

1. Responsibility of decurions for the collection of taxes is a familiar phenomenon in late antiquity and is frequently attested as a motive for flight from the curia. The practice goes back to the early Empire (M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2d ed. [Oxford, 1957] 388–92) but only became burdensome during the troubled years of the third century. Gradually collective

OCCASION AND DATE

The speech, formally a *gratiarum actio*, was delivered before the emperor Constantine, his retinue of friends, and his imperial officials, in a city "which still enjoys, more than the rest, [Constantine's] continuous presence" (2.1).[2] This city can only be Trier, which was Constantine's capital and chief abode in this period.[3] To it had flocked men from almost every city in Gaul, both official spokesmen for their communities and private suppliants (2.1).

Clearly the occasion was an important one, and a later passage (13.1–2) reveals that it was the celebration of Constantine's *quinquennalia* at the end of his fifth year of rule (after an earlier ceremony "in anticipation" at the beginning of that year) on 25 July 311,[4] not 31 March 312, the date that E. Galletier accepts, following W. Seston.[5] Galletier believes that the latter chronology better fits the panegyrist's insistence that the efforts of Constantine's tax concessions have already been felt (14.3; cf. 11.4). But even if one were to take these claims literally and not dismiss them as panegyrical license,[6] the July 311 date allows ample time between the

responsibility gave way to individual, with the richest citizens pressed hardest. For examples of decurions' responsibilities, see *Cod. Theod.* 12.1 (e.g., 12.1.8, 323 C.E.), 6.35.3 (319; 352), 11.16.3 and 4 (325; 328—seeking to limit their arbitrary behavior).

2. See C. E. V. Nixon, "The Occasion and Date of Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," *Antichthon* 14 (1980) 157–69.

3. See *Pan.* 6.22.5–7. In 312 Constantine traveled to the Alps *a Rheno* (*Pan.* 12.5.5). The law codes reveal nothing of his movements during this period (see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* [Cambridge, Mass., 1982] 70).

4. The case is argued out at length in Nixon, "Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," in opposition to E. Faure, "Étude de la capitation de Dioclétien d'après le Panégyrique VIII," *Varia, Études de droit romain*, Institut de droit romain de l'Université de Paris 4 (1961) 26ff., who challenges the view that such anniversaries were celebrated both at the beginning and the end of the year in question (so, too, A. Chastagnol, "À propos des Quinquennalia de Constantin," *RN*[6] 22 [1980] 106–19), and to W. Seston, "Recherches sur la chronologie du règne de Constantin le Grand," *REA* 39 (1937) 197–218, and others who challenge the view that Constantine regarded 25 July as his *dies imperii* throughout his reign; see *Pan.* 7, Introduction, pp. 179ff. S. Mazzarino, "Computo e date di condono dei *reliqua*: da Costantino al 5° secolo," in *Romanitas-Christianitas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1982) 385 n. 26, on the other hand, seeks to divorce the delivery of the panegyric from the celebration of Constantine's *dies imperii*, 25 July 311, dating it instead toward the beginning of 312.

5. Galletier, 2: 78.

6. See Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 32.

granting of concessions and the delivery of the speech for the concessions to have taken effect. The terminus post quem for Constantine's visit and benefaction is ca. 1 August 310, the date of *Panegyric* 6, which ends with an invitation to Constantine to visit Autun and make it the equal of Trier (*Pan.* 6.21.7–22). The plea was evidently answered; at any rate the emperor made a one-day visit to the town (*Pan.* 5.1.3, 5; 8.1ff.) and announced tax concessions on the spot (10.1–5): cancellation of five years' arrears (10.5; 13.1), and a remission of 7,000 *capita* for the future (10.5; 11.1). But the remission of *capita* was not to come into effect immediately. Such apparent claims (*ita nos nimia mole depressi levato onere consurgimus*, 11.5) are proleptic, as is immediately made clear: *quamquam enim adhuc sub pristina sarcina vacillemus, tamen levior videtur quia vicino* (*fine*) *perfertur* (12.2); *quo magis spe futuri temporis elevamur* (12.4). There is a short period of *labor* (12.5)—*unus hic annus*—that forms a kind of boundary between each act of generosity (12.6). Presumably the year in question is the financial, not the calendar, year, and the remission of 7,000 *capita* is to come into force at the inception of the next financial year, that is (most probably), from 1 September 311.[7] Given full force, the term *unus hic annus* would therefore suggest that Constantine's visit took place shortly after the delivery of *Panegyric* 6 (ca. 1 August 310); in that case, however, it would have to be argued that Autun started to fall behind in its tax payments a year before the "harsh new census" of September 306, which is possible but damages the rhetorical point at 13.1 (see note 55). It is better to assume that *unus hic annus* does not refer to a full period of twelve months but simply serves to identify that fiscal year that had to run its course before the reduced tax schedule came into operation, and to put Constantine's visit somewhat later in 310, or, indeed, early in 311.[8]

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The speech, with its allusion to the siege of Autun in 269–270 (4.2–3) and its quite detailed description of its countryside (6–7) is of considerable interest to the local and regional historian. Of wider significance, however, is what it tells us about the late Roman taxation system shortly after the reforms of Diocletian. The speech is one of our earliest sources for the

7. Nixon, "Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," 165 and n. 39; see Barnes, *New Empire*, 234.

8. In referring to five years of canceled arrears (13.1), 1 September 306–early 311, the panegyrist would then be making an approximation. In equating this "*lustrum*" with the *quinquennium* of Constantine's rule, 25 July 306–25 July 311, he succumbs to an irresistible temptation; see too note 55 on 13.1.

Nixon, "Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," 166 n. 40, overlooks the fact that most of *unus hic annus* was over by the time the speech was delivered. Barnes, *New Empire*, 70, suggests spring 311 as the date of Constantine's visit to Autun, which is as good a guess as any.

subject, but it must be admitted that its testimony is exceedingly difficult to interpret. We know too little about the "fundamental principles" of late Roman taxation to be sure of our ground.[9] There is a great deal of scattered evidence that bears on the subject, particularly in the law codes, but much of it postdates our period, and it is not always easy to decide how far one can legitimately extrapolate from it, or how relevant it is to Gaul in the early years of the fourth century. Nevertheless, what follows here may help to clarify some of the issues.

We are told (5.4ff.) that a "harsh new census" that imposed a common schedule on the whole of Gaul precipitated a crisis at Autun, which was allegedly still feeling the effects of the sack of 270: the inhabitants were unable to pay their taxes, and many had abandoned their land (6.2ff., 11.4, 14.3). Constantine canceled five years' arrears and reduced the city's obligations for the future by 7,000 *capita* (10.5ff., 13.1). From the equation between the *lustrum* of arrears and Constantine's reign (13.1ff.) it can be deduced that the census referred to is that of 306 C.E. (see above and note 27 to 5.4). Elsewhere a census of that year is known to have involved, inter alia, making the urban populace liable for taxation on the same basis as the rural for the first time (see above and note 27 to 5.4). At Autun, Constantine's remedy for the future was to reduce the assessment from 32,000 to 25,000 *capita* (note 46 on 11.1). The burning question is what is meant by *capita*. To anticipate, the choice would seem to lie between interpreting *capita* simply as "heads," that is, persons liable to taxation upon their persons, or as artificial fiscal units representing taxes levied on persons or property or both.

To put the question first in its wider context, we need to determine what might be expected of a census in Gaul in 306. Lactantius describes

9. See W. Goffart, *Caput and Colonate*, Phoenix Supplement 12 (Toronto, 1974) 3, quoting Edward Gibbon; so, too, A. Chastagnol, "L'antiquité ne nous a pas laissé les clés de 'sa fiscalité,' " review of *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire*, by A. Cérati, *Latomus* 30 (1971) 495. Goffart describes his book as "a report of research in progress" (p. 3). While he succeeds admirably in demonstrating the complexity of the subject and the flimsy foundations of some commonly held views, it cannot be said that his answers inspire confidence; see the review by R. P. Duncan-Jones, *JRS* 67 (1977) 202–4.

in some detail the taking of a census in 306 (*Mort. pers.* 23) and makes it clear that it was an empire-wide phenomenon (see *Mort. pers.* 26.2): *censitores* measured each field minutely and registered both animals and people. Among the latter was included the urban population. Obviously the census was made the basis for taxation of all three categories: land, livestock, and people. Our Gallic panegyrist uses the term *census* four times, on the surface of it in a general sense, at 5.4, 5.5, 10.5, and 11.1, the last time in the plural, where it is related to *capita*, which form part of these plural *census*. The plural might be explained by 5.5 and 6.1, where it is spelled out what was involved at Autun (and therefore throughout Gaul): registration of both fields and persons—*hominum numerum ... et agrorum modum* (6.1); there is no word of animals, but presumably they were tallied as well. A common schedule (*formula*) for the census throughout Gaul (5.5) set out the rate at which tax was paid on the various categories.

A complication is introduced by the words *ut dixi* at 6.1, which have suggested to some that the balance there between men and fields must reflect a similar balance at 5.5, in which case the phrase *census* . . . *formula* is parallel to *hominum numerum*, and that two separate schedules (or registers?) are being distinguished; hence the view, given wide currency in the English scholarly world by A. H. M. Jones, that by *census* the speaker might be referring only to the schedule of persons (or *capita*), and, furthermore, that Constantine's concession related only to the capitation tax, and not tax on land; that is to say, *capita* means "taxable heads," including women and grown-up children (12.3).[10] Accepting Jones's view, T. D. Barnes has taken a further step in concluding that the 7,000 *capita* remitted to Autun represented the *plebs urbana*.[11]

But this is surely too mechanical an interpretation of the phraseology of the panegyrist. At 5.5 the speaker is conceding that Autun has no just grounds for complaint, which makes Constantine's gesture all the more magnanimous. His point is to emphasize that the census was accurate, and

10. *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford, 1964) 1040–41 and n. 15. Jones deduces from 5.5 and 6.1 "that the assessment was in two schedules, *homines* and *agri*," and from 12 "that the *capita* remitted were on the schedule of *homines*." This interpretation offers a basis for calculating the population of Autun. Adding a half for children to the 32,000 heads, Jones reaches a total of 50,000, but he is uncertain as to whether the Gallic *capitatio* included the urban population. Other scholars have argued that the panegyrist is speaking of personal capitation: e.g., S. Mazzarino, *Aspetti sociali del quarto secolo* (Rome, 1951) 261–68, whose views are criticized by Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 74ff.

11. *New Empire*, 234.

that the mode of assessment for Autun was no different from any other Gallic community: at this stage he is not concerned with defining the elements of the Gallic census. That he does, but still not comprehensively (there is no mention of animals!), at 6.1; the *ut dixi* is not strictly literal, but it could be presumed that everyone knew that a register of persons was a component of a census, and it is therefore implicit in, if not deliberately implied by, the very mention of the word *census* at 5.4 and 5.5. The additional words *Gallicani* and *communi* would seem to make it even less likely that by *census* the speaker here meant *only* a register of persons (against the usual meaning of the term; see, for example, Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 23.1), and that by careful choice of words he is keeping two schedules or registers sharply distinct.[12]

How does the argument that the terms *census* and *capita* refer only to personal capitation fit into the wider context of the speech? If the panegyrist's anguished remarks about the severity of the census and his joy at the emperor's remedies are to be taken seriously, the capitation tax must have been a very substantial element in the total tax burden of the city. It is being claimed, after all, that a reduction of somewhat more than a fifth of it will make a crucial difference to Autun's economic prospects (11.1–12.6). This seems surprising. There are many indications that land tax was a major burden in late antiquity, and some evidence that the government was readier to remit capitation than it.[13] But such general considerations cannot be decisive here. We must focus on the panegyric itself.

First of all, the very passages that have been used as a basis for arguing that *capita* refers only to persons—5.5 and 6.1—put equal emphasis on land: the Aedui have the fields, but they are unproductive. And the long section that follows (6.2–7.3) is devoted exclusively to agrarian problems, ending with the difficulty of discharging the city's obligations, here depicted as the transport of their harvest, the *annona*, the tax on the

12. This issue, and related ones, are discussed further in the commentary; see especially notes 27–28, 46, 49, and 53.

13. For example, see Constantius II's exemption of the clergy from personal, but not land, tax: *Cod. Theod.* 16.2.10, 14, 15, with the discussion of Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 118–19, and id., "Capitatio and Iugatio," *JRS* 47 (1957) 90 (= *The Roman Economy*, ed. P. A. Brunt [Oxford, 1974] 284). Whether there is an equivalent for land tax of the exemption of veterans from personal *capita* in *Cod. Theod.* 7.20.4 (325) or not (Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 123 n. 297; Jones), it is clear that the primary concession relates to personal capitation. For the contrary view, see Goffart, *Caput and Colonate*, 22ff. (speculative).

land paid in kind (7.3). Great play is made of the fact that under the harsh new census there is no incentive to cultivate "a field which never meets its expenses" (6.2). *Impendia* are not necessarily simply "taxes," but the presumption is surely that tax on the land itself was a critical part of the problem. Admittedly, agriculture was the foundation of the economy of practically every city in the Empire, but if Constantine's remedy consisted solely of remission of taxation on persons, why does the speaker not relate this to his discussion of the land, instead of making the poor quality of the latter the focal point, and relegating any further mention of persons to 12.3? In the circumstances it would be surprising if Constantine's concession had nothing to do with the land tax at all.

The panegyrist's emphasis on the rural nature of the crisis is also a powerful argument against Barnes's thesis that the 7,000 remitted *capita* represent specifically the urban population. Section 12.3, discussed below, suggests that the whole population benefited directly from the reduction in *capita*, and would have to be dismissed as rhetorical exaggeration. And given the limitations of the urban restoration (2.5, 5.4, notes 1 and 12), surely one might have expected a lurid picture of the plight of the city populace, and the injustice of extending capitation to it despite the generous efforts of Constantine and his father to revive the city.

But if the 7,000 *capita* were not urban ones, how were they selected? Section 12.3 points to some kind of exemption for (aged?) parents, wives, and (somewhat surprisingly) grown-up children. But on what mathematical model can this be explained, if one *caput* equals one person? If the passage be taken at face value, the numbers do not work out (see note 53). How is it that *plures adiuvant obsequia paucorum* (12.3) when a levy of 32,000 has been reduced by only 7,000? Of course it may be replied that this is simply rhetorical exaggeration.

Another objection to the assumption that *capita* are tax-liable "heads" is demographic. E. Faure, for example, cannot believe that the Aedui, one of the chief peoples of Gaul, could have been reduced to such paltry numbers, which he calculates as a depopulation of four-fifths from Caesar's day, nor is he alone.[14] But the population figures are rather precarious: Caesar's data are the base (are his figures never exaggerated?). It can be replied that Faure and the French school seriously underestimate the impact of the third-century crisis here, and Jones, for one, accepts without any qualms that Autun had such reduced numbers in the fourth

14. "La capitation de Dioclétien," 78ff., 85.

century.[15] But Aeduan territory was undoubtedly still extensive (note 35), and doubts remain.

It can be argued, however, that many of the above difficulties dissolve if *capita* are not simply persons, taxable "heads," but some kind of artificial fiscal unit by which tax liability was measured, as is known in Syria under Diocletian, and in other parts of the East. In the former, as we learn from the Syro-Roman lawbook, the land was classified according to its use and productivity and divided into tax units called *iuga*.[16] Elsewhere, tax units of persons, *capita*, are heard of as well.[17] There is evidence that in certain cases these two units were of equal value.[18] Furthermore, the term *capita* can be demonstrated to refer on occasions to taxes levied on land rather than on persons.[19] Finally, somewhat later to be sure, the codes equate the two terms, hence the expression *iuga seu capita*.[20] In these circumstances, then, it is by no means as outrageous a notion as it may at first seem, to suggest that in this panegyric *capita* refers to fiscal units comprising tax assessments both on land and on persons. Such is the conclusion of the French school, with recent adherents from elsewhere.[21]

15. *Later Roman Empire*, 1040–41 and n. 15.

16. This schoolbook of Roman civil law is extant only in late Syriac and other Eastern language versions. A modern Latin translation of the relevant section (121) can be found in *FIRA* 2.795–96 (English translation, N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, *Roman Civilization* [New York, 1955] 2: 462).

17. The earliest document that seems to juxtapose the so-called *iugatio* (although the actual term used is *aroura*) and a capitation tax, here levied on the rural populace alone, is the edict of the prefect of Egypt Aristius Optatus, 16 March 297 (*PCairo Isid.* 1; trans., Lewis and Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, 2: 461–62).

18. A. Déléage, *La capitation du Bas-Empire* (Mâcon, 1945) 209–10; see Jones, "Capitatio and Iugatio," 88–94 (= *The Roman Economy*, 280–92); H. Bott, *Die Grundzüge der diocletianischen Steuerverfassung* (Darmstadt, 1928).

19. Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 95ff.; W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (Paris, 1946) 265 n. 1, lists examples (some admittedly ambiguous or late) from the Theodosian Code.

20. *Cod. Theod.* 7.6.3 (377 C.E.); cf. 13.10.8 (383): *iugatio vel capitatio*.

21. Déléage, *La capitation du Bas-Empire*, 208ff.; A. Piganiol, "La capitation de Dioclétien," *RH* 176 (1935) 1–13 (= *Scripta varia*, Coll. Latomus 133 [Brussels, 1973] 3: 288ff.); Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 261ff., esp. 270 n. 1; Goffart, *Caput and Colonate*, 49–50; R. MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis* (New Haven, 1976) 137ff. Faure, whose analysis of the panegyric is the most detailed, argues ("La capitation de Dioclétien," 93ff.) that the *capita* mentioned are indeed tax units, but that they represent assessment on land alone, "unités d' assiette foncière," analogous to the Syrian *iugum* and Egyptian *aroura*. To do this he has to make 12.3 refer to the effect of the cancellation of arrears, which is untenable (see note 53). Chastagnol, in his

Ironically Jones himself has recognized such "a consolidated tax on *capita* and other property, that is probably *iuga* of land," finding it at precisely the same date as our panegyric, in the Table of Brigetio, 311 C.E. (*FIRA* 1, no. 93, 457), as well as in *Codex Theodosianus* 7.20.4, 325 C.E.[22]

Such a solution, the consolidated tax units being termed *capita*, would explain why the panegyrist appears to give as much weight to the land register (*agros qui discripti fuerant*, 5.5; *agrorum modum*, 6.1) as to the register of persons (*hominum numerum qui delati sunt*, 6.1) in accounting for the inability of the Aedui to pay their taxes: *hominum segnitia terraeque perfidia* (6.1). And it would explain the emphasis on the agrarian crisis (6.2ff.). All this would be surprising had Constantine granted concessions only on personal capitation. In that case the panegyrist would surely have proclaimed that this was where the problem lay! Such an interpretation would also make Constantine's benefaction much more substantial (more than a fifth of the total assessment, rather than perhaps less than half of that; see, however, 12.1 and note 51) and have it apply directly to the land, as one would expect it to from the tenor of the panegyrist's remarks.

R. MacMullen provides an illustration of how such a system might work.[23] A landowner registers himself and his two sons; each counts as one-fifth of a *caput*, and their property two-fifths; the total, one *caput*, one 32,000th of the municipal whole. With the reduction to 25,000 the register of persons is unchanged, in MacMullen's model, but the area of land that makes up one *caput* is increased, so "each family will be liable to a smaller annual payment on the landed portion of its taxability." But that does not yet fit the evidence of our panegyric. It does not explain 12.3. A modification will do so, however. Let us suppose that the heads of the household (the *pauci*) were assessed at a certain rate, and their dependents at a lower, but still significant, one (such fractional ratings are known from elsewhere; see note 53). The concession (in addition to lowering the tax rate on the land?) removed the tax liability upon the latter, to the joy of the heads of household: *quorum onera sibi remissa laetantur*. Thus it could be remarked that *plures adiuvant obsequia paucorum*; they would do so by their

review of *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire*, by A. Cérati (who argues that the land tax is calculated not on the land but on the persons installed upon it), endorses Faure's position but does not refer to 12.3.

22. "Capitatio and Iugatio," 91 (= *The Roman Economy*, 285). "The total assessment of an estate was formed by adding together the *iuga* of land and the *capita* of persons . . . thus producing a total of *iuga vel* or *seu* or *et capita*" (Jones, p. 90 = pp. 283–84), as at Astypalaea (*IG* 12.3.180).

23. *Roman Government's Response to Crisis*, 138ff.

labor without in the future adding to the tax burden of the *pauci*. But there are other possibilities.[24]

It is clear that the census of 306 caused widespread difficulties, and that the problem of arrears was by no means confined to Autun. *Codex Theodosianus* 11.3.1, addressed to the *praeses* of Lugdunensis I (MS: 1 July 319; Cologne), reveals that Constantine had made numerous enquiries concerning *reliqua* in various provinces *ut cognosceremus quanta reliqua per singulas quasque provincias et per quae nomina . . . resedissent.*[25] Forced land sales contingent on the purchaser not paying the backlog of taxes were compounding the problem. Constantine forbade such contracts of sale, holding the purchaser liable for all *reliqua*. Autun had received favorable treatment indeed!

24. It must be admitted that it is an awkwardness of the theory that *capita* in the panegyric are tax units made up, in some cases at least, of fractions, that the Table of Brigetio and *Cod. Theod.* 7.20.4, referred to above, both of Constantinian date, give an equation of one *caput* for one person. But it is clear that fiscal terms in the late Empire are neither necessarily empire-wide nor unambiguous. And if one *caput* here = one person, on what basis were the remissions granted, given the unlikelihood that they represent the *capita* of the *plebs urbana*? Any general scaling down removes the equivalency of *caput* to person and revives fractional assessments without explaining how the majority can be said to help discharge the obligations of the few (see note 53).

25. The MS date cannot be correct. Seeck altered it to 313. Mazzarino, "Computo," 392, following Godefroy, suggests 312. This would make it the earliest decree in the Theodosian Code, and the only one prior to the expedition against Maxentius. If Constantine were still in Cologne on 1 July 312, his Italian campaign was swift—less than four months.

V. SPEECH OF THANKS TO CONSTANTINE

1 If Flavia of the Aedui, now called at last by an eternal name,[1] most sacred Emperor, had been able to move herself from her foundations and come hither,[2] the entire city I feel sure would speak in person with one voice concerning your huge and magnificent benefactions in her favor, and would give thanks to you as her restorer, or rather, to speak more truly, as her founder, in this city above all which you have begun to make
2 her resemble.[3] But since she cannot attain that (she longs in spirit for what Nature does not permit), and the intervening distance does not allow you to hear the shouts with which she lifts your praises to the skies, I willingly undertook, as befitted the occasion, the announcement of the joy of my native place, so that I might be the mouthpiece, not now of a
3 private study of letters, but of public thanksgiving.[4] For I wished, most

1. See 2.1, 14.5. It is not known when Autun (Augustodunum) took the name Flavia. *Nomen . . . tuum* (14.5) is inconclusive, for it was also Constantius' name, and naturally the addressee of the panegyric would take pride of place in the peroration. Constantius himself refers to it as *Augustodunensium oppidum* in a letter quoted by Eumenius in 298 (*Pan.* 9.14.1). He was in the process of "restoring" the city in the late 290s (*Pan.* 8.21.2; cf. 5.4 below). The panegyrist of 310 does not mention Autun by name (*patriam meam*, 22.3, 7). *Tandem* might imply delay, and a very recent change, but 14.5, and 3, show that the speaker can adopt a very long time scale. On the other hand, his emphasis on the new name both at the beginning of his speech and at its end would be more understandable and more pointed if the city had been renamed in Constantine's honor after his visit and benefactions in 310 (or 311). The name did not last: Autun is Augustodunum again in Ammianus (15.11.11, 16.2.1) and the *Notitia dignitatum* (*occ.* 9.33–34, 11.59). For the slogan "restorer" see note 22 below.

2. Cicero expresses the same conceit but in different words (*Pis.* 52). In general our speaker is not verbally dependent on his predecessors, although A. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," *RhM* 66 (1911) 559–60, detects a few Ciceronian reminiscences.

3. The city is Trier (see the Introduction), Constantine's capital, which he (and his father?) had rebuilt on an ambitious scale, attracting Autun's envy (cf. *Pan.* 6.22, with note 99).

4. The passage suggests that the speaker was a professor in the schools of Autun (see the section "The Author" in the Introduction), and Galletier takes it thus (2: 79, 89). But it has been interpreted differently, for example, by Klotz,

sacred Emperor, to give thanks to your divinity in the very entrance hall of your palace[5] when, with the divine voice of your indulgence and this invincible right hand of yours stretched forth, you raised up the Senate prostrate before your feet.[6] Nor would words have failed me, although 4
I was unprepared; for who could either have prepared himself for such unexpected benefactions or have checked such great rejoicing? But I 5
took account of the place and the time, lest while my eagerness and enthusiasm to speak might indeed be approved by you (which would suffice for immortality for me) nevertheless because of the small number of bystanders it might make less impact on the public than was your due, and a speech, which because of the greatness of your merits could not

"Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," 528–29, who argues that the phrase *privatum studium litterarum* refers to the speaker's personal inclination and taste (*studium*) for letters, and not to his profession. This is implausible: who would expect such a disclaimer in this context? Galletier further infers that the panegyrist has not spoken in public before (1: xxii) and thus cannot be either Eumenius or the panegyrist of 310. Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 20, however, in making a case for identifying him with Eumenius, takes the passage to mean "I am not today, as I was the last time, the orator of the university, but of the entire city" (so, before him, Livineius). This is an acute and attractive rendering, but considerations of style and content seem to rule out Eumenian authorship (see the General Introduction).

5. For the term *numen* (divinity) see *Pan.* 10, note 2. A "palace" is not necessarily a building constructed especially for an emperor but may simply be where an emperor happens to be residing; see Dio 53.16.5–6; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London, 1977) 20, 40ff. As Faure rightly stresses ("La capitation de Dioclétien," 16, 17, 20), the whole passage is testimony to the standing in his native town of our anonymous orator, who was not only a senator but clearly regarded himself as the natural spokesman for his fellow citizens and senators (see the section "The Author" in the Introduction).

6. *Adoratio* or *proskynesis* was now required of the upper classes, indeed, of members of the imperial family; although even in an earlier epoch such prostration may have been offered by provincial petitioners of any status (see *Pan.* 10, Introduction, p. 51f.). The raising of a suppliant physically or by a gesture of the hand is frequently depicted on coins; see Trajan, *BMCRE* 3.1045–49 (pl. 43.1); Marcus Aurelius, RESTITVTORI ITALIAE, *RIC* 3.299, nos. 1077ff.; Aurelian, *RIC* 5.1.280, no. 141; Postumus, *RIC* 5.2.359, no. 276; Constantius, *RIC* 6.167, no. 32. The subject is studied in detail by R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, Mem. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 14 (New Haven, 1963) 42ff. and passim (see the index, s.v., for example, "Restitution-restoration").

be a hasty one, might delay you when you were dealing in one day with so many matters concerning our welfare.

2 Now, therefore, since the whole retinue of your friends, and all the apparatus of empire, stands at your side in this city which still enjoys, more than the rest, your continuous presence (for it will have our Flavia as a rival for felicity), since all men from almost every city are present, either sent officially or as suppliants before you on their own behalf,[7] I shall say, O Emperor, what you would gladly acknowledge, and what the rest would not believe has been conferred upon
2 us unless I had said it with your acknowledgment.[8] The first task,

7. For the occasion, Constantine's *quinquennalia*, see the Introduction. "Retinue" translates *comitatus*. *Comites* were originally "companions" of a provincial governor, accompanying him to his province, young men, often of good family, unsalaried, but hoping for perquisites, and perhaps pursuing private business ventures, frequently unsavory ones (see, for instance, Cic. *Att.* 8.1.2; Catull. 28; Pliny *Ep.* 6.22.2). By the late Empire the terms *amici* and *comites* can both be used of imperial advisers, the extended role of the latter reflecting, as Millar notes (*Emperor*, 119), the peripatetic nature of the late Roman court. Naturally on this occasion all Constantine's advisers would be present. Under Constantine and his sons we find for the first time "orders" of *comites—comites ordinis primi, secundi*, and *tertii* (Eus. *Vita Constantini* 4.1; *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.2 of 338; *ILS* 1223–24, 1227–28, 1231–32, 1237–38; Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 104–5, 333–34), and it might seem as if the term has come to denote a formal rank or honorific title. But as the career of L. Aradius Valerius Proculus (cos. 340) reveals—*comiti iterum ordinis primi intra Palatium*—it must still have remained for some time a post or office "held during the emperor's pleasure" (Jones, p. 104). By *omnis imperii apparatus* is meant the whole of Constantine's palatine bureaucracy, the *apparitores*, likewise assembled in Trier for the celebration of the *quinquennalia*. All stand at their emperor's side (*assistit*) in this epoch; hence the term *consistorium*, "standing together."

That Autun will be a rival for Constantine's presence is perhaps wishful thinking: Trier, nearer the Rhine, was the logical imperial base because of its more strategically important situation, although in recent times legions might winter in Autun (*Pan.* 9.4.3). But soon, of course, Constantine's ambitions would remove him from Gaul altogether; no hint of this yet, however: 9.3 and 14.5 reflect, hyperbolically, the present. The celebrations brought official delegates from all the Gallic cities to offer congratulations to the emperor on his anniversary. Private suppliants would flock to court, too, for on such occasions emperors might be more inclined to grant favors.

8. Constantine, in responding to the plea of the panegyrist of 310 to visit Autun (see the Introduction) and in granting generous tax concessions to it, ran the risk of arousing the jealousy of other towns. The orator is acutely aware of the danger of putting the emperor in an embarrassing position by encouraging a flood of similar requests. He is therefore at pains to stress to the company that the benefactions were not the result of *fortuita felicitas* but rather of *iusta clementia*. He does so by recalling the special claims of the Aedui to imperial benevolence on account of their loyalty to Rome, and the disasters they had suffered as a consequence.

O Emperor, in giving thanks, is to show that what was conferred was not the product of adventitious good fortune but of merited compassion. For while to help all men, even those not in need, is the duty of a good leader, to come to the aid of the well deserving but grievously afflicted is more particularly the duty of a wise one. When I have 3
proven this, not so much through eagerness to eulogize my native place, but rather because of my duty to demonstrate your forethought,[9] then above all shall I set out, with more devotion than talent, the magnitude of your benefactions. For what nation in all the world could 4
demand that it be placed before the Aedui in its love of the Roman name? They were the first of all among those savage and uncivilized nations of Gaul to be named brothers of the Roman people in numerous decrees of the Senate,[10] and, when not even peace could be hoped for, unless a mistrusted one, from the rest of the people from the Rhône right up to the Rhine, they alone gloried in a name which actually implied ties of blood; and recently, to pass over intervening 5

9. The good emperor's *providentia*, or forethought, for his subjects was a virtue much extolled from an early date. Common on third-century coins (see indices to *RIC* 5), it takes its place in the coinage of the First Tetrarchy, e.g., *RIC* 6.350ff.: PROVIDENTIA AVGG, Camp-gate, a type that later recurs on Constantine's coinage, 324–330 (e.g., *RIC* 7.136). Earlier studies of the celebration of imperial virtues on the coinage, especially that of M. P. Charlesworth, "The Virtues of a Roman Emperor," *PBA* 23 (1937) 105ff., have been subjected to sharp scrutiny by A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Emperor and His Virtues," *Historia* 30 (1981) 298–323; note, nevertheless, M. P. Charlesworth, "Providentia and Aeternitas," *HTR* 29 (1936) 107–32.

10. See Caes. *BGall.* 1.33.2, but as his account makes clear, there was an anti-Roman as well as a pro-Roman party (also 1.16ff., 44, etc.), and Aeduan duplicity has often been reviled, by, for instance, C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1926; reprint, Brussels, 1964) 2: 539; J. J. Hatt, *Histoire de la Gaule romaine* (Paris, 1959) 70–71 (and denied: A. Thévenot, "Les Éduens n'ont pas trahi," *Latomus* 19 [1960] 3–56, 253–90, 437–93—the case needs much ink to establish); see *Pan.* 9.4.1 and 6.22.4 for other allusions to the brotherhood of Romans and Aedui.

events, they alone called upon the deified Claudius, your ancestor, to recover the Gauls,[11] and, what must be mentioned especially, a very few years ago they received the most numerous benefactions from your father, some realized by deeds; some they rejoiced in as signified intentions.[12]

3 Long ago Saguntum was leagued with Rome, but only when the whole of Spain, through weariness of the Punic war, desired to change its master. Marseilles was a friend; she congratulated herself on being protected by the majesty of the Roman name.[13] In Sicily the Mamertines, in Asia the people of Ilium, attributed to themselves a mythical origin.[14] Only the Aedui, not terrified by fear, nor driven by sycophancy, but because of frank and sincere regard, were held to be brothers of the Roman people and deserved to be so called. This name, more than other terms for
2 relationships, attests both to mutual love and equality of rank. Then, when neighboring nations, envying that new prize of brotherhood with

11. The expression *tuum parentem* (repeated below, 4.2) was a polite way of referring to an imperial predecessor; see *Cod. Iust.* 2.13.1 (293; of Diocletian, Maximian, and the Caesars: *constituit Divus Claudius, consultissimus princeps, parens noster*); 11.59.1 (Constantine, of *Divus Aurelianus, parens noster*). But there can be no doubt that here it alludes to the fictitious genealogy first revealed in the panegyric of 310 (6.2.1–2; see notes 5–6 ad loc.), and demonstrates at the very least that it enjoyed some local currency in Gaul a year later (see 14.4 and note 61 below). For the siege of Autun see 4.2ff. and note 21 below.

12. Eumenius in 298 parades a long list of benefactions of *imperatores Caesaresque nostri*: rebuilding not only of temples and public edifices but also of private dwellings (*Pan.* 9.4). Our speaker has to demonstrate the plight of the Aedui without appearing to blame the emperor's father or to slight his *beneficia*. His solution is adroit: he praises Constantius' generous intentions but indicates delicately that not all were translated into action.

13. The case is overstated. Saguntum was an ally of Rome before the (second) Punic war, when other Spanish communities had no ties with Rome (see Polyb. 3.15.5, 8, etc.). Massilia is also spoken of as an ally (*socius*) of Rome before the Second Punic War (Livy 21.20.8; cf. 21.25.1).

14. The Mamertini claimed to be the sons of Mars (Mamers in Oscan). They were Campanian mercenaries who treacherously seized Messene between 288 and 283 B.C.E. They asked for and received a Carthaginian garrison, but their subsequent request for help from Rome precipitated the First Punic War in 264 B.C.E.; see Polyb. 1.7ff. In the case of Ilium it was the Romans who took the initiative, with their claim to an association with the Trojan War heroes through Aeneas.

Rome, and stirred by hatred to the point of destroying themselves, had called upon the Germans to assist them as their masters,[15] the chief of the Aedui came to the Senate, informed it of the situation, and when invited to sit with it, claimed less for himself than was conceded and gave his whole speech leaning on his shield. When help was granted[16] he was the first 3
to lead a Roman army and Caesar to this side of the Rhône.[17] For up until that time Transalpine Gaul was named the highway to Gaul;[18] but the Aedui handed over to Roman control all that territory which is enclosed by the Rhine, the Ocean, the Pyrenees and the Cottian Alps, hospitably furnishing them with winter quarters, supplying them generously with provisions, manufacturing arms for the infantry and providing forces of cavalry.[19] Thus with all the peoples of the Celts and Belgae united in 4
the one treaty of peace they snatched from the barbarians whatever they annexed for the Romans.[20]

15. The Arverni and Sequani, rivals of the Aedui, invited Ariovistus, king of the Suebi, to cross the Rhine and help them (ca. 71 B.C.E.). He did so but brought more Germans in his train, seized the best land of the Sequani, and tyrannized the Gauls (Caes. *BGall.* 1.31–32; 6.12).

16. The chief is the Druid Diviciacus (Caes. *BGall.* 1.3.5). This version of events creates a misleading impression by glossing over Rome's vacillation. Caesar informs us that Diviciacus' journey to Rome in 61 B.C.E. to ask the Senate for aid was unsuccessful; help was not then granted, and Diviciacus *imperfecta* (or *infecta*) *re redierat* (*BGall.* 6.12.5; cf. 1.44.9). While the Senate passed a decree that *quicumque Galliam provinciam obtineret* should defend the Aedui and other friends of the Roman people as much as he could in keeping with the interests of the state (*BGall.* 1.35.4), no deeds followed these fine words, and in 59 B.C.E. the Senate actually declared Ariovistus *rex atque amicus* (*BGall.* 1.35.2), apparently under Caesar's influence. This did not, of course, prevent Caesar from subsequently making war on him (*BGall.* 1.38ff.).

17. Help was given in 58, thanks to Caesar's ambitions. There is no mention of Diviciacus when Caesar crossed the Rhône to intercept the Helvetii (*BGall.* 1.11.5), but he later showed Caesar the best route forward beyond Vesontio (Besançon; *BGall.* 1.41.4).

18. Cf. Caesar's own route, *BGall.* 1.7.1; 1.10.3–5.

19. Grossly exaggerated, and glossing over the fact that the Aedui rebelled in 52 B.C.E. during the revolt of Vercingetorix (Caes. *BGall.* 7.37ff.). Caesar's narrative illustrates at many points the aid given the Romans by the Aedui.

20. Galletier, 2: 80, justly remarks the totally Roman mentality of the speaker, in whose eyes the Gauls of that epoch were barbarians, and for whom the handing over of free Gaul to Roman control was not an act of betrayal but

4 Someone will say: "That is ancient history." And so it is, and all the more worthy of respect for being ancient. For worthiness and weight attach themselves to good services with the passage of time. And as we respect and honor our aged parents more and more each day, while our brothers, our equals in age, and our children, our issue, touch our hearts with a less deep affection, although admittedly a fonder one, so ancient benefactions are more weighty, although current ones may seem more
2 agreeable. If, however, those have grown obsolete because of their great age, what of these recent ones which we witnessed as children? Consider, I beseech you, O Emperor, how serious a thing it was for the Aedui to be the first to urge the deified Claudius, your forefather, to recover the Gauls. Awaiting his help, besieged for seven months, and suffering piteously all the miseries of famine, they finally abandoned their gates to be broken down by the rebel Gauls, only when, exhausted, they could no longer
3 mount guard over them.[21] But if Fortune had favored the prayers and the efforts of the Aedui, and that restorer of the State[22] had been able to come to our rescue when we were imploring him for aid, the brotherhood of the Aedui would have provided a shortcut to peace with the reconciliation of the provinces without any loss to Roman strength, and without the slaughter at Châlons.[23] On account of these services, both recent and 4
ancient, your deified father wished to raise up the city of the Aedui when it was lying prostrate,[24] and to restore it when it was ruined, not only by bestowing money on it for building warm baths, and by reconstructing the baths which had collapsed, but also by transferring to it immigrants from everywhere,[25] so that that city which had been the first to make the rest of the cities in some measure Roman might be like a common mother of the provinces.

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a matter of praise. We have come a long way from the likes of Civilis, Tutor, and Classicus, and the fierce Gallic independence of earlier days!

21. The circumstances in which Autun made its ill-judged appeal for help from Claudius are unknown. Eumenius tells us that the city was besieged by the *latrocinio Batavicae rebellionis* (*Pan.* 9.4.1; see note 12 ad loc.). Auson. *Parent.* 4.8–10 dates it by providing the information that his Aeduan grandfather and great-grandfather were proscribed "when Victorinus held the *regnum* and the *imperium* passed to the Tetrici," suggesting that the city fell to Victorinus and that the proscription of foes of the *imperium Galliarum* continued under his successors. After the death of Postumus, who had provided ten years of stability and security in Gaul, his successors floundered, and Claudius, who had recently won an outstanding victory over the Alamanni (*Epit.* 34.2, 268 C.E.), may have seemed to offer better prospects of strong government. The existence of several inscriptions in Spain honoring Claudius, and the absence of any record of Postumus' successors there, have suggested to some that that province broke from the *imperium Galliarum* after the latter's death (*ILS* 568; *CIL* 2.3619, 3737, 3833–34; see H. M. D. Parker, *A History of the Roman World, 138–337*, 2d rev. ed. [London, 1958] 188. Acceptance of this need not, of course, imply that Claudius himself recovered the province; see P. Webb, *RIC* 5.2.316–17). Gaul may have done the same. What military support Claudius gave the Western provinces, if any, is not altogether clear. An inscription from Cularo (Grenoble), a dedication to Claudius (*ILS* 569 = *CIL* 12.2228), reveals the presence of detachments of troops under a *praefectus vigilum* "bound for the province Narbonensis." Conceivably, Narbonensis had declared for Claudius, and his sending of a small force to defend it spurred the ill-fated Aeduan appeal. The Aeduan gentry may have resented the prominence of the Rhine cities of Mainz and Cologne under the separatist regime. For further details see P. LeGentilhomme, "Le désastre d'Autun en 269," *REA* 45 (1943) 233–40; P. Damerau, *Kaiser Claudius II Goticus* (Leipzig, 1934) 76–80; Hatt, *Histoire de la Gaule romaine*, 223–25; Galletier, 1: 110–11; J. Lafaurie, "L'empire gaulois apport de la numismatique," *ANRW* 2.2 (1975) 859ff.; and id., "La chronologie des empereurs gaulois," *RN*[6] 6 (1964) 91–127, which has been criticized by J. F. Drinkwater, "Coin Hoards and the Chronology of the Gallic Emperors," *Britannia* 5 (1974) 293–302; also B. Buckley, "The Aeduan Area in the Third Century," in *The Roman West in the Third Century*, ed. A. King and M. Henig, BAR Supplement 109 (Oxford, 1981) 2: 287–315, esp. 295–98.

22. See the Claudian coin issue, RESTITVTOR ORBIS, emperor sacrificing at altar: *RIC* 5.1.227, no. 189. Variations of the RESTITVTOR legend are particularly common in the third century, when there was much to restore; cf. Gallienus as RESTITVT/RESTITVTOR GALLIAR.; *RIC* 5.1.70–71, nos. 27ff.

23. The Gallic panegyrists are very sensitive to the consequences of civil war. Memory of civil war underlies many passages in *Pan.* 10, for instance (see *Pan.* 10, Introduction, pp. 43f.). The armies of Tetricus and Aurelian clashed at Catalaunum (Châlons-sur-Marne) in 273. Tetricus, an Aquitanian noble and (Roman?) senator, had been chosen by Victorinus' mother to succeed her son. Plagued by sedition among his troops, he sent a letter to Aurelian, asking for refuge, thus "betraying his army" (Eutr. 9.13). This did not, however, stop the slaughter. Aurelian subsequently appointed his adversary governor of Lucania; see Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33.14, 35.3–5; Eutr. 9.10, 13; *Epit.* 35.7; SHA, *Tyr. Trig.* 24.2, *Aurel.* 32.3; L. Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Aurélien* (Paris, 1904) 116–18.

24. See note 6 above.

25. "Immigrants" renders *metycis* (*meticis*) of the MSS. A passage in Eumenius (*Pan.* 9.4.3) refers to workmen being brought to Autun from overseas, presumably from Britain after Constantius' recovery of the island, and "provincials of the upper classes" (*ex amplissimis ordinibus provinciarum incolas*).

5 I have related, Emperor, how well deserving were the Aedui of your succor; it follows that I should relate how grievously they were afflicted.[26] This topic would afford me a great deal more to say if it were right to
2 dwell upon rather distressing events in your hearing. But as in praising the merits of my native city modesty set a limit lest my pride well up too arrogantly, so in recounting the ills of the same place both my grief and the deference customarily accorded your ears will provide a check. For you hear nothing happily unless you can rejoice in it on your subjects' behalf.
3 Nonetheless I beg you, Emperor, add endurance to your sensitivity, and, as doctors preeminent in their skill do not disdain to inspect the wounds which they treat, so may you now listen for a little while to the burdens of the Aedui which you have relieved. For you cannot achieve praise for
4 clemency without undergoing a feeling of pity. That city lay prostrate, not so much because of the collapse of its walls as because of the exhaustion of its strength, from the time when the harshness of the new census drained
5 it of life.[27] But a complaint could not be made with justice, since we

26. As R. Pichon observes (*Les derniers écrivains profanes* [Paris, 1906] 57), the panegyrist might appear to have organized his whole speech on the basis of a couple of phrases of Eumenius explaining the benevolence of the emperors toward Autun: *non solum pro admiratione meritorum, sed etiam pro miseratione casuum* (*Pan.* 9.4.1).

27. Reading *acerbitas* with the MSS. There seems no justification for adopting Cuspinianus' emendation *enormitas*, as does Mynors. There is no mention of Autun's agrarian or fiscal problems in *Pan.* 8 and 9 (297–298); these focus on the need to rebuild the city itself. More surprisingly perhaps, neither does the panegyrist of 310 mention them either. As can be deduced from a later passage in this speech, the harsh new census must have been imposed on 1 September 306 (see the Introduction, and Nixon, "Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," 157ff.). While later in the fourth century a cycle can be traced that falls in the second and seventh years of every decade (Barnes, *New Empire*, 227, with references), the evidence of Lactantius and the panegyric show unequivocally that this census must be the one carried out under Galerius in 306. At Rome (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 23.2, 26.2) and in the East (*Cod. Theod.* 13.10.2, 311; O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* [Stuttgart, 1919] 52–53, 159; Castritius, *Studien zur Maximinus Daia*, 9–23; Barnes, p. 232; see Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 36.2) it made townspeople as well as rural dwellers subject to capitation for the first time, but it is by no means clear that this was the case in Gaul (see the section "Historical Significance" in the Introduction), although it seems very likely. Perhaps the fact that it was Galerius' census explains the speaker's boldness in referring to its harshness. Galerius was now dead, which

were both in possession of the fields which had been registered and bound by the common formula of the Gallic census, we who can be compared to no one in our fortunes.[28] So much the more, Emperor, do we thank 6

would make it all the easier for Constantine to distance himself from it, although it will have fallen to his praetorian prefect to draw up the formula for Gaul. The 306 census was introduced throughout the Empire (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 23, 26.2; Nixon, p. 166 n. 41; and, more fully, Barnes, pp. 227–28). Within two months at Rome it had led to rebellion and the proclamation of Maxentius (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.1–3; cf. Zosimus 2.9.2–3). In Autun, the census evidently drove men into the woods or into exile (14.3). Another census followed in 311 (Barnes, p. 228). Whether Diocletian introduced a regular five-year cycle is debatable (Barnes, pp. 228ff.). But there is no warrant for divorcing our census from the one associated with the revolt of Maxentius, 28 October 306, and dating it to 307, as does J. Moreau, *Lactance* (Paris, 1954) 2: 333 (see Nixon, p. 166 n. 41). Nor is it Diocletian's census: the panegyrist would certainly make it clear if Autun's fiscal difficulties started before Constantine's time (13.1 reveals a truth that might have been, but for the skill of the speaker, an embarrassing one): Galletier, 2: 83 n. 2, is wrong to date it to 298, and Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 57, 66, to toy with the idea that it goes back to 302–304.

28. This tends to confirm Lactantius' picture of the care (or, as he would have it, savage thoroughness) with which the census was conducted, for the speaker has to concede that both the amount of land and the number of persons in Autun were recorded accurately (cf. 6.1). Lactantius had described how a second and third team of surveyors had been sent out to check on the original survey (*Mort. pers.* 23.6).

More important, it reveals that a common formula was applied to the diocese or prefecture (Déléage, *La capitation du Bas-Empire*, 209) of the Gauls, and by implication, therefore, that other dioceses or prefectures had their own formula. Once the praetorian prefect knew the total of *capita* or *iuga* (or here, *capita*, based both on land and on persons; see the Introduction) in his domain and had calculated the total sum the government needed to raise, he could fix the rate per fiscal unit (see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 61–67, for a magisterial overview of Diocletian's system of taxation, and pp. 448ff. for how the prefect may have operated). The system took account of the potential (if not always the actual) productivity of the land, differentiating in some dioceses at least between vineyard, arable land, and pasture (see, for example, the Syro-Roman lawbook; Introduction, p. 261 with n. 16).

But if the rate formula was common to the whole diocese, and the census taking accurate in its territory, so that "a complaint could not be made with justice," what had gone wrong at Autun? Why did it reel under the "harshness of the new census" when its neighbors were coping satisfactorily (6.1)? One

your clemency, who by freely granting remedies made us seem to have obtained justly what we could not rightly have sought.

6 For we have, as I have said, both the number of persons which was recorded, and the amount of land, but both are rendered worthless owing to the inactivity of men and the treachery of the earth.[29] For where are we going to find a field or a farmer comparable to those of the Remi, the Nervii or even of our closest neighbors the Tricasses, whose returns match their
2 labor?[30] Although one would fairly pardon the cultivators themselves, whom it irks to labor without profit, if a field which never meets its

weakness of Diocletian's tax system was that it assessed the potential, and not the actual, yield, and thus (apparently) took insufficient account of bad harvests. But this was not Autun's problem. From what the panegyrist goes on to say, can it be concluded that the *censitores*, while computing accurately Autun's acreage and labor force, had not made allowance for the condition of the land, the fact that some of it was rocky and precipitous, and that many of the fields were overgrown and abandoned? If so, the census was scarcely equitable.

29. At first hearing, the orator's plea sounds rather lame: our farmers are idle, and the earth unreliable. But he proceeds to excuse the farmers (6.2), and the case he develops suggests rather that they lacked the capital to restore their land to its former condition, to cut back the scrub, clear the drainage channels, and replace the aging vines. This would point to long-term problems, perhaps stemming from the sack of the city a generation before, and made acute by the recent harsh census. C. R. Whittaker, "Agri deserti," in *Studies in Roman Property*, ed. M. I. Finley (Cambridge, 1976) 145, stressing that previous panegyrics fail to mention derelict land, and that "this particular pleader lets slip (i.e. in this passage) the fact that the city's labour force was still intact," concludes "that the economic crisis was of no very long standing." Indeed, it was the census that precipitated the crisis. But it is not quite correct to say that the "labour force was still intact": some of it had melted into the woods (14.3) as a consequence of the census.

30. Coincidentally we know that the Tricasses, neighbors of the Aedui to the north, around Troyes, had recently received barbarian settlers from Constantius to help them cultivate their land (*Pan.* 8.21.1, 298), and Maximian may have settled Laeti on empty fields in the territory of the Nervii: *Not. dign. occ.* 39 records a *praefectus Laetorum Nerviorum*; see *Pan.* 8, note 75. But this is not what the speaker has in mind. The chief problem was not a manpower shortage, but fiscal—and social. With Constantine's concessions the labor force will return (14.3). Autun had received its share of barbarian cultivators already (see *Pan.* 8.9.3 and note 28), and the panegyrist is not making a request for more (in any case they may not have been available).

expenses is abandoned out of necessity,[31] especially when you consider the poverty of the country folk, for whom there was no possibility either of draining water off their land or cutting back the woods, reeling under their debts as they were. Thus whatever was once tolerably fertile land 3
has now either degenerated into swamps or been choked with brambles. Indeed even that famous district, the Arebrignian,[32] is spoken about with 4
empty envy, for cultivation of the vine is conspicuous in only one place; for the rest of it, by contrast, is impassable because of forests and rocks, the dens of untroubled wild beasts. That plain, moreover, which lies 5
under it and extends as far as the Saône was indeed once a delightful spot, as I hear, when uninterrupted cultivation throughout the properties of individual proprietors carried away the overflow from springs in open channels. Now, however, that their courses have been blocked because of desolation, whatever had been very fertile because it was low-lying

31. The phenomenon of *agri deserti* in Gaul is frequently met with in the panegyrics (e.g., *Pan.* 8.8.4, 9.1, 21.1). Constantine reenacted Aurelian's policy of ensuring that deserted land was cultivated, but had to offer exemptions from extraordinary levies to do so (*Cod. Iust.* 11.59.1). The causes appear to have been a combination of the loss of manpower, due to civil wars and barbarian invasions, and internal economic problems. Speaking generally, Lactantius blames Diocletian's administrative, military, and tax reforms (*Mort. pers.* 7.2–3). Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 67–68, demurs, rightly: the problem goes back beyond Diocletian to the "third-century crisis." For a wide-ranging treatment of the topic see Jones, pp. 812ff., and Whittaker, "Agri deserti." While not able to dismiss the evidence of the panegyrics that there was indeed abandoned land in Gaul (pp. 145, 151–58), Whittaker suggests on the basis of the archaeological evidence that the problem was not as acute as often depicted: destruction was less widespread, and recovery was quicker, than the literary sources would indicate, and "there was a great deal of marginal land fluctuating in use between good and bad years" (p. 164). Nonetheless, there is plenty of archaeological evidence that points in the opposite direction; see papers by E. M. Wightman (northeastern Gaul), P. Galliou (western Gaul), B. Buckley (the Aeduan area), and S. Walker (the Lyon region), in *The Roman West in the Third Century*, 2 vols., ed. A. King and M. Henig, BAR Supplement 109 (Oxford, 1981).

32. The Arebrignus is today the Côtes de Beaune and Nuits, the "golden slopes," which produce so many magnificent Grand Cru burgundies. The topographical description that follows is commended for its accuracy by French writers (e.g., Galletier, 2: 95 n. 1). The plain of the Saône gives way to hill slopes that end with the abrupt limestone cliffs of the Montagne, the source of the many springs the speaker remarks upon.

6 has been converted into marshes with deep holes. Finally the vineyards themselves, at which the ignorant marvel, have grown so decayed with
7 age that they scarcely respond any longer to cultivation. The roots of the vines, the age of which we do not now know,[33] are bound by having been layered a thousand times, and prevent the trenches from reaching the required depth, and the very shoots that they send out are not buried but merely covered, to be washed out by rains and scorched by the sun.[34]
8 Nor can we mark out a place anywhere for new vines, as is customary in Aquitania and other provinces, since higher up the rocks are unbroken, and below the low-lying land is subject to frosts.

7 For why should I speak about the other districts belonging to that
2 community,[35] over which you yourself confessed to have shed tears? For you did not see, as throughout the territory of other cities, almost everything cultivated, cleared and flowering, with easy roads and navigable rivers washing the very gates of the towns, but right from that turnoff from which the road leads back to Belgica[36] you saw everything devastated, uncultivated, neglected, silent and gloomy, and even the military

33. It has been suggested that the significance of this clause is not that the vines are of immense antiquity but that as vines need to be relayered every thirty years or so, not to know their age is in itself evidence of neglect (R. Dion, "À propos des origines du vignoble bourguignon," *RN* 224 [1960] 321, cited by Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 41 n. 112). This is overly subtle. These vines have been layered until they can be layered no more. They are "past it" and should have been torn out and replaced progressively. In any case, the vineyards have been neglected over a period of time. But with taxes to pay, and no suitable land available to plant new vines, the vignerons are paralyzed (the *hominum segnitia* of 6.1).

34. The panegyrist, perhaps not surprisingly for a senator from Autun, is obviously very well informed about viticulture. Columella devoted a great deal of space to the subject in his *De re rustica* (3–4) and *De arboribus*; see *Rust.* 4.2 and 15 for layering; see also K. D. White, *Roman Farming* (London, 1970) 229ff.

35. The exact extent of the territory of Autun at this date is unknown. Déléage, *La capitation du Bas-Empire*, 210, makes a brief survey and reaches a total of 1,336,000 hectares, including the territories of Mâcon and Chalon-sur-Saône, which are listed separately in the *Notitia Galliarum.*

36. It is usually assumed that Constantine was turning off the main military highway leading south from Cologne and Trier to Lyon and Narbonensis at Chalon (so Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 18 n. 2, and Galletier, "Notes complémentaires," to 2: 95 [n. 2]). This road itself might have become rough once it left the valley of the Saône. The speaker seems to adopt the point of

roads so rough and steep and precipitous, with such a succession of mountains, that half-full wagons, and sometimes even empty ones, may scarcely travel along them. As a result, it often happens that our obligations are 3
discharged late, since the transport of a small harvest is more difficult for us than that of a bountiful one is for others.[37] For this reason, we 4
are the more disposed to give thanks to your piety, O Emperor, who, although you knew that the internal condition and appearance of our region was so vile and so rough, nonetheless were good enough to turn aside to it, and bring light to that city which lived solely in anticipation of your help. It is the mark of a good ruler that he is happy to see his 5
subjects prosperous, but of a better one that he visits them even when they are suffering. Immortal gods! What a day then shone upon us (for 6
now my speech has reached in its course the celebration of your divinity's assistance), when you entered the gates of this city, which was the first sign of salvation for us. And the gates, drawn back in the likeness of a curve, with towers projecting on either side, seemed to receive you in a kind of embrace.[38]

You asked with astonishment, Emperor, whence came the great 8
multitude which poured out to meet you, since you had seen from a nearby mountain[39] only solitude. For all the men of every age flocked from the fields to see the one whom they would gladly wish to survive

view of a traveler coming from the north (Belgica). Apart from this visit we do not know anything about Constantine's movements in the year 311.

37. These obligations (*obsequia)* comprise the *annona*, taxes still paid in kind despite repeated attempts to reform and stabilize the monetary system, most notably by Diocletian ca. 294 (see Sutherland, *RIC* 6, "General Introduction"). The *annona* would have to be transported to centers convenient for its distribution to troops and officials, the chief recipients, which necessitated careful organization and, inter alia, the building of a complex system of state granaries; see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 458–60; G. E. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge, 1971).

38. For discussion and further examples of such *ekphrasis* or vivid description in the panegyrics, see S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), "The World of the Panegyrists." The ceremony of *adventus* (for which, see MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 17ff.) was particularly appropriate for such display of rhetorical skill. The surviving ancient gates of Autun do not conform to the panegyrist's description, but the "Gate of Rome" (now destroyed) was presumably flanked by a hemicycle like gates at Aix and Fréjus (Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 116 n. 2).

39. Identified by Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 18 n. 2, as Mt. d'Arcy.

2 them. As for the solemn ritual formula by which we swear with a view
to prolonging the lives of other leaders, for you alone, Constantine, we
pledge ourselves with assurance, since you will live beyond the destined
3 span of us all, for you especially deserve such a long lifetime.[40] Joyful
expectations are a powerful force after long-lasting sickness and sorrow.
Our spirits were fired to happiness beyond their capacities, and, elated by
a certain presentiment of good fortune to come, we received you with
such exultation that it was as if we already enjoyed the indulgence which
4 you were about to bestow upon us. We decorated the streets which lead
to the palace, with mean enough ornament no doubt, but we brought
out the banners of all the colleges and the images of all our gods, and
produced our paltry number of musical instruments, which by means of
5 shortcuts were to greet you several times over. He who judges truth by
enthusiasm might have believed us wealthy. But our poverty, although
well disguised, could not escape your discernment: you perceived the
dutiful and honorable vanity of the indigent.

9 Of your own accord you deigned to invite us to approach your divinity,
of your own accord you deigned to address us, you were the one to ask
2 us what help we needed.[41] These are true benefactions, Emperor, which
are not entreated by prayers, but which flow spontaneously from your
goodness, and have given the pleasure of receiving without any burden
3 of petitioning.[42] It is no easy business to ask the Emperor of the whole
world for a favor for oneself, to put on a bold front before the aspect of
such great majesty, to compose one's features, to shore up one's spirits,
to choose the right words, to utter them fearlessly, to stop at the right
moment, to wait for a reply.[43] You have removed all these difficulties, 4
Emperor, for our diffidence, not only by spontaneously asking us what
remedies we sought, but also by adding for yourself what we were silent
about, while you raised us up, as we lay at your feet, with the mildest
of words. We saw your compassion welling up in your glistening eyes. 5
Tears coursed down your cheeks, bringing help to us, fame to you; and 6
we in turn wept for joy, our grief now dispelled. For just as rain, sought by
prayers, makes fields parched by protracted heat fruitful, so your tears
flooded our breasts with joy, and although it was wrong to rejoice at your
weeping, yet happiness triumphed over our feelings of respect, for those
tears were signs of compassion, not of grief.

And these would have sufficed to have accounted for our great 10
joyfulness, even had you deferred our hope of a remedy, and left in doubt
the means by which you would relieve us. But the nature of the goodness
in you is so accessible that you straightway declared in speech the scheme
which you had devised in your benevolent mind. So do natural and 2
copious springs hasten to flow so that they may be beneficial everywhere;
so do things sent from heaven arrive swiftly on earth; so finally does that

40. This abrupt and somewhat curious transition is explained in part by the occasion of the speech, the *quinquennalia*, when *vota* would be formally proffered for the length and success of the reign; see A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt, 1970) 87 n. 1, for examples from Ovid to late antiquity; for the musical reception of rulers such as the one amusingly described below, see pp. 82–83 (see *Pan.* 11.10.5; Pacatus, *Pan.* 2.37.3).

41. By "us" is meant the Senate of Autun (cf. 1.3, 9.4).

42. The speaker is at great pains to stress that Constantine's benefactions were freely and spontaneously offered. He had already conceded that the city had no equitable basis for complaint about the census (5.5–6). Yet Constantine made a special trip to Autun, hard upon a plea to visit the city and "restore" it (*Pan.* 6.21.7–22; see the Introduction above). His father had begun a program of public rebuilding only a decade or so before (*Pan.* 8.21.2), and his *magister memoriae* Eumenius was a citizen of Autun. More recently the panegyrist of 310, also from Autun, boasted of his son who was advocate of the fisc at Constantius' court, and his many pupils who served in various *officia palatii*. It is very difficult to believe that such an ancient and proud city, even if it had fallen on hard times, did not have powerful advocates at court, and that Constantine had not been briefed beforehand on the nature of Autun's fiscal problems. And the emperor's solution is scarcely likely to have been devised on the spur of the moment, despite his questions at 9.1 and 10.5, although there was evidently some room for negotiation (11.1), a situation that the senators were understandably not confident enough to exploit (11.2).

43. This passage is the locus classicus in the genre for the humble petitioner trembling before His Majesty. Constantine for him is "emperor of the whole world." Although Constantine had undoubtedly by now received news of Galerius' death, ca. 1 May 311, and was soon to invade Italy, it can hardly be concluded from this phrase that he was already claiming for himself sole *imperium* over the Roman Empire. The Gallic panegyrics are in some respects quite parochial, and references to rulers and events in the East are sparing. Galerius, for instance, is mentioned only twice by name, once in an unhappy context (*Pan.* 9.21.2, 12.3.4), and Diocletian, senior Augustus till 305, only twice outside the panegyrics of 289 and 291 (*Pan.* 8.21.1, 9.21.2). But it is to be observed that it is with Constantine that the horizon shrinks, and that the other rulers fade from view.

divine mind, which governs the whole of this world,[44] immediately put
3 into effect whatever it has conceived. Yet in this case, Emperor, if you were to accept the advice of one of your more clever friends, it might be that he would reproach you for being too ready to reveal what you are about to grant, and without any artifice to disclose immediately what ought to be long looked forward to. You do not know, O Emperor, how to show your benefactions to advantage; by the speed of your presentation
4 you preempt the period of expectation. Indeed by the swiftness of your generosity, O Emperor, you have proved superior to the very elements by which we are given life and breath. For a long time one yearns for the birth of a human being which is on the way; for a long time confused cries check a voice which one day will speak; for a long time winter holds back the crops; spring entices them forth, summer strengthens them with juice and ripens them with heat: you have given us our whole life at once; you have commanded us to harvest immediately the fruits of your blessings
5 and to bring them to our storehouses. Having made up your mind to reduce the load of the census, you fixed its number;[45] intending to remit our outstanding debts, you asked us how much we owed. This question was a clear promise. For when he who is omnipotent asks what is owed him, he is not asking questions out of curiosity to know the answer, but desires out of generosity to hear how much he is remitting.

11 I shall therefore speak about each separately; for such great benefactions ought not to be mixed together as if in a medley. You remitted 7,000 *capita*, more than a fifth part of our census,[46] and yet you inquired

44. Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, 103, sees here the first affirmation of monotheism in the panegyrics; contra, Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 36–37; while 14.3 (offerings to temples) refers to the people of Autun and does not undermine this passage, which expresses the view of the speaker, at 13.1 we read *te principem di immortales creaverunt*.

45. For a full discussion of this census and the nature of Constantine's concessions see the section "Historical Significance" in the Introduction, with notes 27–28, 46, and 53. The number of fiscal units upon which tax was assessed was to be reduced from 32,000 to 25,000 from the commencement of the next financial year (see 11.1, 3, and 12.2 below).

46. We learn below (11.3) that remission of 7,000 *capita* has strengthened 25,000; Autun's assessment in 306 must therefore have been 32,000 *capita*: the remission is indeed "more than a fifth part of our census." The view that by *capita* is meant "heads," viz. persons, and that the 7,000 exempt "heads" are included in the rejoicing 25,000 breaks down: the remission would then be more than a quarter; see Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 47ff. The *quartam* for *quintam* of

of us often whether this was sufficient. Oh, shall I say that we were too 2
diffident, or sufficiently gratified, when we kept silent, hesitated, and set a limit to your generosity which flowed so freely? You were eager to bestow even more, if we had dared to demand it. How great a benefit this is, 3
O Emperor, how vital for us, how useful even for the demonstration of our loyalty, I cannot adequately state. Through that remission of 7,000 *capita* you have given strength to 25,000;[47] you have given assistance; you have given salvation; and you have gained more in what you have strengthened than you have lost in what you have remitted! Four times as much has 4
been returned to you, surely and securely, as used to be sought in vain,[48]

the inferior manuscripts 'c' (Bruxellensis 10026–32 and others) is presumably due to the mistaken interpretation that 25,000 is the grand total.

The use of the plural *censuum* here seems to confirm that separate registers of *homines* and *agri* were kept, but it does not follow from this that Constantine's remission of *capita* applies only to *homines*, as Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 1040–41 and n. 15, believes. See the Introduction. The speaker does not say that the emperor is remitting more than a fifth of one of the registers (or schedules): the plural reinforces the conclusion that the 7,000 *capita* are more than a fifth of the whole of Autun's tax obligation and that they therefore comprise assessments both on land and on people (see Goffart, *Caput and Colonate*, 50). It follows that the figures in this chapter cannot be used to calculate either Autun's total population liable to taxation or the urban component of it, as Jones, and Barnes, *New Empire*, 234, seek to do.

47. I.e., 25,000 *capita*, not people. The whole passage is impersonal (*capita*; *in eo . . . quod*; *quater tantum*, etc.). If the argument in the Introduction and note 46 be accepted, then the expression *dedisti vires* must be figurative (so, too, Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 48–49).

48. This can be interpreted in different ways. At first glance this sounds very precise, as if the speaker were aware of the figures. One might surmise that he was directly involved in collecting the taxes; see the section "The Author" in the Introduction. On this view, while the 306 census assessment was not yet reduced (see the Introduction, and 12.2 below), the psychological effect of the concession, soon to be applied, was immediate and dramatic; for an analogy, see Amm. Marc. 17.3.6 (Julian). Furthermore, on this literal interpretation the authorities had taken a pragmatic view and demanded much less of the taxpayers than the assessment of 306 dictated, but they had failed to collect even this, so low was the taxpayers' morale. Since Constantine's visit, however, Autun had paid four times as much as this adjusted amount. In this case the words "you have given strength to twenty-five thousand" indicate that the amount demanded in vain was ca. 6,000 *capita;* so Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 50 n. 133. But it is more likely that the panegyrist is speaking loosely. The 25,000 *capita* are now

since despair of discharging the debt in full discouraged us from paying even what could be given, and there was no motive for trying when there
5 was never any hope of fulfillment. Oh, what a divine cure was yours, O Emperor, in restoring the city to health! Just as bodies sick and burdened with the paralysis of numbed limbs are cured by cutting off some part of them,[49] so that what was languid from excess might be invigorated by being diminished, so after being depressed by too great a burden we rise up with a lightened load.[50]

12 He who thinks you have only made a gift of 7,000 *capita* does not know how to appraise your generosity:[51] you have given everything which you
2 have set upon its feet. For although we still totter under our former load, yet it seems lighter for being borne with the end in sight; anticipation
3 of relief from the burden gives us the patience to sustain it.[52] Certainly children now hold their parents dearer and husbands support their wives without reluctance, and parents do not regret having brought up children, for they rejoice that their burdens for these have been remitted to them. And so the family feelings of all, once strained, are revived, and each man is glad to count his dependents without anxiety, since more people help

viable ("you have given strength to twenty-five thousand") after the remission of 7,000. As he regards the remission as roughly a fifth (11.1), it follows that the invigorated *capita* make up the other four-fifths ("Four times as much has been returned to you"). This brings 11.3 and 11.4 into harmony and avoids introducing an unknown figure (6,000 *capita* of annual arrears) of which the panegyrist, but not his audience, has knowledge.

49. This might suggest a distinction was made between *urbs* and *rus* (see Barnes, *New Empire*, 234), but 12.3 strongly implies that the concession directly benefited the whole population (see the Introduction, and note 53 below). And surely the image better fits the lopping of 7,000 burdensome fiscal units than an exemption granted to 7,000 subjects (so Faure, "La capitation de Dioclétien," 50).

50. Proleptic, as 12.2 immediately makes clear (see the Introduction).

51. This might be interpreted as a hint that the concession was not as generous as our exuberant speaker would have us believe, that it represents "more than a fifth" only of part of Autun's tax burden; but see the Introduction for arguments to the contrary.

52. "With the end in sight": reading *vicino (fine)*; Pichon, followed by Mynors (Galletier suggests *ad vicinum*; Götze *vicina ope*). The load will be reduced to 25,000 *capita* in a matter of six weeks or so, from 1 September 311 (see the Introduction, and 12.4–6 below).

fulfill the obligations of a few.[53] So we are buoyed up all the more by 4
hopes for the future, and our spirits are restored by security of the past,

53. This passage gives us important information, but it has been interpreted in very different ways. To some it suggests that the tax concessions pertain only to personal capitation, but this is to ignore other sections of the panegyric (see the Introduction). On the other hand, it certainly demonstrates that *capita* are linked to actual people, as Goffart rightly emphasizes (*Caput and Colonate*, 49–50), and that the remission applies to (aged?) parents, wives, and grown-up children in some fashion or other. Faure, in arguing that *capita* represent tax assessments on land alone ("La capitation de Dioclétien," 93ff.), has to resort to saying that this passage refers to the taxpayers' joy at the cancellation of arrears, that it is an anticipation of section 13, and has nothing to do with what precedes (pp. 58, 76–77)! This is preposterous, and Jones (review of Faure, *CR* n.s. 12 [1962] 323–24) is right to assert that it is "contrary to the whole sense of the passage."

While it indeed is concerned with actual people, if the text is interpreted literally, it can hardly be explained on Jones's implied assumption (*Later Roman Empire*, 1040–41 and n. 15) that one *caput* = one person, and that "the *capita* remitted were on the schedule of *homines* which included both sexes and grown-up children." Were that the case, persons in the categories exempted (parents, wives, and grown-up children) would far outnumber those who were not; remission of 7,000 out of 32,000 *capita* then has to be explained another way, one that takes account of the clause *plures adiuvant obsequia paucorum*. Nor does the assumption (Barnes, *New Empire*, 234) that the 7,000 *capita* represent the *plebs urbana* of Autun work either, for apart from anything else it fails to account for the panegyrist's assertion that all benefit (*omnium pietas ... suos quemque iuvat*). This would have to be dismissed as rhetorical exaggeration in a speech that seems concerned to spell out Constantine's benefactions with unusual precision for the genre (see the Introduction). But all can be explained on the assumption that *capita* are fiscal units comprising assessment of land and persons, and that dependents (the *suos*) were assessed at a fraction of the rate that applied to heads of households (the *pauci*), a system that is known elsewhere; see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 63; id., "Census Records of the Later Roman Empire," *JRS* 43 (1953) 50–51 (= *The Roman Economy*, ed. P. A. Brunt [Oxford, 1974] 230–31); MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis*, 139. Such fractions appear in a body of inscriptions from the diocese of Asiana; their date is uncertain, but there is reason to think that some of them are early fourth century (MacMullen, p. 139 n. 44; Jones, "Census Records of the Later Roman Empire," 49ff. = *The Roman Economy*, 228ff.). In 386 the burden of payment of one capitation tax unit fell on two or three men or four women; prior to that on one man or two women; *Cod. Theod.* 13.11.2. Dependents now beingexempt from personal capitation, the heads of household could rejoice in their number, for their work in the fields would help to discharge

and with our remaining debts remitted there is nothing to be looked back at and feared, nothing which might take away some strength for payments
5 which lie ahead. Thus we have been freed from the burden of two periods which are very long; we are passing through one, and that a very short
6 one, with a brief exertion. For since the past is long by its nature, the future indeed infinite, and the present brief and ever changeable in each direction, as it both is abandoned to the past and passes into the future, this one year entails almost no perception of difficulty, abridged as it is by the concessions for two periods and forming as it were a kind of boundary between your two acts of generosity which make us both free from the past and secure for the future.[54]

13 Five years' arrears you have waived for us! O *lustrum* happier than all *lustra*! O *lustrum* which fittingly has matched the duration of your reign![55] Thus it is for us above all that the deathless gods have created you

the tax burdens of the few; see the Introduction.

Alternatively one might argue that the passage does not necessarily imply a blanket exemption covering the categories of parents, wives, and children but rather is defining (rhetorically) the property owners or heads of households in three different capacities as father, son, and husband. If one postulates a remission of one *caput* per household, then this would give a demographically plausible domestic ratio; remission of 7,000 *capita* would represent 7,000 heads of households with 25,000 dependents. This posits a low population for Autun (see the Introduction, pp. 260ff. with n. 14), which would explain to some extent its financial difficulties. But it would leave the clause *plures adiuvant obsequia paucorum* unexplained.

54. As explained in the Introduction (in the section "Occasion and Date"), the past is secure because of Constantine's cancellation of arrears accruing over the last five years, presumably as a result of the harsh new census; the future will be untroubled because of the reduction in *capita* to take place from the inception of the next financial year, 1 September 311. Only *unus hic annus*, viz. the current tax year, is not covered by Constantine's benefactions, but as the date of the speech is 25 July 311, the year has not long to run.

55. The speaker succumbs to the irresistible temptation to equate the *lustrum* of canceled arrears with the five years of Constantine's reign. This may be approximately correct. The period of the current tax schedule ran from 1 September 306 to 31 August 311; Constantine's reign has lasted from 25 July 306 to 25 July 311. Of course, Constantine canceled the arrears at the time of his visit (10), some time before this speech, so, strictly speaking, either the canceled arrears were not of a full five years' duration or they extended back before the operation of the 306 census, in which case the equation is destroyed. Perhaps

Emperor, for each one of us dates his good fortune from the moment when you began to rule. Your *quinquennalia* must be celebrated by us also at their 2
completion. For those celebrations undertaken at the beginning of the fifth year are properly common to all peoples, but these undertaken when it is complete are particularly appropriate for us.[56] Cato's speech on the 3
felicity of his *lustrum* is considered famous.[57] For then in the old republic it was a matter of praise for the censors if they had brought to a close a successful *lustrum*, if the harvest had filled the granaries, if there had been a bumper vintage, if the olive groves had yielded an abundance. Why, 4

then the former explanation is to be preferred. Mazzarino's interpretation, "Computo" (see the Introduction, n. 4), would solve this difficulty. Maintaining that remissions of arrears were traditionally granted for five years or multiples thereof, and that the panegyric was delivered some time after Constantine's *quinquennalia*, he is able to argue for a full *lustrum* of canceled arrears running from 25 July 306 to 24 July 311. But he does not offer a suggestion as to the nature of the occasion that drew such a crowd to Trier (see 2.1). Constantine's assumption of his second consulship on 1 January 312 is a possibility, but one would expect some kind of allusion to it.

Faure ("La capitation de Dioclétien," 57–58) calculates the value of the cancellation at 160,000 *capita*—i.e., 32,000 × 5—and comments that it would take over twenty years for the other benefaction (the reduction of 7,000 *capita*) to equal it. But it is rash to conclude that Autun had made no tax payments at all for a period of five years.

56. Retaining the MSS *etiam* in preference to Mynors' *sed iam* (E. Baehrens); so Galletier. Desire to emend perhaps springs from failure to understand that such celebrations occurred at the beginning and the end of the year in question; see the Introduction ("Occasion and Date") and Nixon, "Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia," 158ff. The second celebration is particularly appropriate for the Aedui because it heralded the new *lustrum* with its reduced burden.

57. Cato's speech is not extant, and indeed this is our sole source of information about it, despite Cicero's interest in his speeches (*Brut.* 65; cf. Livy 39.40.8, and 42.5–44.9 for the censorship itself), unless it is to be identified with a speech cited variously as *De suis virtutibus contra (L.) Thermum* or *In Thermum post censuram*, directed against L. Minucius Thermus (Münzer, no. 63, *RE* 15 [1932] 1966), of which some fragments remain: Malcovati, *ORF*[3], no. 8, frags. 128–35. Perhaps the panegyrist's knowledge comes from Fronto, an admirer of Cato, for Fronto's speeches were read and esteemed in Gaul in this period (see *Pan.* 8.14.2), and perhaps his archaic taste had some influence there (see the quotation from Ennius: *Romani carminis primus auctor*, *Pan.* 11.16.3; and G. Sabbah, "De la rhétorique à la communication politique," *BAGB* 4 [1984] 368).

then, is it fitting for us to give thanks for this *lustrum* of your indulgence? In
this *lustrum*, while that[58] wealth of produce was lacking, yet you have made
5 it seem that everything was more abundant than it was. For it is as if
we had as much as we have ceased to owe; it is as if we had full granaries,
6 full cellars, since we are embarrassed by no arrears. That largesse of
yours is for us what Earth is, mother of crops, and Jupiter, master of the
winds; whatever they had given too sparingly is produced for us from your
benefaction.

14 For what gold or silver mines in all the world are so abundant, what
Tagus or what Pactolus has flowed with as much gold as we have gained
through your liberality?[59] For actually to have received something from
2 you would not have been a greater gift. On the contrary, as it is more
intolerable having what is one's own extorted from one than not acquiring
what belongs to another, so it is sweeter to be relieved of the necessity
3 of paying than to be coveting an opportunity to make a profit. How many
men, august Emperor, whom want had compelled to lurk in the forests, or
even go into exile, are emerging into the light as a result of this remission
of debts, returning to their native places, ceasing to complain of their
former poverty, ceasing to hate the barrenness of their fields, recovering
their spirits, preparing for work, applying themselves to farming with
better auspices, living in their homes again, bringing their offerings to the
4 temples![60] Especially when you, the savior of us all, have come, and he
who is like a comrade and ally of your majesty,[61] the whole city will be fired

58. Not only the run of this passage (esp. 13.5–6 and the words *quidquid illi parcius dederant*, etc.) but also the gloomy picture of Aeduan agriculture painted in 6 and 7 would seem to demand emendation of the MSS *nulla*. L. C. Purser, "Notes on the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Hermathena* 46 (1931) 24, however, suggests that *licet* here = *etiamsi* (cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 31) and translates "even supposing there was no failure of the crops." N. Baglivi, "Nota a Paneg. VIII(5),13,4," *Orpheus* n.s. 6 (1985) 136–48, valiantly defends *nulla*, but the immediate context is against her. Read *illa* (E. Baehrens, Galletier, against Mynors).

59. The gold-bearing rivers Tagus in Lusitania and Pactolus in Lydia were favorite exempla; see, for example, Catull. 29.19 and Pliny *HN* 4.115 for the Tagus; Varro *Sat. Men.* 234 (Buecheler-Heraeus), Virg. *Aen.* 10.142, and *Pan.* 9.16.1 for the Pactolus.

60. While it is certainly conceivable that the panegyrist is here anticipating the salutary effects of Constantine's benefactions, it seems better to assume that some months have elapsed since Constantine's visit; see the Introduction.

61. The language—*maiestatis tuae comes et socius*—is reminiscent of that used elsewhere of Apollo; see *Pan.* 6.21.4ff. and Constantine's coin legend (from 310?)

with excitement, will resound with joy, and when you set off will perhaps
restrain you.[62] You will pardon us, and put up with the insubordination
which springs from our love. Although you may be the master of all 5
cities, of all nations, yet we have taken even your name: no longer ancient
Bibracte, which has up to now been called Iulia Polia Florentia,[63] but
Flavia, is the city of the Aedui.

SOLI INVICTO COMITI; see *RIC* 6.42, 111, and, for example, 224, 226–27 (Trier). Does that mean that since 310 some reference to Constantine's Claudian pedigree (2.5 and note 11 above) and his association with Apollo-Sol was now de rigueur? But the resultant image is a little strange. Early commentators thought the reference was to Crispus, Constantine's son by Minervina. The apologetic *quasi* would then be prompted by his extreme youth, rather than used to excuse the subordination of a deity. If born ca. 303 (his first child was born in 322; see *PLRE* I.233; Barnes, *New Empire*, 44; his father perhaps ca. 282–283; see *Pan.* 7, notes 10 and 15), Crispus would have been a child of eight at the time. He was not proclaimed Caesar till 317 (Jerome *Chron.* a.317; *Cons. Const.* a.317), but the panegyrist might well have thought it appropriate to include a graceful allusion to the emperor's son.

62. A topos, or perhaps an allusion to *Pan.* 7.8.8?

63. Bibracte (Mont-Beuvray), 27 kilometers from Autun, was the old hill-fort capital of the Aedui (Caes. *BGall.* 7.55: *oppidum apud eos maximae auctoritatis*; cf. 1.23), and it was there that a pan-Gallic council conferred supreme command on Vercingetorix in 52 B.C.E. (Caes. *BGall.* 7.63). It is sometimes said that ca. 12 B.C.E. its inhabitants were "transferred" to the new settlement of Augustodunum on the plain (e.g., C. E. Stevens, *OCD*², s.v. "Bibracte," p. 166; see P. Grimal, *Roman Cities*, trans. and ed. G. M. Woloch [Madison, 1983] 126), but recent opinion suggests "that the development of Autun, conveniently situated on one of the main roads westwards from Lugdunum [pace the panegyrist, 7.2 above!] was a natural process, not something imposed on the Aedui" (E. M. Wightman, "The Pattern of Rural Settlement in Roman Gaul," *ANRW* 2.4 [1975] 625 n. 118). Bibracte will have received its name Julia from Caesar.

XII

PANEGYRIC OF CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

The man who delivered this address reveals virtually nothing of himself besides his familiarity with the speaker's platform (1.1), and that during the reign of Constantine himself, although he may also have performed for one or more of his emperor's predecessors. One cannot definitely connect him with any city, unless his familiarity with Caesar (6.1–2 with notes), and with his predecessors' work,[1] indicates a tie with Autun, as in the case of the authors of *Panegyrics* 8, 6, and 5. One can surmise that he is an old man because he alludes to a battle near Verona in a civil war that occurred in his middle age (*media aetate nostra*, 8.1). The only known reasonable possibility occurred in the year 285, when Carinus defeated the usurper Sabinus Julianus, not long before Diocletian disposed of Carinus.[2] As the earliest date for this oration is 313, twenty-eight years later, the speaker must have been well over sixty and probably over seventy, if middle-aged means forty and above. E. Galletier (2: 105, 119) observes as well what he deems a certain familiarity in the orator's

1. See n. 5 for references. Borrowings are evident in not only thematic similarities but clear verbal imitations.

2. For an unreasonable possibility, see note to 8.1.

manner (e.g., 2.5), and that he attributes either to position or to age or to both.

Although the orator employs the usual number of rhetorical devices (some of which he overuses), there are unique features in his panegyric. Perhaps the most obvious is his abandonment of traditional form, excellent examples of which may be found in *Panegyrics* 10, 6, and 2. There is no section on family, birth, or upbringing. The family tie to Claudius II Gothicus, the great invention of the year 310 (*Pan.* 6.2.1–3), goes unmentioned. Constantine's father plays the role of great emperor whose accomplishments fall short of the honorand's; his name comes up not in the normal position as distinguished ancestor near the beginning but right before the peroration (24.4–25.3). But these features may owe as much to emperor as to orator.[3]

The panegyrist is exceptionally fond of quoting, paraphrasing, or alluding to Virgil.[4] He reveals an acquaintance with the *Tusculan Disputations* and several of Cicero's orations, including the *Pro Marcello*, which must have been required reading in panegyric courses, and the Verrine and Catilinarian orations, excellent resources for consultation when it was necessary to vilify a scoundrel. He may even have read some real Livy: at 15.6 there is an echo and paraphrase of Scipio's argument against Fabius in book 28. In addition, he inserts four episodes from Republican Roman history,[5] all in the sections on the actual recovery of Rome and the battle at the Milvian Bridge. But the one source to which the orator refers most frequently is earlier panegyric. He has at least one phrase and/or idea from every earlier one in the collection save *Panegyric* 8.[6]

OCCASION AND DATE

The orator probably spoke at Trier, since Constantine still made that city his principal residence at this time. The only clue lies in the first sentence (*in Vrbe sacra et hic rursus*). Constantine was celebrating, inter alia, a victory over the Franks by holding triumphal games during which he

3. See B. Rodgers, "The Metamorphosis of Constantine," *CQ* 39 (1989) 241–43, 246.

4. See 4.2, 12.3, 14.2, 17.3, 18.1, 21.5, 22.2, 24.2, 26.1, with notes.

5. At 15.5, 18.1, 18.2 (bis). See also 6.1 (Caesar at Gomphi) and allusion to Roman civil wars (20.3–21.1), and the interest in specifics of Alexander's campaign (5.1–3), especially the size of his army, a rare detail for an exemplum.

6. *Pan.* 10: 9.5; *Pan.* 11: 19.1, 19.2, 26.1; *Pan.* 7: 19.5; *Pan.* 6: 14.6, 25.2; *Pan.* 5: 13.4.

sent great numbers of prisoners to their deaths (23.3–4). The year can be no earlier than 313, as the orator lauds Constantine's seizure of Rome, Italy, and Africa from Maxentius late in 312. After returning to Gaul the emperor engaged in warfare against the Franks (21.5–22.5),[7] which need not in itself have occurred as early as 313, but in the face of the orator's amazement that it came right on the heels of the year-long Italian campaign there are no reasonable grounds to argue for a later date. The oration probably belongs to the same year; here there is no talk of putting off the celebrations.[8] Add to that the temporal adverbs of 24.2, where the orator congratulates Constantine for defeating both Roman soldiers and the fierce Franks, *nuper in Italia . . . in ipso conspectu barbariae paulo ante*. The word *nuper* refers to events up to and on 28 October of the year 312; it is unlikely that orator would speak thus of events nearly two years (or more) in the past.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Panegyric 12 would be an invaluable historical source if all it contained were the details of Constantine's invasion of Italy in 312. With or without the additional data that Nazarius' later oration supplies, this panegyrist's narrative of the events of 312 in the Western part of the Empire is far superior to any history extant.

The main part of the campaign lay in the conquest of northern Italy and the defeat of several of Maxentius' armies there.[9] According to the panegyrist, Constantine initiated hostilities: his liberation of Rome appeared to be an ill-advised venture (2.4) made more foolhardy by the emperor's excessive concern for the northern provinces:[10] he not only fortified the Rhine with a fleet (3.2) but stationed three-quarters of his troops to guard those whom he left behind (2.6, 3.3). Constantine captured the fortified towns of Susa (5.4–6.1) and, after a great battle, Turin (6.2–7.2), before making a triumphal entry into Milan (7.5–8). Next he besieged Verona and simultaneously defeated enemy reinforcements brought in to relieve the besieged (8.1–9.2, 10.3, 11.1). After other sieges and negotiations that were evidently too tedious to mention but that included the capitulation of Aquileia (11.1), Constantine marched on Rome—central Italy being apparently undefended—and defeated Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge (16.2–17.3). The "tyrant" Maxentius was drowned in the Tiber while attempting to retreat. Constantine liberated the city and all its political prisoners, honored the Senate (20.1–2), gave games (in honor of his consulship for 313) (19.6), and sent the Praetorian Guard to patrol the northernmost borders of the Empire (21.2–3). Granted that the orator is biased, his narrative is valuable nevertheless.

Besides the military affairs that occupy so much of the oration, there are other interesting features. Constantine is less of a Tetrarch; although his personal appearance remains brilliant (19.6), he is also praised for chastity (4.4, 7.5), a virtue that creeps into no earlier panegyric excepting the epithalamium of 307 (*Pan.* 7.4.1). Mere contrast with a tyrant does not necessitate the compliment.[11] Maxentius is said to be every bad thing that a tyrant can be (3.5–7, 4.3–4). The orator relieves him not only of his good character but of his paternity: he is accused of being a bastard foisted off on Maximian,[12] whose own attempted usurpation seems to have been forgotten (3.4, 4.3–4). Near the beginning of the oration Constantine has colleagues, although incompetent ones (2.3, 3.4). Failure to suppress tyranny results in cessation of existence: by the end the colleagues no longer figure (in any event, Maximinus may actually have been dead by the date of the oration). Further, if one were to judge events only by what this orator reveals, one would not learn that Constantine stopped at Milan when he returned to the Rhine from Rome (21.5).[13] The orator asks the divinity to make Constantine live forever and to give him and his son(s) rule over the Roman people for eternity.

By the end of the oration Constantine stands apart, with his child,[14] a monarch. And a Christian? According to Christian writers, Constantine underwent conversion to Christianity during the course of this campaign. Lactantius, the earliest source, relates that before the battle of the Milvian Bridge Constantine was sent a dream in which he received instruction

7. Evidently in alliance with other Germans, if Nazarius describes the same campaign at *Pan.* 4.18.1–19.1. See notes ad loc.

8. As sometimes happens: *Pan.* 11.4.1; Symmachus *Or.* 1.16.

9. See M. A. Levi, "La campagna di Costantino nell' Italia settentrionale," *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 36 (1934) 1–10.

10. See C. Castello, "Il pensiero politico-religioso di Costantino alla luce dei panegirici," in *Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana 1973* (Perugia, 1975) 91–92.

11. It does not occur in *Panegyric* 8 or 2.

12. See note 18 to 3.4.

13. At Milan he married his sister Constantia to Licinius and conferred with his new brother-in-law; see, for example, Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 45.1; Anon.Val. 5.13.

14. *Divina suboles tua* (26.5) means Crispus, as his next son, Constantine II, was born in 316: see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) 44–45.

to mark a symbol indicating Christ on his soldiers' shields.[15] Eusebius, who published his biography of Constantine after the latter's death in 337,[16] says that the emperor himself told him that he and all his army saw a vision of a cross in the sky about midday, and that subsequently Constantine had a dream with instructions to write this symbol on his soldiers' shields.[17]

This panegyric, delivered so soon after the victory over Maxentius, has fascinated students of Constantine's religious beliefs.[18] Clearly there has been a change since 310, when Constantine was said to have been granted a vision of Apollo (*Pan.* 6.21) and also to have been hailed as a new divinity himself (*Pan.* 6.9 and 22).[19] In the present oration, however, one will look in vain for evidence of any spectacular communication from the divinity, whether public or private: the panegyrist comes closest when he avers that god (who- or whatever that is) shares counsels with Constantine alone (e.g., 2.5, 3.3, 4.1). This god has no name; interrogatively it is *quisnam deus* (2.4), otherwise *divina mens* (2.5, 16.2, 26.1),[20] *divinum numen* (4.1), *deus*

15. *Mort. pers.* 44.5–6. See J. Creed's notes (*Lactantius* [Oxford, 1984]) to the passage. Creed, p. xxxiv, dates the work 314–315, thus almost contemporaneous with this oration. See the Introduction to *Pan.* 4, p. 341 and n. 44.

16. *Vita Constantini* 1.28–30.

17. See T. D. Barnes's interesting discussion of the conversion question and the conflicting accounts of Lactantius and Eusebius in "The Conversion of Constantine," *EMC* 29 (1985) 371–91. For a good assessment of Eusebius' access to and understanding with Constantine, see H. A. Drake, "What Eusebius Knew," *CP* 83 (1988) 20–38.

18. Some have tried to trace the evolution of Constantine's Christianity through the *Panegyrici*. For discussion primarily of this theme, see R. Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes* (Paris, 1906) 102–7; J. Maurice, "Les discours des Panegyrici Latini et l'évolution religieuse sous le règne de Constantin," *CRAI*, 1909, 165–79; J. A. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1939; reprint, 1964) 99ff.; Castello, "Il pensiero politico-religioso di Costantino," 49–117; M. L. Scevola, "Rilievi sulla religiosità di Costantino," *RIL* 37 (1982) 209–27, esp. 217–20. For other bibliography, see B. Rodgers, "Constantine's Pagan Vision," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 260–61 nn. 3–5.

19. For discussion and bibliography, see notes ad loc.; also B. Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310 auf Konstantin den Großen*, Palingenesia 31 (Stuttgart, 1990) ad loc. and third appendix (pp. 330–38).

20. The author of *Pan.* 5 uses the same term for the deity (5.10.2). Cf. the expostulation *di immortales!* (5.7.6). Save for these and the *simulacra deorum* of the welcoming parade (5.8.4) and the literary use of Terra and Jupiter for earth and heaven (5.13.6), there is no mention of gods. That oration is usually dated 311. Cf. T. G. Elliott, "Constantine's Conversion—Do We Really Need It?" *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 420–38.

ille mundi creator et dominus (13.2), or *summus rerum sator* (26.1). On the other hand, Constantine has not yet lost all of his divine attributes: his own powers of reason present an alternative to divine inspiration (4.2, 4.5), he has uncanny power over weapons (13.2), he possesses imperial eternal motion, which is equivalent to divinity (22.1), and the Senate honors him with a golden statue (25.4).[21] Without a doubt, something has happened or has been acknowledged at last. Word has gotten round that the gods' names are no longer welcome, although their existence need not be denied: they are the lesser divinities who care for lesser men (2.5). The panegyrist is apparently a pagan who does not quite understand what Christianity requires, or perhaps does not quite approve. The big question goes unanswered: one cannot tell if he has heard the story of the vision, and thus there is no evidence for the time of the vision's occurrence or invention. Constantine, and he alone, knew even before he left Gaul that the victory was divinely promised him (3.3); the orator tells us nothing else.

21. See notes ad loc.; also B. Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Historia* 35 (1986) 85–87.

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1 From what source would I obtain enough confidence, most sacred Emperor, to dare to speak after you have heard so many of the most eloquent men both in the sacred City and on your return here,[1] if I did not consider that it would be wrong, and if I were not afraid to violate some trust if I, who have made it my habit to proclaim your deity's accomplishments, were to pass these over in silence, achievements which are so much greater than anything before and through which you have saved not some part of the State but restored the entire republic to itself?[2]
2 What is more, I am not unaware of how inferior our abilities are to the Romans', since speaking in Latin, and well, is inborn in them, but laboriously acquired in us, and if perchance we say something elegantly, our imitation derives from that font and source of eloquence.[3]
3 But however conscious I am of my natural weaknesses and of a study only begun rather than mastered, I cannot keep silent and restrain myself from making my own attempt to say something about the recovery of the City and the establishment of Roman power at last after a long-standing upheaval, so that amid the thundering sounds of fluent speakers
4 my slender voice appear to have been heard as well. If in wartime and even in combat not only trumpets and clarions but even Spartan flutes are regarded as supplying some incentive[4] (because, I think, it is enough for great spirits to be roused by a slender melody), why should I despair of

1. Trier. See the Introduction, p. 289.

2. Constantine has returned after his invasion of Italy and defeat of Maxentius in 312. As a result, he now governs not only Britain, Spain, and Gaul but Italy, Sicily and Sardinia, and Africa as well. Although emperors of this age never permanently resided at, and rarely visited, Rome, the city remained in theory the capital of the Empire and maintained a position of prestige and honor.

3. A commonplace, and part of the *captatio benevolentiae*, but nevertheless as true in many cases in the fourth century as it was in Cicero's time. The Gallic orators were good at their "foreign language" but worried about being better. Pacatus, who spoke before the Roman Senate in 389, imitated and expanded this passage (*Pan.* 2.1.3–5).

4. Thuc. 5.70 explains that the Lacedaemonians used the flutes to help them keep step and not to break rank. The orator may have gotten his example from Cic. *Tusc.* 2.37: *Militia . . . Spartiatorum, quorum procedit agmen ad tibiam nec adhibetur ulla sine anapaestis pedibus hortatio.*

your favor in my case, of your judging my speech by my zeal in veneration of you rather than by its own strengths? Accordingly, although your ears 5
have been filled up, if I may use the expression, I shall try as best I can to whisper into them, without the boldness of rivalry, desirous only of imitation.

And first I shall take up a topic which I believe no one up to now has 2
ventured upon, to speak of your resolution in making the expedition before I praise the victory. Since the fear of an adverse omen[5] has been put aside 2
and the stumbling block removed, I shall avail myself of the freedom of our love for you, a love in which we wavered then among fears and prayers for the State.[6] Could you have had so much foresight, Emperor, that you were 3
the first to embark upon a war which had been stirred up with such vast resources, so much greed, so extensive a contagion of crimes, so complete a despair of pardon, when all your associates in imperial power were inactive and hesitating![7] What god,[8] what majesty so immediate encouraged you, 4
when almost all of your comrades and commanders were not only silently

5. Either the warnings of the haruspices (2.4) or the bad omen attending an expression of doubt.

6. Note the rhetorical pretense of free speech in the imputation of blame; cf. 3.1 and 9.2 below; also, e.g., *Pan.* 7.8.9, 2.23.1.

7. Lactant. (*Mort. pers.* 43.2–4, 44.10) says that Maximinus had recognized Maxentius and made an alliance with him. After his elevation at Carnuntum in 308 (11 November, according to *Cons. Const.* s.a.), Licinius had been assigned the recovery of Italy (Anon.Val. 5.13). There is evidence that he began such a campaign (see V. Picozzi, "Una campagna di Licinio contro Massenzio nel 310 non attestata dalle fonti letterarie," *NAC* 5 [1976] 267–75) but was distracted by more immediate dangers. He won a victory over the Sarmatians in 310 (27 June: *ILS* 664) and simultaneously had to hover near Galerius to protect his interests as the latter's health deteriorated: Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 33.1 dates the onset of the disease to the eighteenth year of his reign, which commenced 1 March 310. Death came, Lactantius relates (*Mort. pers.* 35.1 and 4), soon after 30 April 311. Because Maximinus occupied Asia Minor as soon as he heard of Galerius' death (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 36.1–2), Licinius had to come to an agreement with him before attending to anything else. The two rulers met, prepared for battle, where Europe joins Asia, but parted to all appearances amicably. P. Bruun, "Portrait of a Conspirator," *Arctos* 10 (1976) 7–8, provides a concise summary of the various emperors' positions, intentions, and obstacles during the years 310–311. Constantine's invasion of Italy was bound to displease Licinius.

8. This is the first reference to a god, singular and unnamed, in Latin panegyric. It could be dismissed easily—after all, Apollo (for example) is "a

muttering but even openly fearful, to perceive on your own, against the counsels of men, against the warnings of soothsayers,[9] that the time had
5 come to liberate the City?[10] You must share some secret with that divine mind, Constantine, which has delegated care of us to lesser gods[11] and deigns to reveal itself to you alone. Otherwise, mightiest of Emperors,
6 even though you have won you owe us an explanation. You did leave the Rhine secure with armies stationed along the whole border,[12] but for this reason we were prone to greater fears on your behalf because you took counsel for our interests rather than for your own, and reinforced our security rather than the war which you were undertaking.

god"—did the orator not continue to refer to the deity in the same manner. See the Introduction, pp. 292–93, and note 11 below.

9. As a rule, one did not go against soothsayers, nor yet praise anyone for so doing. Rather, the hero's interpretation of the omen might be superior to everyone's else, but this is not the case here. If this were an episode in Livy, such contempt for ritual would foretell an unhappy outcome. Even if Constantine had openly embraced Christianity in 312, this disregard of omens antedates a conversion that was supposed to have taken place just prior to the recovery of Rome. Unless the ignored bad omens were *post eventum* inventions, this may support the theory that Constantine had been a Christian all along (see the Introduction, n. 20). On the other hand, the consultation of the haruspices, whether or not Constantine heeded their advice, is a politically correct action for an emperor but unacceptable behavior for a pious Christian.

10. T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981) 41, observes that this is not exaggeration, but that political considerations were more pressing than military problems: if Licinius had taken Italy, Constantine would have had no chance to take over the Empire; see id., "The Conversion of Constantine," 377.

11. The various expressions for the divinity (e.g., *divina mens*), coupled with an assumption of divine plurality (*di minores*), indicate a polytheist groping for a definition of a "god in charge." In some contexts, one might construe the *di minores* as δαίμονες, but surely not here. "Demons" were not considered by Christians to be benevolent. See J. Béranger, "L'expression de la divinité dans les Panégyriques Latins," *MH* 27 (1970) 249 with n. 58. J. Straub, *Regeneratio imperii* (Darmstadt, 1972) 80 (reprinted from "Konstantins christliches Sendungsbewußtsein," in *Das neue Bild der Antike* [Leipzig, 1942] 374–94), observes of this passage that here the orator is trying to come to terms with the new situation, and that his personal opinion may be found in the aside of 4.2 (*sua enim cuique prudentia deus est*).

12. Constantine left three-fourths of his men behind (3.3), yet he still found a (Frankish) problem on the Rhine when he returned in 313 (22.3–4).

3 Truly, Emperor, when, in your excessive love for us, you neglected to take all your forces with you, you did not know how to make real provision for our security, since your preservation is our salvation. What need had 2
the Rhine of having troops and fleets drawn up, since the terror of your might had long since walled it off against barbarian nations?[13] Or did you wish to display your carefulness by dividing your forces between guarding for peace and girding for war? Or even boastfully and ostentatiously to prove that you and a few men were enough to liberate the City? With 3
scarcely the fourth part of your army you traversed the Alps against 100,000 enemies in arms,[14] so that it was plain to those who pondered the matter deeply (but it escaped us who were anxious in our love for you) that you sought no doubtful victory but one divinely promised.[15]

Severus had led a great army, and when abandoned through treachery 4
he armed his own enemy;[16] afterward Maximian [Galerius] had brought

13. Cf. *Pan.* 8.13.3 for another blatant lie to the same effect.

14. This figure represents the total of Maxentius' available forces: see, for example, E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1959) 1: 91; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41 with n. 135. This is much more likely than that Constantine had to face 100,000 strong at any one place, or that 100,000 men guarded northern Italy. Zosimus 2.15.1–2 says that Constantine had 90,000 foot and 8,000 cavalry, and Maxentius had 170,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry. This orator later (5.1–2) says that Constantine had with him fewer than 40,000. The practice and experience of Constantine's soldiers, however, gave them an advantage. See Levi, "La campagna di Costantino," 2.

15. Divinely promised victory is somewhat different from personal efficacy; cf. *Pan.* 10.6.3–5, where Maximian fulfills the requests himself, and the gods' assistance is unnecessary.

16. In 307; cf. *Pan.* 7.10. Maxentius owed his appointment to the Praetorian Guard at Rome. He recalled his father from retirement, and Galerius in turn sent Severus to recover southern Italy. The troops that he led had been under Maximian's command until only two years before: Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.5 (see Creed's note ad loc.). Maxentius won over Severus' army with his father's aid, and Maximian received the surrender of the emperor himself, who had fled to Ravenna, during the spring or summer of 307. See Anon.Val. 3.6, 4.9–10; Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.1–11; Zosimus 2.9.3–10.2. The exact time of year cannot be guaranteed; see the Introduction to *Pan.* 7, p. 179. J. Lafaurie, "Dies imperii Constantini Augusti," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à A. Piganiol* (Paris, 1966) 2: 801, believes that the defeat of Severus occurred at the end of 307 and that Maximian visited Gaul between 11 and 31 December of that year. Early, however, is more likely than late. C. H. V. Sutherland, *RIC* 6.271, puts the

in greater forces and he himself, weakened by desertions, seems to have had a fortunate escape.[17] Finally, he who was believed to be his father, after attempting to tear the purple from his shoulders, perceived that his own destiny had passed over to that abomination.[18] The riches collected from

terminus of autumn 307 to the relevant coinage with Severus still represented. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 30, says that Maximian captured Severus in the spring. Severus' death (murder or suicide enjoined) came later (despite the apparent synchronism in Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.10–11; N. B. the synchronism is only apparent; Lactantius may not have intended to say that): Anon.Val. 4.10. O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* (Berlin, 1897) 1: 85, observes that winter may have blocked the passes, so that Galerius' arrival would be long delayed, and this factor may have influenced Severus' decision to surrender. (Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs*, 1: 86, has Maximian going to Gaul—also over passes. One might imagine, however, that it is easier for an emperor, even with entourage, to travel than it is for an army.) Where- and whenever he died, Severus' death was not known in Egypt until the end of 307 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 5 n. 13). R. P. C. Hanson, "The Circumstances Attending the Death of the Emperor Flavius Valerius Severus in 306 or 307," *Hermathena* 118 (1974) 59–68, analyzes the literary (but not the papyrological) evidence and concludes that Severus was deposed and died at Ravenna before the end of 306. But as Creed, *Lactantius*, 107 n. 9, observes, there was scarcely time for his invasion, retreat, and the subsequent events to happen before early 307 when Maxentius was proclaimed emperor only in October 306.

17. Galerius invaded Italy later in 307 but withdrew when he realized that his men's loyalty was wavering (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 27.2–4 [at 27.1 Maximian travels to Gaul to marry Fausta to Constantine to make the latter his ally; *interea* Galerius gathered his army to invade]; Anon.Val. 3.7; Zosimus 2.10.3 [wrong chronological sequence: at 2.10.6 he has Maximian visit Constantine after Galerius' withdrawal]).

It is remarkable that the orator actually names these emperors, and Maximian at 4.3 (although they are dead); no other panegyrist of Constantine names his colleagues (or rivals), or even Diocletian, who is praised at *Pan.* 6.15.4. Eus. *VC* 1.26 also relates that Constantine waited to allow his senior colleagues to attempt to dislodge Maxentius from Rome, but that he was finally moved to action when they failed. There is no hint here or in Eusebius (Nazarius does not reveal that Constantine has, or ever had, a colleague) that the events of 307 occurred at a time when relations between Constantine and Maximian (and presumably Maxentius) were harmonious.

18. Cf. 4.4 below and *Pan.* 6.14.6. According to Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 28.1, Maximian called an assembly of the soldiers at Rome and then tore the purple from Maxentius' shoulders. The army, however, supported the son, and

the entire world over the course of 1,060 years[19] that monster had given to gangs of men hired to rob citizens. What is more, by indiscriminately 6
granting other men's wives and the heads of the innocent along with their possessions he bound the murderers in devotion even to death; all who either plotted against him or openly attempted anything for their freedom he afflicted with punishments and subdued with armed force.[20] And while 7
he enjoyed the majesty of that city which he had taken, he filled all of Italy with thugs hired for every sort of villainy.[21]

Since you contemplated, you knew, you saw all these things, Em- 4
peror, and neither your nature nor your inherited sobriety allowed you to be foolhardy, tell us, I beg you, what you had as counsel if not a divine power?[22] Or did this calculation guide you (for each man's 2
own prudence is his god),[23] that in so unequal a contest the better

Maximian quickly left Rome for Gaul, where he took refuge with his son-in-law Constantine. The date was April 308, for it was then, according to *Chron. min.* 1.67 and 231, that Maxentius announced that he and Romulus were the consuls, and appointed a new city prefect. See Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 84; Lafaurie, "Dies imperii Constantini Augusti," 801; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 32. This passage is the earliest pronouncement of Maxentius' bastardy, an invention of Constantinian propaganda. *Epitome* 40.13 and Anon.Val. 4.12 repeat it.

19. Galletier, "Notes complémentaires," to 2: 125 (n. 3), observes that one must calculate from the beginning of Maxentius' reign in 306 back to 754 (not the more traditional 753) B.C.E. to obtain this figure. I suspect that the orator was more interested in a large round number than in numerical or traditional exactitude.

20. See 4.4 below, where the orator elaborates the accusations, still in general terms; see also the notes to that section.

21. Most of this section (as well as the next) is replete with exaggerations normal to the genre, although Maxentius' life was not unblemished. The orator must also explain why so many armies fought so fiercely for Maxentius in northern Italy. Since to omit the battles would be rhetorically inconvenient and would make Constantine's task too easy, while to include them causes the listener to wonder at the loyalty of so many thousands to a tyrant, this characterization of Maxentius' supporters answers the awkward question before it is asked. Cf. 5.3 below.

22. This is repetition of the idea broached in 2.4, that Constantine had a pipeline to the divinity. Here the notion is strengthened by the exclusion of alternatives (save the emperor's own capacities).

23. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.184–85: *dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt, / Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?* The orator repeats the sentiment at 4.5 below.

cause could not but win and, though he cast countless forces in your
3 path for his defense, yet Justice was fighting for you?[24] To omit those things which are unsuitable for comparison, that he was Maximian's

24. Cf. 2.3: Constantine was first to make a move. There is no attempt to hide his aggression or to apologize for it. One may, according to the present orator's argument, initiate hostilities against any form of evil, whether tyrant or barbarians, but in 321 Nazarius produced a version in which Constantine's nearly infinite patience was overcome when Maxentius, recalcitrant and unregenerate, declared him an enemy and had his statues overthrown to mark the fact (*Pan.* 4.9.1–10.4, 4.12.1–2). There is some ancient evidence to support Nazarius. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 43.4 reports that Maxentius declared war on Constantine as though to avenge his father's death (*quasi necem patris sui vindicaturus*). Zosimus 2.14.1–2 says that Maxentius sought excuses (προφάσεις) for a war against Constantine and planned to take the offensive and to move into Raetia to conquer Dalmatia and Illyria with the help of Licinius' forces (Zosimus does not reveal how Maxentius was to employ the troops of an enemy—perhaps the idea left out was to get Licinius' army the same way he took Severus'). Zosimus continues, however, that although Maxentius had these schemes in mind, he thought it best to pacify Africa first. Several modern scholars have accepted as truth that Maxentius was first to declare war (Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs*, 1: 117–18; Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 87–88; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 40–41), while agreeing that Maxentius expected an attack from Licinius and had sent his men to the northeast of Italy to prepare against that. See note 7 above. Equally, Licinius had been getting ready to march on Italy when Galerius died (Bruun, "Portrait of a Conspirator," 7, does not add that Maxentius also had declared war on Constantine). Either Maxentius was remarkably incompetent or his information about the other rulers' movements was very bad. Licinius was far away, and although Constantine appeared to be very busy on the Rhine, he had demonstrated in 310 when Maximian rebelled how swiftly he could move. Maxentius must have been mad to have instigated hostilities against Constantine while simultaneously preparing against an invasion from the east. That he declared Constantine a public enemy and had his statues destroyed along with other marks of *damnatio memoriae* cannot be doubted, but one should ask when: he had the spring and summer of 312, after Constantine commenced his campaign. The present orator's version supports the view that Constantine began the war without even verbal provocation. Romans liked nothing better than an excuse, and in the beginning of 312 Constantine did not have one. Constantinian propaganda succeeded in reversing cause and effect in the later versions of Lactantius, Nazarius, and even Zosimus.

changeling,[25] you Constantius Pius' son; he was of a contemptibly small stature, twisted and slack of limb, his very name mutilated by a misapplied appellation,[26] you (it suffices to say) are in size and form what
you are; I repeat, to omit these things, Constantine, you were attended 4
by respect for your father, but he, not to begrudge him his false paternity, by disrespect; you were attended by clemency, he by cruelty; you by virtue devoted to a single spouse, but he by lust befouled with every kind of shameful act; you by divine direction, he by superstitious mischief;[27] he, finally, by the guilt for the despoiled temples, the slaughtered Senate, the Roman plebs destroyed by famine,[28] you by the thanks

25. Cf. 3.4 above. Maximian appears to have been on the road to rehabilitation, now that his son was dead. Around the time of Constantine's first armed conflict with Licinius, *Divus Maximianus* appeared on Western coinage (317–318; see *RIC* 7.180, 252, 310, 394, 429, 502).

26. No one has proposed a really good explanation for this. Galletier ("Notes complémentaires," to 2: 126 [n. 2]) reluctantly accepts the conjecture of Baune and Patarol that Maxentius is a form of Maximianus mutilated by abbreviation; Patarol adds: "seu quod esset minime Maximus, quia statura parvus." Jaeger has another idea: "Maxentius in despicabilem appellationem, vulgi sermone, impactus fuisse videtur, cuius mentionem Historici, quos habemus, intermittunt." The "small stature" (*parvitatis*) is not, incidentally, a preferable reading to M's *pravitatis* if, as A. Klotz, "Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini," *RhM* 66 (1911) 562, supposes, the orator modeled his description of Maxentius on Cicero's *Tusc.* 4.29: *vitium, cum partes corporis inter se dissident, ex quo pravitas membrorum, distortio, deformitas.* Cf. *Leg.* 1.51: *corporis pravitates. Pravitas*, "deformity," is a greater defect than lack of height.

27. See Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 9.9.3, *VC* 1.17.1 and 1.37. A. Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford, 1948) 83, comments: "The agreement between Eusebius and the pagan rhetoricians, who report that Maxentius rested his defence on superstition and magic, *superstitiosa maleficia*, while Constantine was led by the divine will, *divina praecepta*, can only go back to an official court version; otherwise the pagans would never have branded their own religion as the spiritual possession of a defeated tyrant." Not really—reports of his alleged magical dabblings may have been common (see R. MacMullen, *Constantine* [New York, 1969] 74–76; id., "Constantine and the Miraculous," *GRBS* 9 [1968] 86) but could yet be despised. Real emperors relied on might (and true piety: see notes 40 and 86 to *Pan.* 11), not magic. Magic, moreover, was not synonymous with paganism.

28. At 3.6 the orator observes that Maxentius repressed those who plotted against him. Nazarius says (*Pan.* 4.31.1) that ex-consuls (= at least one) were released from prison. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 8.14.2ff.) lists adultery (also in *VC* 1.33–

for the abolition of false accusations, the prohibition of delation,[29] the
5 avoidance of shedding even murderers' blood.[30] In the consideration of causes so disparate, you reckoned by divine inspiration, Emperor (that is, by your own), not the numbers of soldiers but the merits of the two sides.

5 Although Alexander the Great could impose an unlimited levy upon all of Greece and the whole of Illyricum in addition to his own Mace-

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34), murder of senators for their money, famine among the people (the greatest in memory: *VC* 1.36), and magical practices (also in *VC* 1.36) as Maxentius' crimes. The latter included the accusations of using for divination both human fetuses cut from their mother's wombs and the internal organs of newborn babies. One would suppose that only a primitive people could imagine or believe such allegations if one did not occasionally hear similar tales in modern times. Magic as commonly practiced did not include infanticide. Victor *Caes.* 40.24 reports that Maxentius made senators and farmers give him "gifts" of money. According to Zosimus, the Temple of Fortune was burned (2.13), and at his accession Maxentius killed the prefect of the city, Abellius, who did not support him (2.9.3), and there was a shortage of food during the uprising in Africa under Domitius Alexander. Maxentius had the praetorians turned on the people (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.24; Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 8.14.3) during the riots over the food shortage or because of the incident at the temple (as related by Zosimus) or on a slight pretext (Eus. *VC* 1.35). The famine was real enough while Alexander's rebellion kept African grain from the city. The other accusations (save for the specific example of the woman who committed suicide to avoid Maxentius: Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 8.14.16–17, *VC* 1.34) are too vague to be proven. See Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 84–85. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.19 preserves the charge of lust, and Eutr. 10.4.3, the crime of hostility toward the nobility.

29. The Latin *delatio* means "the giving of information against someone in order to have that person's crime(s) come to the notice of the proper authorities." Public spirit was never assumed to be what motivated the *delator*; rather, he was thought to be moved by greed or personal animosity, and to have invented charges or distorted harmless incidents. The usual translation "informing" has too many other, harmless connotations to do justice to the concept.

30. Constantine was reluctant to cause more trouble at Rome by allowing counterdelations and full-scale investigations, but he had a few of Maxentius' associates executed for good reason (Zosimus 2.17.2). Cf. 20.4 below. Victor (*Caes.* 40.29–30) implies that Constantine's behavior was merciful. For the sentiment cf. Themistius *Or.* 19.229D (386): in the aftermath of an otherwise unattested plot, Theodosius spared even the guilty in order to avoid doing an injustice.

donians, he never led out more than forty thousand men,[31] since he considered that anything in excess of that was unwieldy for the commander and a mob rather than an army. But you with even fewer numbers 2
embarked upon a much greater war, since your own virtue made you as much more powerful as his greater numbers made him better prepared. Alexander, again, accomplished his undertaking by the outcome of a sin- 3
gle battle against weak Medes, unwarlike Syrians, the Parthians' flighty arms and Asians desirous of a change of servitude:[32] you had to conquer soldiers (for shame!) shortly before Roman, armed with every weapon in the manner of the first rank[33] and because of their consciousness of wrongdoing prepared never to yield except in death.

This was proven by the initial stubbornness of those who held a town 4
beneath the very summit of the Alps,[34] fortified well enough by its wall and situation, who dared to resist you at your approach and to close the gates. They did not believe, I hear, that you yourself were at hand (for who 5
would believe that an Emperor with an army had flown so quickly from the Rhine to the Alps?), but they ought nevertheless to have yielded not

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31. Figures vary on the size of Alexander's army; it was not large. See Plut. *Alex.* 15.1, *Mor.* 327D–E; Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.3; Diod. 17.17.3–4; Frontin. *Str.* 4.2.4. The statement puts an upper limit on the size of Constantine's force (5.2).

32. The orator reproduces a handbook definition of Asiatic military ability; the notion may be found as early as Herodotus. He also reduces three difficult battles (including Granicus) to one. Alexander won at Issus and Gaugamela partly because Darius III (the owner of the "Parthians' flighty arms"?) ran away before he had any need to. As for a change of servitude, Alexander liberated the Greek cities in Asia but made all others tributary as before. No puny fact, however, can withstand the weight of a well-used rhetorical commonplace. Cf. 24.1 below.

33. Livy 1.42.5–49.3 describes Servius Tullius' institution of the census and the distribution of the Roman population into centuries and classes; distinction in rank, and in military equipment, was based upon property qualifications. Cf. Polyb. 6.21.7–23.16, which differs in details. The orator wishes to demonstrate that Maxentius has equipped every one of his men with nothing but the best: it was not to be good enough.

34. Susa, ancient Segusio, less than 40 miles west of Turin (*Pan.* 4.17.3), a primary obstacle to the Po Valley. The assault received prominent treatment on the Arch of Constantine, not only because of its strategic importance but for the psychological impact of an initial victory in what had appeared an ill-advised venture: see Levi, "La campagna di Costantino," 4.

only to the presence of your numen but even to the sound of your name.[35]
6 Consequently they paid the price for their madness on the spot, when they
refused the pardon offered them by your clemency. The siege was not
begun with palisades and trench, the walls were not assailed and shaken
by digging mines or bringing up machines or battering with the ram, but
torches were applied at once to the gates and ladders to the ramparts,
and your men fought not only with slings and weapons hurled from a
distance, but with spears and swords.[36] Thus the attack was begun and
accomplished at the same time, and for the rebels their attempt coincided
with their demise.
6 C. Caesar destroyed Gomphi, a city in Thessaly, in one day because it
refused obedience.[37] But he attacked Greeklings, you, Subalpine men;
he attacked inhabitants only, you, a military contingent as well; he was
unable to protect the captured from pillaging, you were allowed to enjoin
2 mercy upon your victorious men. But at least the destruction of the people
of Gomphi was an example for the rest;[38] a little later in the area around
Turin you fought another battle, since the rebels were not frightened but
angered after your victory, and the spirits which Fortune's judgment ought

35. The play on words (*numen/nomen*) might better be rendered with both Latin originals: "not only your numinous but your nominal presence." The orator probably could not bear to part with the clever phrase once he had thought of it, although to speak of Constantine's *numen* being present is risky, however traditional it be, in what appears to have been a changed atmosphere. The orator always uses *tuum* with *numen* (the other instances are at 1.1, 3.2, and 19.1) when he means Constantine; the expression is equivalent to "Your Majesty" (i.e., "you"), although here it comes closer to being a noun, that is, an attribute, than a substitute for a pronoun. See Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation," 71–75.

36. This and *Pan.* 4 are the only ancient accounts describing in detail Constantine's conquest of northern Italy. The capture of Susa, efficient as it was (and merciful: see next section), did not deter Maxentius' supporters, who fought stubbornly at Turin and Verona.

37. See Caes. *BCiv.* 3.80.

38. The example, combined with Caesar's generous treatment of Metropolis when that town surrendered, persuaded most of Thessaly to go over to him (Caes. *BCiv.* 3.81). The historical parallel is accurately rendered, excepting the part about Caesar's failure to control his army. The orator preferred to create a contrast between the two leaders' ability to restrain their men, not their calculations of what sort of treatment given a captured town would effect the swiftest capitulation of the rest.

to have restrained were in a passion for revenge.[39] The enemy were not
widely spread out in a disorganized manner so that they were easily cut
down while dispersed,[40] but their battle line was arrayed in the form of 3
a wedge with their flanks extending downhill to the rear,[41] and if you had
eagerly joined battle with them at the outset, they would have turned[42]
and surrounded your men as they were engaged in fighting. But since you 4
foresaw this you sent men ahead on both sides to obstruct them and at
the same time, if there were any lurking in ambush, to drive them out;[43]
you yourself, when the stubborn point of the enemy's formation had been
driven back and their whole line turned to flight, advanced and effected
a slaughter whose magnitude was proportionate to the numbers which
reinforced their battle line.[44] They were routed and cut down right up 5
to the walls of Turin, and when they reached the gates already fastened

39. Again, with *Pan.* 4 the sole narrative. Nazarius also affects surprise (*Pan.* 4.22.2) that the opponents bothered to offer resistance. This detail aside, the battle descriptions might be of different engagements. Levi, "La campagna di Costantino," 56, located the battle south of the river Doria, between Alpignano and Tivoli, where the terrain fits the necessities of the battle descriptions.

40. There is no reason why they should have been; Roman soldiers expecting an attack did not wander about the countryside like foreign invaders scattered for plunder. The point is that the invaders met an enemy army that was already drawn up for battle.

41. Normally, a general would choose not to fight uphill and would engage in extensive maneuvering to stay on higher ground: see W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* (Berkeley, 1985) 4: 76–85. Either Constantine surprised his opponents by the speed of his march or the other commander found the terrain advantageous because it concealed the length or disposition of his line.

42. Literally "turned back" (*reflexa*). The enemy's placement was intended to facilitate an outflanking maneuver. Nazarius says nothing of the formation of the battle lines, but he reveals that Constantine faced large numbers of *clibanarii*, mailed cavalry (see *Pan.* 4.22.4–24.5, with notes).

43. Constantine extended his line on the wings and sent them along faster, thus matching the enemy's convex wedge with a concave one of his own. Levi, "La campagna di Costantino," has a plan of the battle array, facing p. 6. Nazarius' statement (*Pan.* 4.24.2) that Constantine opened the middle of his line to let the mailed cavalry pass, and had his men retreat in front of them, probably fits in with what the orator describes here. In that case, the *clibanarii* would have been in the center of the opposing line.

44. Nazarius is more graphic. He also says that the enemy was annihilated (literally: *Pan.* 4.24.5).

by the inhabitants they closed them off as well by the mass of their own
bodies.[45]
7 What else could you have expected for yourself, unhappy soldier,
when you had devoted yourself to a loathsome monster? Now I mean
2 not to taunt you, but to grieve for you. You compelled Constantine to
shed so much blood that, because you did not permit him to procure your
3 own salvation, the victory itself was almost distasteful to him. But the
same disposition was not found in the people of Turin nor in the rest of
Italy's cities, who joyfully exulted and eagerly called you, Emperor, to
4 themselves.[46] Embassies were sent by all, supplies were offered from every
quarter, so it was clear how long they had desired someone to whom they
could so readily commit themselves, while the war was still in progress.[47]
5 What a day that was when you entered Milan! What rejoicing there
was among the chief men[48] of the city, what applause of the populace!
What security there was for mothers and maidens gazing at you, and what
a twofold delight they enjoyed, when they looked upon the form of a most
6 beautiful[49] Emperor and feared no license! They all displayed themselves
and danced about without any apprehension about the remainder of the
7 war;[50] they counted the beginning of your victory as consummation: it

45. Nazarius does not have this detail. The people of Turin shut their gates against Maxentius' army and spared Constantine the necessity of a siege. The behavior of the citizens, however one interprets it (cf. 9.3), is more interesting than the image of bodies blocking the gates.

46. Although Turin welcomed the conqueror, and many cities, including Milan (7.5), followed suit, northern Italy was not yet his. Despite the orator's insistence on the unanimity of Italian towns, a serious conflict awaited at Verona (8–9).

47. One may be permitted a rather more cynical assessment of motive (see, however, Levi, "La campagna di Costantino," 10), but the fact is what mattered. Constantine received moral and material support in northwest Italy; he had to secure his flank before he could turn south to Rome.

48. According to Pacatus these would include the *nobilitas*, *senatores*, *flamines*, and *sacerdotes* (*Pan.* 2.37.4).

49. Cf. *Pan.* 6.17.1 and 4, 21.6; 7.6.2; G. G. Belloni, "La bellezza divinizzante nei Panegirici e nei ritratti monetali di Costantino," *CISA* 7 (1981) 213–22.

50. The orator does not dwell upon the details of Constantine's *adventus* (cf. *Pan.* 2.37.2–4); perhaps the images of the gods, an integral part of such citywide welcoming committees, seemed an awkward addition. There is, however, something new. This is the first time in extant literature that a panegyrist praised an emperor for chastity. It is even more likely that ordinarily that virtue

seemed that it was not the Transpadane provinces[51] which had been
recovered, but Rome. For who would believe that there would be
any obstacle to your considerable success to prevent all armies from
surrendering themselves to your clemency, when they had had experience
of your might?[52] You had captured walls by force, you had conquered 8
in open battle; who seemed to be so mad that he would dare either to
endure a siege or to fight, especially when by remaining for some days
at Milan you had given them all time to consult their own best interests, to
have some expectation of you?[53]
But that miserable town, Verona, already stained by citizens' blood in 8
our middle age,[54] was held by a large enemy army, with ferocious comman-
ders and the most stubborn of prefects, obviously so that Pompeianus[55]
might destroy the colony that Cn. Pompeius had once founded.[56] (O 2

would not occur to an orator as remarkable or praiseworthy than that it was omitted because it belonged to so few rulers. Maxentius, as the type of a tyrant, was naturally accused of lust (4.4 above); in consequence, Constantine could be praised for virtuously practicing monogamy. Cf. *Pan.* 7.4.1–2; there, his self-control recommended him as a son-in-law.

51. "Transpadane" looking from Rome, of course, the *regio* in northwest Italy south of the Alps and north of the Po. The orator exaggerates success as he would if the conquering were yet to be done. His optimism in this instance masks the danger and uncertainty of the venture.

52. Characterization of Maxentius' supporters as madmen was another way to approach the fact of their continued resistance. At 3.7 above, greed, rather than insanity, motivates the armed opposition.

53. The text is lacking at least one word at this point, and Mynors's supplement of *praesumerent* is an example, not an answer. Galletier retains the usual emendation *sperarent*, which Mynors rejects because of the clausula. Although *sperare* can be used absolutely, meaning something like "be optimistic," the passage still bothers. The meaning, however, is clearly that Constantine's clemency is predictable and should therefore be taken advantage of.

54. In 249 Decius defeated the emperor Philip in a battle near Verona. Philip was killed in the battle, and Decius became emperor. But as Galletier, 2: 105, has observed, this battle cannot have occurred in the middle age of an orator who spoke in 313; it must have been the battle in 285 at which Carinus defeated M. Aurelius Julianus (Sabinus Julianus: *Epit.* 38.6; Zosimus 1.73.1).

55. Maxentius' praetorian prefect; Nazarius (*Pan.* 4.25.4) calls him Ruricius. In *PLRE* I he appears as Ruricius Pompeianus 8; combining the two names seems to be all that one can do. He is unknown outside of *Pan.* 12 and 4.

56. Cn. Pompeius Strabo (father of Pompey the Great) as consul in 89 B.C.E. sponsored the *Lex Pompeia*, which gave Latin status to the region north of the

pitiable calamity of the people of Verona, oppressed not so much by your siege as by the internal blockade of their supporters!)[57] The river Adige, rough and stony, full of eddies and whirlpools, with its fierce current prevented assault and rendered all the region behind it safe and secure from
3 the penetration of enemy forces.[58] Nevertheless by your foresight you prevented the river from aiding the enemy any longer when you sent part of the army ahead into the higher elevations where the stream was calmer and the enemy unaware,[59] and you forced them, shut in and besieged by danger from two sides, to abandon their expectation of delay and make a trial of arms.[60]

You cut down all who tried to break out so promptly that the leader himself came forth from the walls with part of his forces to summon aid.[61] The wretched man was to lead back a greater army to perish with

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Po. Asconius remarks, "Nor can this be said, that this colony was 'led out' in the same way that some time later Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, 'led out' Transpadane colonies. Pompeius did not found them with new settlers but gave Latin rights to the previous inhabitants" (*Pis.* 2–3). If the orator has reached too far for his pun, probably no one noticed.

57. Thus the Veronese join the Turinese as unwilling tools of the military. The orator omits the cavalry skirmish at Brescia (Brix[i]a), about halfway along the road from Milan to Verona. See *Pan.* 4.25.1.

58. The river Adige (Athesis) runs approximately north-south before, as it were, rounding a corner west of Verona and thence running northwest-southeast. It effectively blocks off Verona from the west and south, and Italy on the other side was not Constantine's. Thus Verona could be supplied from the east if Constantine attempted a siege from across the river (which runs right next to the city). Evidently a crossing was both impractical and unsafe. Nazarius says nothing about the river (see *Pan.* 4.25.3).

59. The Roman road, which Constantine's men could use once they found a place to cross, followed the course of the river Adige north of Verona. How far north they had to travel cannot be precisely determined, but after a certain distance one not only eliminates tributaries but gets into the Alps (thus the "higher elevations").

60. *Spes morae*: those who held Verona hoped to delay Constantine's eastward (or southward) progress by blocking his path, but such a plan would only work as long as the city was not actually surrounded. They were probably waiting to be joined by other combatants, but Constantine's solution of the barrier problem forced a change in their plans.

61. Nazarius agrees that there were engagements before reinforcements arrived and the great battle began, and that the defenders came off the worse (much worse in the later retelling: *Pan.* 4.25.7). No one reveals how Pompeianus

more companions in his destruction.[62] And on that occasion, Emperor, 4
your carefulness as well as your greatness of spirit were especially apparent, since you preferred to engage him with lesser forces upon his return rather than to interrupt the siege, so the men shut in could neither recover their strength nor escape nor threaten your rear.[63]

At first, I hear, you had drawn up a double battle line; next when 9
you had discerned the number of the enemy[64] you ordered the ranks to spread out in front and the army to be extended more widely,[65] estimating of course the spirit of all your men on the basis of your own, that a mass however much heavier could be broken by the attack of fewer men. Do 2
you think, Emperor, that I praise everything that you did in that battle? In fact, I have a second complaint to make.[66]

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escaped through the lines of the besiegers. It may be that before the city was completely surrounded messengers left to summon whatever forces had been stationed in northeastern Italy against an attack expected from that quarter (see note 7).

62. Despite the attempt to put a good face on the effects of summoning reinforcements, no commander can have welcomed an opportunity either to face greater numbers or to become besieged rather than besieger. The reversal is worthy of a well-written history, but the orator's task is not to reveal too clearly the danger of the situation.

63. The latter alternative was the operative principle. Constantine had to fight on two fronts at once, but that was better than being attacked from the rear by the defenders if he concentrated his attention on Pompeianus. The present narrative gives the impression that Pompeianus returned almost immediately, perhaps the same day, but it is more likely that a number of days elapsed before he returned. After this battle there remained either no spirit or no numbers sufficient for active resistance in northern Italy.

64. *Adversarium* (Galletier, Mynors, and Paladini and Fedeli all reject the reading *adversariorum*) has to be genitive plural. The *TLL*, s.v. "adversarius," 842.39–40, cites this passage and Ter. *Hec.* 22 as the two instances of genitive plural in *-ium* (see *TLL*, s.v. "adversarius 3," 845.74).

65. Initially, Constantine intended to reinforce his array by depth, but evidently Pompeianus had such superior numbers that Constantine had to extend and weaken his line to avoid having the enemy's wings close round him. The maneuver worked in part because the opposing men and horses, having just completed a march, were tired. It was nearly night when they arrived, according to Nazarius (*Pan.* 4.25.7). Pompeianus must have been anxious about the progress of the siege, since he was willing to hazard his unrested reinforcements.

66. Again, the freedom of reproach. Sometimes an orator might choose simply to praise the emperor's usefulness in a fight (as at *Pan.* 10.5.3), even to

You had foreseen everything, you had arranged the whole, you had 3
fulfilled the duty of the supreme commander: why did you enter the fray
yourself, why did you thrust yourself into the densest throng of the enemy,
4 why did you send the State's salvation into such great danger? Or do
you think that we are unaware that, while you were seized by excessive
ardor, you arrived in the midst of the enemy's weapons, and if you had not
opened a path for yourself by slaughter you had cheated the expectation
5 and prayers of the entire human race? You were carried away entirely
by your impulse,[67] like a river in flood carrying along trees broken off at
6 their roots and rocks torn away from their foundations. What do you
have to do, Emperor, with the fate of inferior beings? It is right for them
to fight whose lot it is, each of them, either to conquer or die: are you,
upon whose life the fates of all men depend, to approach any danger? Are
you to pass among so many missiles and swords? Who demands this of
you? Who can endure to have anything left to the hazards of war in your
case? Does smiting an enemy become you, Emperor? On the contrary,
even exertion does not become you.[68]

10 Xerxes observed a naval battle from a high mountain;[69] Augustus won at Actium while he was doing something else.[70] There was even one who was raised up on ladders fastened together and from on high saw the armies clashing, so that he would not be involved in the danger and

remark without rancor that the emperor was wounded (*Pan.* 6.6.2). But it is equally traditional, especially in historical writing, to note that the commander's duty is more to keep himself safe than to prove himself as a soldier, and this is the theme that the orator develops for the rest of this section. Nazarius (*Pan.* 4.26.1–5) praises Constantine's participation in this instance, but not at the battle of the Milvian Bridge.

67. Compare with this (*toto quippe impetu ferebare*) *Pan.* 10.5.3 (*toto quippe proelio ferebare*). The orator not only changes the treatment of the motif as found in a predecessor's work; he lifts a phrase and changes one important word.

68. There were those who believed that the imperial dignity demanded an inhuman lack of movement; see Ammianus' description of Constantius II in public (16.10.9–11, 21.16.7).

69. Xerxes watched the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.E. from Mt. Aegaleos (Hdt. 8.90.4).

70. Agrippa was responsible for the naval tactics at Actium in 31 B.C.E. But Suet. *Aug.* 18 says that Augustus spent the night on his flagship; Plut. *Ant.* 66–67 has him actually involved as well, and Vell. Pat. 2.85 says that "Caesar was everywhere." Cf. *Pan.* 7.13.4. Somehow the battle of Actium had become a commonplace instance of the wrong thing.

would be present at the outcome.[71] These examples, you will say, are 2
ignoble—but safe, and fear for your danger is weightier than joy for your
victory.

When the enemy had been slain and routed and their commander 3
himself killed, did not your officers and tribunes weeping snatch you up,
and when they had embraced your heaving breast, your bloody hands,
and whatever had come forth from the boundless bloodbath, did they not
cry out from this side and that: "What were you doing, Emperor? To
what fate had you abandoned us, if your divine valor had not protected
you?[72] What is this impatience? What use to you are our hands, if instead
you fight for us?" I would not say these things, Emperor, nor would I 4
relate what was said by others, if our daring in words were not safer, by
benefit of your leniency, than your daring in arms. For by some novel 5
kind of natural diversity and confounded mixture of virtues, you, the
same man, are most savage in battle and most gentle when safety has
been procured.[73]

When the besieged had been granted an opportunity for repentance 11
and you had received Aquileia as well in accordance with their legates' entreaties, and all had surrendered themselves to you whom you had saved by besieging them,[74] you pardoned them all and restored their

71. A marvelous image, but unhappily the occasion to which it refers escapes everyone. Patarol believed that the orator invented it to amplify his topic. There is a close likeness in Dio 75(76).11.4: Septimius Severus overlooked the siege of Hatra from a βήματος ὑψηλοῦ. A Severan exemplum would be quite unprecedented in a fourth-century panegyric (see the section "Language and Literary Character" in the General Introduction); on the other hand, if the orator actually has this incident in mind, he does well to omit the ruler's name and save himself the embarrassment of acknowledging that he has used something recent.

72. Nazarius (*Pan.* 4.26.1) attributes Constantine's protection not to his own prowess but to god.

73. Constantine did not always confine his cruelty to the battlefield: see *Pan.* 6.12.3. Eus. *VC* 1.46 also says that Constantine was terrible (ἐπίφοβος) to his enemies but mild and kindly to others.

74. With the surrender of Verona and other besieged cities as well as Aquileia, Constantine now controlled northern Italy and was free to head south. Levi, "La campagna di Costantino," 9–10, observes that many cities in the area may well have welcomed Constantine's advance as vindicating the importance of northern (as opposed to southern) Italy. Barnes, "The Conversion of Constantine," 377, believes that Constantine's march southward

2 lives which they had given up as lost. And then you commanded them to lay down their arms to be protected much more securely by the victor's compassion; yet, that they suffer the deserts of their obstinacy, you commanded that they be seized and shackled not for punishment but to save their lives, lest they scatter because of the fears of a bad conscience and commit a greater wrong and not merit be-
3 ing preserved a second time, if they had not been saved.[75] But from what source were so many fetters to come which could restrain the
4 hands of so large a number of soldiers recently armed? The soldiers who had undertaken the escort were aghast, and they refused the duty of standing guard and knew not at all what they would do; your very counselors, even the prefect himself, were perplexed, when you, advised by divine inspiration,[76] commanded that double shackles for their hands be made out of their swords, that their own swords which

was deliberately slow (he compares Constantine's strategic caution to the haste of Antonius Primus in 69). But despite the apparent support of many places, Constantine's progress across northern Italy was not as rapid as the orator pretends. Mutina, Aquileia, and the other places endured sieges before they capitulated (see *Pan.* 4.27.1 and note). Anon.Val. 4.12 also notices the victory at Verona, and Eutr. 10.4.3 says that Constantine put Maxentius' men to flight in many battles. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.20 mentions a victory over Maxentius' army at Verona as an example of the tyrant's cowardice, since he did not bestir himself even then. The historian, however, places Maximian's attempt on Constantine's life between the loss at Verona and Constantine's defeat of Maxentius. Curiously, Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 44.3 reports that Maxentius' forces prevailed until Constantine marched to Rome (one wonders how, in that case, Constantine reached the city), but this makes the effect of Christ's help more worthwhile. Lactantius faced the same problem as a panegyrist, after all; see note 21 above. The contemporary oration, though it makes light of the campaign's dangers and difficulties and never reveals the length of time, is preferable. Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 9.9.3 and *VC* 1.37 say that Constantine defeated three of Maxentius' armies before he headed for Rome.

75. The orator is speaking only of the soldiers, not of the inhabitants of Verona (whom he had said at 8.2 were "besieged" by the presence of Maxentius' men) or of other cities. Constantine did not want the captured soldiers to be freed to regroup at another place, and did not wish to take a chance on incorporating them into his army in Italy.

76. The phrase *divino monitus instinctu* is similar to the later inscription on Constantine's arch in Rome: *instinctu divinitatis* (*ILS* 694).

had not defended them in their resistance might guard them in their surrender.[77]

O most beautiful triumph which ought to have been exposed to the **12**
eyes of the world, the triumph of your might and clemency! For it belonged to his humanity, when it was in his power to wrest arms from the enemy, to bind those who surrendered for freedom from punishment, and to bind them in such a way that they would regret daily that iron which they had
carried against you. That very sword, which a dangerous foe had drawn 2
against you, held the hands of its master; what was designed for slaughter
became a guardian for salvation. The great poet, when he describes 3
the extent and preparations for wars springing up throughout the world, says: "And curved sickles are being melted down into hardened swords."[78] That era[79] was a sad one, when implements manufactured for the care
of brutes were turned to the killing of men. But now those hardened and 4
death-dealing swords are curved into the bonds of salvation, and do not destroy but confine disarmed men; their own beaten and blunted swords protect the surrendered enemy, since when whole and sharp they were able to do them no good.

Therefore the functions of all weapons serve your authority to different **13**
effect, Emperor. For you swords conquer, for you they preserve; when
you fight they strike, when you forgive they protect. As that god, creator 2
and master of the world,[80] sends messages now sad, now glad, with his same thunderbolt, so the same shafts under your divine power distinguish

77. The subsequent paragraphs on the swords and the use to which they were put breaks the narrative before the moment of greatest tension, the march on Rome and the battle of the Milvian Bridge. Of this whole tedious excursus I cannot say better than Galletier, 2: 119: "Il est impossible de rencontrer virtuosité plus vide et plus sotte, dont l'orateur finit par s'excuser en abordant un sujet plus sérieux."

78. Virg. *G.* 1.508: *et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.* The last three words are missing from the oldest manuscripts but supplied in many *recentiores.* I suspect that this whole excursus on the swords was occasioned by a desire to quote Virgil (he does so again at 14.2 below) and to praise something new and different.

79. Literally the time of the civil wars and immediately afterward, during the first century B.C.E. But the orator thereby implies that all other ages were happier or less violent, although he wants to make this claim only for the present time.

80. The nameless god has Jupiter's attributes: he hurls a *fulmen* and rules. But Jupiter was not considered the creator. The deity here described is a synthetic

3 between your enemies or petitioners by destruction or preservation.[81] You
snatched their swords away from your adversaries, Emperor, lest anyone
fall upon his sword in a passion of grief; and you returned the same
swords harmless to their hands, to satisfy both your clemency and your
vengeance: you broke the weapons of those whose blood you spared.
4 For the life of men, long in creation,[82] is always to be preserved, if it be
permitted: iron is easy to find, variable in application. For this reason you
melted down what could be repaired, you saved what could not have been
5 restored. What do stories tell that is its like for pleasure? Human bodies
have been changed into fountains or beasts or birds: such a transformation
is debased and disgusting.[83] A sword has been changed into manacles: this
is what security is after fear, or shade after heat. The change destroyed its
sheen, but blunted its point.

14 Our enthusiasm and your kindness, Emperor, have encouraged us
to indulge our exultation thus far with our words; but now let us return to
2 greater things. When all Italy this side[84] of the Po had been recovered,
Rome herself extended suppliant hands to you, Rome, where that monster
had squatted, not daring to attempt anything in response to so many
announcements of disasters suffered by his forces.[85] Rather the vile

being that a pagan would imagine, a not entirely successful attempt to avoid offending anyone.

81. The orator has not given up on comparing emperor to deity, a device that the panegyrist of 289, and others, used effectively. Causing weapons to distinguish between supplicants and active combatants is a remarkable achievement.

82. The Latin here (*vita enim hominum diu parta*) is similar to another passage from a contemporary panegyric (*Pan.* 5.10.4: *diu venturi hominis partus optatur*); the latter, however, occurs in a context of comparison: nature takes a long time to make a human being, but Constantine gives the entirety of life at once (*tu nobis vitam pariter totam dedisti*).

83. As in Ov. *Met.* passim. Besides quoting Virgil and referring to Ovid, the orator alludes to and departs from the poetic theme that iron was discovered to the sorrow of mankind.

84. He speaks now from the Gallic, not the Roman, perspective. Cf. 7.7 (with note 51) above, where he looks from the south in the traditional manner, as the area in question was actually called Transpadana.

85. Cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.20: *adhuc pavidus et imbellis atque in desidiam foede pronus, usque eo, ut flagrante per Italiam bello fusisque apud Veronam suis nihilo segnius solita curaret.*

creature's very cowardice kept him under siege and, as the saying is,
fear revealed the spirit of an ignoble man.[86]

The stupid, worthless creature never dared to go outside his walls, for 3
thus he was warned either by omens or by the forebodings of his fear.
For shame, an Emperor inside the protection of his walls! He would not 4
approach the Field of Mars, would not practice in arms, would not tolerate
the dust, not he;[87] and he was clever at that, lest as he essay a man's tasks
they despise him who watched him as he strode on a promenade[88] within
that palace of marbled walls, for it was considered a foreign expedition
to go to the estate of Sallust.[89] And in fact these pleasures shielded his 5
disgraceful fearfulness for the whole time that he occupied the city and
shut himself in. He wished to appear not unwarlike but blest, not idle
but carefree. Whenever he summoned the soldiers[90] to an assembly he 6

86. Virg. *Aen.* 4.13: *degeneres animos timor arguit.* Some MSS change the spelling of the adjective, but none does anything with the orator's change of tense (*arguebat*).

87. Emperors were still supposed to be soldiers and generals and played the part even if they were not very good at it. Honorius was the first emperor in the West to refrain from devoting himself to military pursuits and yet avoid being deposed. Long before the fourth century the Campus Martius had been built up and was no longer used for military exercises, but the name is evocative of combat readiness, and the proximity is used for contrast with the enormous effort that it took even to visit a park (end of the sentence).

88. There is a textual problem here, as most MSS have *deambularent tantum.* The verb ought to refer to Maxentius, not the spectators; W. Baehrens deleted *tantum* (merely) and suggested *deambulantem,* which Mynors and Paladini and Fedeli (the latter retaining *tantum*) adopt. Galletier puts a full stop after *viderent,* retains *deambulare,* making a parallel construction with the infinitives in the preceding sentence, and adds *et* before *tantum,* which then modifies *incedere.* The basic meaning remains that Maxentius was ambulatory but eschewed vigorous (military) exercise.

89. The Horti Sallustiani (between the Quirinal and, later, Aurelian's wall) included a palace; for pictures of the remains see E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* rev. ed. (London, 1968) 1: 491–99. Vespasian liked to spend time there (Dio 65.10.4), and Aurelian (SHA, *Aurel.* 49.1) preferred that location to the residence on the Palatine. For further examples see F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London, 1977) 23, who writes that these were the "best-attested, and perhaps the most used, of all the imperial gardens."

90. The soldiers of the Praetorian Guard, whom sources agree were his original supporters. See Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.1–3; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.5; Eutr.

boasted that he alone ruled with them, others waged war at the borders on his behalf. "Enjoy," he used to say, "waste, squander." This was the brief and fleeting felicity of wretched men.[91]

15 And not even then, when he had received information of so many conflicts lost by his men, did he attempt to go to meet you to employ the boundary of the Po or the Apennine Mountains for resistance, but he suppressed letters testifying to his own disasters. Meanwhile even in public he kept wishing that an advance would be made all the way to the gates. He did not realize that the City's majesty, which had once tempted advancing armies,[92] had gone over to support you now that it was disgraced by his crimes and driven from its seat, and that men whom so many glorious victories, over and above your generosity and their oath of allegiance, had dedicated to you could not be corrupted by any rewards.[93]

2 What soldier, who had so often fought successfully under your command and auspices, would sell his wounds to that fellow, or concede the outcome of a war nearly won?

3 But as you had formed this impression of the eagerness inspiring the whole army, without any of indecision's delay you flew along in hasty

10.2.3; Zosimus 2.9.3. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.47 reports that Diocletian had reduced the numbers of the army at Rome; Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 26.3 says that Galerius had done away with the Guard, and only a few were left. Constantine disbanded them in 312 and sent them to guard the frontiers (21.3 below; Zosimus 2.17.2).

91. The orator found this phrase (*haec erat miserorum brevis et caduca felicitas*) nearly ready-made by the panegyrist of 310, who used a similar expression of usurpers who had bribed the military to be elected (*Pan.* 6.16.5: *brevis eorum fuit et caduca popularitas*). The context in the latter instance is Maximian's attempt to overthrow Constantine, and as a deliberate allusion to the earlier oration the present phrase would be very subtle, but not perhaps too obscure.

92. E.g., the armies of Severus, which went over to Maxentius, and of Galerius, which lost many deserters to the usurper; see notes 16 and 17 above. The orator implies that Maxentius intended to use the same tactics on Constantine, and to attempt to win over his adversary's men while withstanding a siege.

93. Cf. *Pan.* 6.16.2–9. There (and at 6.17) Constantine is said to maintain the soldiers' affection for a variety of reasons, including his physical beauty, his name (the dynastic principle), and his father's accomplishments. The similarity with this passage lies in making material rewards a lesser force than loyalty. Here in particular the orator stresses Constantine's successful record as a commander. The earlier panegyrist was more concerned with evidence of Constantine's divinity, and legitimacy.

march where the shortest road is, through the Veneti,[94] and displayed for Rome then so eager for you that rapidity in action which was Scipio's[95] and Caesar's. This is the faith of an Emperor invincible and trusting 4 in the spirits of his men, not to waver in doubt nor to prolong a war, but to consider each ensuing opportunity for battle an opportunity for victory.[96] Your situation was not that of Quintus Maximus with victori- 5 ous Hannibal, to seek out a place and an opportunity after calamities,[97] but it was the right place and time for you to press your successes, to add victory to victory, and to come to the City's assistance as soon as possible. It is the mark of a wise commander to take account of a criti- 6

94. *Venetos* is Livineius' conjecture for M's *eos*; it makes the best sense if Constantine marched east from Verona, as he might well have done (see Galletier, "Notes complémentaires," to 2: 135 [n. 3]). Nazarius (*Pan.* 4.27.1) includes Aquileia and Mutina among the places that were besieged and then surrendered. Constantine may, for example, have headed for the *via Flaminia* either by way of Ravenna (if he had gone to Aquileia) or Mutina. His choice of road would depend upon his last stopping place in northern Italy. Arntzen believes that Constantine did not march to Aquileia, and suggests *per Veios*, citing Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.23 (Maxentius advanced to Saxa Rubra), since Saxa Rubra is between Veii and the Tiber. But Maxentius advanced only to the bridge (see note 103), and it seems odd to say that the shortest journey is through a place very near its terminus. See *Pan.* 4.27.1 and note.

95. The phrase *celeritatem illam in re gerenda Scipionis* derives from Cicero *Verr.* 2.5.25 *illius superioris Africani in re gerunda celeritatem.*

96. Nazarius upgrades the claim in a passage of similar content, namely, the soldiers' ability and loyalty. See *Pan.* 4.19.4 (*cum dico proelia, significo victorias*).

97. See Livy, esp. 22.12–18, 23–30. Fabius not only saved Rome by delaying but became such a fixture in handbooks that he is one of the few Republican heroes to appear in a Tetrarchic or Constantinian panegyric. Another is Scipio Africanus. Although not a few Republican names appear in these orations, they very often occur in groups (e.g., *Pan.* 10.14.2: prominent Romans; *Pan.* 12.18.1–2: people saved from or helped by the Tiber), not singled out for individual accomplishments or problems. Here, and occasionally elsewhere (e.g., the reference to Scipio's invasion of Africa at *Pan.* 10.8.1), the exemplum actually tells an incident of Roman history, although in this case the exemplum is negative, and somewhat intrusive. It may be that Hannibal, the ultimate enemy, is the critical feature, and that this orator, who seems rather fond of history (see the Introduction, p. 289), was moved to insert Fabius at the point where he was about to paraphrase Livy's Scipio.

cal situation by delaying, but under favorable conditions not to neglect Fortune.[98]

16 There was still this one fear, that in absolute terror, gravely smitten by your power and backed into a corner, he might consult his best interests and put off by enduring a siege the penalty owed the republic, since after all of Africa, which he had decided to destroy,[99] had been exhausted, and all the islands had been emptied, he had amassed provisions for an
2 unlimited length of time.[100] But the divine spirit and the eternal majesty of the City itself robbed the accursed man of good sense, and made him suddenly rush out, after his inveterate sloth and shameful hiding, and after the passing of six indolent years to mark the very day of his accession by his final destruction, that he not violate the sacred and holy number seven[101] even by commencing upon it.[102]

98. Cf. Livy 28.44.8: *id est viri et ducis, non deesse fortunae praebenti se et oblata casu flectere ad consilium.* The words come from Scipio's speech urging an attack on Carthage and rebutting Fabius' cautious advice. Even if it comes through an intermediate source, the reminiscence of Livy nicely rounds out the comparison of Scipio and Fabius.

99. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.17 says that [L. Domitius] Alexander stupidly assumed power in Africa, whereas Zosimus 2.12.1–3 connects the rebellion with the soldiers' loyalty to Galerius and Maxentius' attempt to secure the support of Alexander, the *vicarius*, by demanding his son as a hostage. The rebellion lasted probably from 308 to 309 (see Barnes, *New Empire,* 14 with nn. 17 and 18). Maxentius sent C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus to suppress the revolt. (For the interesting career of the latter, see *PLRE* I, Volusianus 4. He continued to serve the state under Constantine.) After he regained control of Africa, Maxentius exacted severe reprisals (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.18–19; Zosimus 2.14.2–4).

100. Maxentius had evidently anticipated a long siege, but circumstances changed his mind (see below).

101. The ancients regarded seven as a perfect number for several reasons, including the multiples of seven that were thought to make up the ages of a man's life: sixty-three, for example, being the grand climacteric. See Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 1.6 for discussion of the number seven.

102. Cf. *Pan.* 4.27.6. Zosimus 2.16.1 has Maxentius consult the haruspices and Sibylline books and discover a prophecy that an enemy of Rome would die. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 44.4 says that Maxentius was finishing his fifth year (*sic*) and that he sent out his army without him (44.6). The people in the city became unruly and cried out at the games that Constantine could not be conquered (44.7). It was then that Maxentius consulted the Sibylline books and found the prophecy, which he interpreted to his own advantage (44.8–9). Lactantius does

But how did he arrange his battle line, that little slave who dressed 3
himself in purple for so many years? Precisely in such a way that no one could escape, that no one driven from his position could withdraw and fight anew, as usually happens, since he would be restrained in front by weapons and in the rear by the river Tiber.[103] In this he did not by 4

not doubt the accuracy of the pagan oracle, which, like many another, derives its success from its ambiguity.

103. Ancient versions of the battle vary considerably, even in the year (when one is given). Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 44.4 says that Constantine waited in the region of the Milvian Bridge, that after Maxentius finally went out to the battle the bridge was cut (44.9); when he fled back toward the bridge he was pushed into the Tiber by the crowd of those fleeing (44.9). Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 9.9.4–7 has Constantine approach very near Rome, and Maxentius advance some distance from the city; on his retreat Maxentius and his men broke the bridge of boats that they had built. Eutr. 10.4.3 briefly notes that Constantine in the fifth year of his reign overcame Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.23 relates that Maxentius advanced (in the sixth year of his reign) reluctantly to Saxa Rubra, 9 miles from the city, where he was defeated. As he fled to the city he was caught in the trap that he had set for his enemy at the Milvian Bridge. J. Moreau, "Pont Milvius ou Saxa Rubra?" in *Scripta minora* (Heidelberg, 1964) 72–75 (= *La nouvelle Clio* 4 [1952] 369–73), discusses Victor's information about Saxa Rubra. The historian appears to have confused the site of a confrontation in 193 (between Didius Julianus and Septimius Severus) with events of 312. There is no reason to believe that Maxentius progressed any farther than the opposite bank of the Tiber. In *Epit.* 40.7 Maxentius falls from his horse while attacking in battle, at the bridge built of boats a little above the Milvian Bridge. Zosimus 2.16.2–4 gives many details: Maxentius built a bridge across the Tiber; as he crossed it a flock of owls covered the walls; Constantine's cavalry advanced first and engaged the enemy cavalry and won; then the infantry advanced, the Romans and Italians fought Constantine reluctantly, and the rest of the opposition struggled valiantly (and were killed in great numbers); as Maxentius and others fled over the bridge the wood broke beneath their weight, and Maxentius was plunged into the river with the rest. These details have exercised many minds. The present orator, the source closest to the event, says that the Tiber was to Maxentius' rear, too close to allow regrouping (cf. *Pan.* 4.28.4). He also mentions the Milvian Bridge (17.1). Lactantius believes that the bridge was cut on the day of the battle; Eusebius has this done some time before and a bridge of boats in its stead (cf. *Epit.*, and the wood in Zosimus' narrative). This orator and Nazarius (*Pan.* 4.28) are amazed both at Maxentius' abrupt decision to give battle and at his inept generalship (although they attribute these to the workings of the divine will), so it is most likely that Maxentius had planned on withstanding a siege and had cut off access

Hercules ponder the necessity of resistance but the proximity of refuge, unless perhaps he sensed already that his fatal day had come and wished to drag as many as possible with him as consolation for his own death, to have
5 as companions in his end all who had been partners in his crimes. For what else ought one to believe he expected, since he had already moved out of the palace two days before and had voluntarily withdrawn with wife and son[104] to a private house, driven in fact by terrifying dreams and expelled by nocturnal Avengers, so that you the long-expected occupant might succeed to that sacred edifice after it had been aired out and purified?
6 He had foreseen the truth and yielded to you who were to come, since by leaving the palace he had already renounced his command, although he advanced armed into battle.

17 Then at the first sight of your majesty and at the first attack of your army so often victorious, the enemy was terrified, routed, hindered by the narrowness of the Milvian Bridge,[105] and with the exception of the first instigators[106] of that usurpation who in despair of pardon covered with their bodies the place which they had chosen for combat,[107] all the rest went headlong into the river, so that there was at last some abridgment
2 of the slaughter for the weary right hands of your men. After the Tiber had swallowed the impious, the same Tiber also snatched up their leader

to the city, but that he was compelled either by a dream or premonition (16.5 below) or the prophecy or insurrection within the city, to give battle (see Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire,* 1: 91). The bridge of boats may or may not have been intended as a trap; anyway it was a passage out of the city if the other bridges were down. See F. Paschoud, *Zosime* (Paris, 1971) 1: 205 n. 26; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius,* 42–43 and n. 144.

104. His wife was Galerius' daughter Valeria Maximilla; the name of this (second) son is not known. His son Romulus was already dead (see below, 18.1 with note).

105. The orator refers to the original bridge, whether through carelessness or ignorance or the fact that the bridge was still standing. He does not have Eusebius' story of a trap, which would have made a rhetorically useful addition. There is no narrative to speak of concerning the tactics and action of the battle itself, which other sources also pass over briefly. It seems not to have lasted very long.

106. Instigators: the Praetorian Guard, or at least some of them, and their officers (Zosimus 2.9.3).

107. Sall. *Cat.* 6.12 had so described the deaths of Catiline and most of his supporters in battle: "Almost every man dead covered with his body the place which he had taken up for battle."

himself in its whirlpool and devoured him, when he attempted in vain to escape with his horse and distinctive armor by ascending the opposite bank, lest such a misshapen monster should leave behind this fame for his death, that he had fallen by the sword or shaft of some brave man.[108] The 3
swirling river rolled along the bodies and arms[109] of other enemies and carried them away; that one, however, it held in the same place where it had killed him, lest the Roman people should long be in doubt whether it was to be believed that the man, the confirmation of whose death was sought, had actually escaped.[110]

Sacred Tiber, once adviser of your guest Aeneas,[111] next savior of the **18**
exposed Romulus,[112] you allowed neither the false Romulus[113] to live for long nor the City's murderer to swim away. You who nourished Rome by conveying provisions, you who protected her by encircling the walls, rightly wished to partake of Constantine's victory, to have him drive the enemy to you, and you slay him. You are not always rapid and turbulent 2
but moderate if the occasion demands it. You were calm when you carried

108. All sources agree that Maxentius was drowned.

109. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.538–40: *quam multa sub undas / scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves, / Thybri pater!*

110. Zosimus 2.17.1 says that the Romans were afraid to rejoice until Maxentius' head was displayed on a spear. What is more, if the body had not been found, someone might later have impersonated Maxentius. Such masquerades were not unusual in the ancient world. See, for example, Tac. *Ann.* 2.39–40 (the false Agrippa Postumus).

111. The episode related at *Aen.* 8.31–65, esp. 8.57: *ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam.*

112. See Livy 1.4.4–5 for justification of the claim.

113. Valerius Romulus, perhaps named for his great-grandmother Romula, Galerius' mother, is known from coins and inscriptions (see *PLRE* I, Romulus 6). He died before Constantine's invasion of Italy, probably in 309. How the Tiber achieved his death is a mystery, unless the child drowned. Galletier ("Notes complémentaires," to 2: 138 [n. 2]) believes that the false Romulus is Maxentius himself, not his son. The orator's language does not support that interpretation: (1) *nec diu vivere* describes a child even better than a person in the water, and (2) the second *nec* with a second noun signals a change of subject. Nor does anything explain why Maxentius would be the false Romulus, and since he was the "City's murderer," the false Romulus must be someone else.

Cocles in armor,[114] the maiden Cloelia entrusted herself to your stillness;[115] but now violent and turbid you sucked in the enemy of the State and, lest your service go unnoticed, you revealed it by disgorging his corpse.
3 Then, after the body had been found and hacked up, the entire populace of Rome broke out in vengeful rejoicing, and throughout the whole City where it was carried affixed to a spear that sinful head did not cease to suffer disfiguration, and meanwhile, in the customary jests of a triumph, it was mocked by insulting its bearer, since he suffered the deserts of another's head.[116]

19 But why do I dwell so long upon drolleries? The houses themselves, I hear, seemed to move[117] and the rooftops seemed to rise higher, wherever the chariot conveyed your deity with slow effort: so numerous a throng of the people, so numerous an entourage of senators carried you along and at
2 the same time detained you. Those who stood at a distance pronounced fortunate those who had a closer look at you; those whom you passed by repented of the place which they had occupied.[118] Everyone in turn approached from this side, followed from that; the countless multitude struggled and surged back and forth with varying pressure, and they remarked to themselves that there were so many souls left over after that
3 six years' slaughter. Some even dared to ask you to tarry and to complain

114. Livy 2.10.2–11 tells the story. Horatius and Cloelia (the subject of the following exemplum), of course, were to be found in the most elementary of handbooks.

115. Livy 2.13.6–11.

116. Two of the many prerequisites for a triumphal procession were distinguished captives, who were usually slain after having adorned the parade, and the *triumphator* with his army. The soldiers sang apotropaic verses that were ribald or insulting, and the slave who rode on the chariot with the victorious general spoke words to the same effect, so that no harm come to the commander because of the adulation and that the praise not go to his head. The conquered, clearly, could be directly reviled, as Maxentius' head, or rather the man who carried it, is here.

117. Cf. *Pan.* 11.11.3 for nearly the same phrase used of Diocletian and Maximian's joint public appearance in Milan: *tecta ipsa se, ut audio, paene commoverunt.*

118. The depiction of the populace confronted with an emperor is fairly standard, the essential element being that no one's eyes could achieve satiety: cf. *Pan.* 11.11.3–5. But here the orator also seizes the opportunity (in the next sentence) to observe that Rome had a fair number of inhabitants left even after six years of a tyrant's slaughter.

that you approached the palace so quickly[119] and, after you had entered,

119. J. Straub, *Regeneratio imperii,* 100–118 (= "Konstantins Verzicht auf den Gang zum Kapitol," *Historia* 4 [1955] 297–313), and "Constantine as ΚΟΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ," *DOP* 21 (1967) 39–55, discusses the changes that Constantine brought to the traditional ceremonial surrounding an emperor at Rome. He argues (*Regeneratio imperii,* 104–5) that in this description of Constantine's triumphal procession there is no word of his approaching the Capitol to do sacrifice to Jupiter Optimus Maximus or to any other deity on this or any other day. Of the procession as here described he writes (*Regeneratio imperii,* 114–15): "Konstantin hat demnach auf einen Triumphzug im alten Sinne verzichtet: er nahm den Weg zum Forum und von dort ummittelbar zum Palatium." Cf. id., "Constantine as ΚΟΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ," 41–42: the "officially commissioned" pagan orator "reported every detail of the ceremonial entrance, but this panegyrical report does not make even a vague allusion to a sacrifice on the Capitol." Thus Straub argues that during the course of his triumph Constantine dispensed with the hitherto obligatory sacrifice to the pagan god; he discusses as well other instances of what he describes as mutual accommodation between Constantine and the Senate.

Straub cites this panegyrist's predecessors for corroboration. The author of the panegyric of 289 (*Pan.* 10.13.2) had described an imaginary joint triumph of Diocletian and Maximian in which a visit to the Capitol figured: "These rulers, as soon as they return to you in triumph, wish to be conveyed in the one chariot, to ascend the Capitol together, to dwell on the Palatine together." The author of the panegyric of 307 (*Pan.* 7.8.7) also mentions the Capitol: "Upon your first entry the Roman people greeted you with such joy, and in such great numbers, that when they conceived a passion to convey you to the lap of Capitoline Jupiter, if only with their eyes, they scarcely allowed you through the gates of the city, such was the press." Straub observes that the panegyric of 307 was known to this orator (see note 122), who nevertheless copied only selected details to describe Constantine's entrance in 312. It is fair, up to a point, to argue from silence, for when a traditional feature is missing from a narrative it is right to ask why. But this passage cannot support so much weight. Two arguments can be used against it. First, it is unlikely that the orator was officially briefed, and he was not with Constantine in Rome and does not know all the details of what occurred (see the last sentence of 20.2 below). It is rather to be expected that he has chosen out for comment the beginning and the end of what often seemed an interminable procession (cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 12), and has other things to talk about. It may even be the case that he feels uncomfortable mentioning pagan deities by name (see the Introduction, pp. 292–93) and would not mention Jupiter even if he knew that Constantine had visited the temple. Second, one cannot argue successfully from gaps in a panegyrist's description of what he has not seen, for by the same logic one would assume that the orator of 289 believes that Diocletian and Maximian

dared not only to follow you with their eyes but almost to intrude even
4 upon the sacred threshold. Thereafter, crowding through all the roads, they awaited, watched for, wished and hoped for your appearance, so that they seemed to besiege the man by whose siege they had been liberated.[120]

5 The greatest of orators may have bragged, and truthfully, that he was carried back to his country on the shoulders of Italy:[121] the Senate and people of Rome were in a passion, both on that day and on others, to carry you even with their eyes,[122] Constantine, wherever you made your
6 way. Nor could men bring themselves to watch anything else during the days of exhibitions and eternal games[123] except you yourself, to see what the flashing of your eyes[124] was like, the majesty encompassing your whole body, the dignity of your countenance. They all rejoiced in the length

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will ascend the Capitol (perhaps because that is the traditional route) but will not stop in at the temple, for he fails to mention it. One may look further at the panegyric of 307, in the next sentence of the same section cited above: "Again, when you were in your twentieth year as Emperor and consul for the eighth time, Rome herself so wished to detain you in its embrace, so to speak, that she seemed already to have a presentiment and fear of what actually happened" (*Pan.* 7.8.8). This passage refers to Maximian's celebration of a triumph at Rome (see C. E. V. Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307 and Maximian's Visits to Rome," *Phoenix* 35 [1981] 70–76; and note 33 to *Pan.* 7), yet its author does not say anything about the route followed or about the gods.

Zosimus 2.29.5 reports that Constantine once did sacrifice on the Capitoline, fearing the soldiers, but subsequently (after "the Egyptian" sent a dream) refused to do so, thus incurring the hatred of the Senate and people. See Paschoud, *Zosime,* 2: 219–24 ad loc.; and, in greater detail, id., "Zosime 2,29 et la version païenne de la conversion de Constantin," *Historia* 20 (1971) 334–53. Zosimus has got the year, and the reason for Constantine's conversion, wrong; if he is right that Constantine at first sacrificed but later refused, the first occasion must have been in 312, the latter probably at the celebration of his *decennalia* in 315.

120. This conceit is unique in extant panegyric, although the situation is not.

121. Cicero, as he reports in *Red. Sen.* 39 (57 B.C.E.): *cum . . . me Italia cuncta paene suis umeris reportarit*; cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 2.3.5.

122. The orator takes the phrase from an earlier description of Maximian's first entry into Rome, *Pan.* 7.8.7: *ut . . . [populus Romanus] vel oculis ferre gestiret.*

123. A traditional part of consular celebrations. Constantine was still in Rome in early January 313 (Barnes, *New Empire,* 71), and the games and processions referred to here probably occurred soon before he left the city (Alföldi, *Conversion of Constantine,* 65).

124. Cf. *Pan.* 6.17.1.

of the spectacles and applauded the artists familiar to them on account of this one thing, that they contested in your presence.

Now why should I mention your decisions and acts in the curia, by 20
which you restored to the Senate its former authority, refrained from boasting of the salvation which they had received through you, and promised that its memory would rest eternally in your breast?[125] I would 2
say more about your divine discourse, about your kindness voluntarily extended rather than procured by entreaty,[126] if I did not prefer to let your words remain untold while I am in haste to praise your deeds. However little we know of the substance of what you said in the Senate, yet the fame of your clemency proclaims its spirit.

O Rome, fortunate at last in a civil victory![127] Once you were invaded 3
by Cinna in rage and Marius in anger,[128] who appeased themselves not only with the head of the consul Octavius but after extinguishing the lights of the City[129] they left behind examples of what you have suffered now for six whole years. Before the Colline Gate Sulla conquered for you again,[130] 4

125. Constantine restored to the Senate offices and prestige that it had lost over the past half century or more (Jones, *Later Roman Empire,* 105–7, 525–27); the senators responded with votes of thank offerings, and with their support (see 25.4 below). But the concord was not to last forever: Alföldi, *Conversion of Constantine,* passim, argues that Constantine's increasingly public demonstrations of favor for Christianity alienated the mostly pagan Senate. Eus. *VC* 1.40 says that Constantine attributed his victory to God, and describes the statue that he had made; this orator may not want to go into details. See notes 157 and 158.

126. Cf. the long disquisition on the theme by Claudius Mamertinus at *Pan.* 3.18.2–6; the idea that having to ask for a favor vitiates some of the joy of its being granted is an old one (see note 115 to *Pan.* 3).

127. This is the first extant appearance of the theme in Latin panegyric, unless one includes Cicero's *Pro Marcello* in the genre (see 10–12 thereof), or, on his own behalf, *Cat.* 3.24ff. Roman history afforded many examples of a civil victory bloodily used, and any victory of one emperor over another was followed by trepidation. Cf. *Pan.* 11.16.2 and 2.46.1.

128. In 87 B.C.E. Marius, Cinna, and Sulla reappear in a similar context in *Pan.* 2.46.1. Marius, however, does not always serve as a villain; in certain contexts he is old but clever (*Pan.* 7.13.5, but see note ad loc.) or a great general (Claud. 26 [*Bell. Get.*] 645–47).

129. Cf. Cic. *Cat.* 3.24: *lumina civitatis exstincta sunt.*

130. 82 B.C.E.

fortunate if he had avenged himself more sparingly;[131] in fact he filled the rostra with the heads of many men.[132] Constantine put an end to victory's license with the end of the battle; he allowed swords to be drawn not even against those whom you demanded for punishment.

21 The same Sulla had an unarmed legion which had surrendered to him massacred in the Villa Publica,[133] and he advised the Senate, distressed by the groans of dying men, not to fear what he himself had commanded.
2 But this man, victorious over not only the enemy but his own victory,[134] preserved for you whatever soldiers survived the war. Now they fight for you, those whom he has stripped of impious weapons and rearmed
3 against barbarian foes.[135] Now forgetful of the delights of the Circus Maximus, the theater of Pompey and famous baths,[136] they are stationed along the length of the Rhine and the Danube, they keep watch, suppress plundering; lastly, after having been vanquished in the civil war they vie with the victors to be matched with the enemy.[137]

4 Yet this cannot be wondered at, since you make any sort of soldier
5 valiant by your example, Emperor. Worn out by battles and sated with victories you did not, as Nature demands, give yourself up to leisure and rest, but on the same march on which you returned to your Gauls you continued to the border of Lower Germany.[138] Of course, after such a

131. Cf. Auson. *Grat. act.* 8.38, who borrows the idea: *Sulla Felix, qui felicior ante, quam vocaretur.*

132. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 89 and Sen. *Clem.* 3.7 testify that heads were exposed at the Servilian *lacus*. Cicero's head, of course, was exposed on the rostra.

133. Also in 82 B.C.E.; according to Sen. *Clem.* 1.12.1–2 the number was 7,000. Plut. *Sull.* 30.2–3 says that there were 6,000.

134. Cf. Cic. *Marc.* 12: *ipsam victoriam vicisse videris.*

135. Constantine disbanded the Praetorian Guards (see next sentence) and sent them to different outposts along the northern border of the Empire (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.25; Zosimus 2.17.2).

136. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.93.

137. That the most common way for an army to cleanse itself of the stain of civil strife or mutiny was to bathe, figuratively, in an external enemy's blood became a commonplace of historical writing. There is a good example at Tac. *Ann.* 1.49.

138. See A. Alföldi, *CAH*, 12: 692: "In the early spring of 313 . . . Constantine had been recalled from Milan to Gaul to repel Germans and Franks on the Rhine: at the end of the campaign Ludi Francici (15–20 July) celebrated his success." O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 1919), cites this passage as evidence that Constantine was victorious

great interval of time and such a short distance between locations—after a campaign of a year's duration—you immediately began operations from the Tiber to the Rhine, or rather (as the omen and similarity of names as well as your greatness of spirit, Emperor, promise) you will extend the Empire from Tuscan Albula to German Alba.[139]

Now what is this constant impatience of yours? What is this divinity 22
thriving on perpetual motion?[140] All things have interruptions: the earth 2
rests in fallow lands,[141] rivers are said to stand still now and then,[142] the sun itself reposes at night. You alone, Constantine, tirelessly follow one war

over the Franks in the summer of 313; see C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1926; reprint. Brussels, 1964) 7: 111. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 45.1 says that Constantine left for Milan for the wedding in the winter after he captured Rome. Anon.Val. 5.13 reports that Constantine went to Gaul after the wedding. Zosimus 2.17.2–3 says that Constantine pursued the Celts and Galatians after he left Rome, next went to Milan to marry his sister Constantia to Licinius, then campaigned against the Celts. A prior trip to Gaul is impossible in face of other evidence (see Barnes, *New Empire,* 71) and would have been a waste of time. This orator appears to agree with Zosimus only because he does not mention Licinius or Constantine's new relationship with him (there is a brief reference to Constantine's imperial colleagues at 2.3). A panegyrist can leave out large expanses of time without having to say anything untrue. Note that he does not say that Constantine completed an uninterrupted march from Rome to Gaul, but that at the northern end he continued to the front.

139. Tuscan Albula is the Tiber (Virg. *Aen.* 8.332). Alba is another spelling for the Albis (Elbe): a truly extravagant claim, unless he means the mountain Alba (in Raetia, near Upper Germany), but Alba should be a river, since Albula is. See Straub, *Regeneratio imperii,* 425–26 (from the article "Alba = Elbe oder Alb?" *BJ* 155–56 [1955–56] 136–55). It is worth observing that Augustus "drove all the Germans back across the Elbe, except the Suebians and Sigambrians, who surrendered and agreed to settle in Gallic territory near the Rhine" (Suet. *Aug.* 21.2, trans. R. Graves). Constantine did not mind being likened to Augustus.

140. Perpetual motion is an attribute of both divinity in general and that divinity that is part of Constantine. In addition, the supreme being (see 26.1) also moves itself without any outside help. The orator has taken the idea either from a reference work or from his predecessor (*Pan.* 11.3.2); Pacatus later used the equation even less appropriately of Theodosius (*Pan.* 2.10.1). See Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation," 78, 86–87, 92–93.

141. Cf. Virg. *G.* 1.71: *alternis idem tonsas cessare novalis*; Varro *Ling.* 5.39.

142. This is hard to accept, unless he means that they stand still when they are frozen. Arntzen compares *Pan.* 6.11.1 (*quamlibet ille [Rhenus] . . . resistat gelu*) for the same conclusion. In *Aen.* 8.86–89 the Tiber becomes like a lake for

with another, heap one victory upon another. As if the past is blotted out if you cease, you think you have not conquered unless you are conquering.
3 The fickle and flighty nation of savages[143] broke its promise, and having chosen leaders of the invasion for their strength and daring, was reported to be threatening the Rhine. You were instantly there to meet them and
4 by your presence you frightened them from daring the crossing. And then you appeared to have achieved the opposite of what you prayed for, because if the invasion were prevented there would be no source
5 of victory;[144] but you employed the unexpected plan of departing with a pretended announcement of a greater disturbance on the border of Upper Germany, you offered their dull and savage intellects an opportunity to come into our territory, and left behind in concealment generals who
6 would attack them when they least expected it. When they had crossed over, Fortune attended your plan. With the whole bed of the Rhine filled with ships you descended and devastated their lands and mourning and sorrowful homes, and you inflicted destruction and desolation so extensive on the perjured nation that in time to come it will possess scarcely any name.[145]

Aeneas' voyage upstream; it is a passage with which the orator has already shown familiarity (above, 18.1 with note 111).

143. Read Franks, from the location, the name given at 24.2, and the characterization; cf. *Pan.* 7.4.2 and 10.11.4.

144. Nazarius' version of this incident has been improved in the retelling: there Constantine took an active role in deceiving the Germans, whose numbers included more than Franks alone (*Pan.* 4.18). A. Arnaldi, "La successione dei *cognomina devictarum gentium* e le loro iterazioni nella titolatura di Costantino il Grande," in *Contributi di storia antica in onore di Albino Garzetti,* Pubbl. Ist. di Storia ant. Univ. di Genova 14 (Genova, 1977) 192–95, argues that this invasion and Nazarius' are distinct. See notes 79 and 81 to *Pan.* 4.

145. The idea of annihilation down to the name is commonplace. T. D. Barnes, "The Victories of Constantine," *ZPE* 20 (1976) 151; *New Empire,* 258; *Constantine and Eusebius,* 66 and n. 31, believes that this victory has found its way into no other account and has left no mark upon imperial titulature. But there is no counterevidence to dispute the panegyrist's claim. Barnes wishes to move the event up to 314, and to that end he cites Eus. *VC* 1.46, a passage where the bishop speaks in general of Constantine's felicity in foreign wars, saying that the emperor was a ferocious enemy but a kindly friend (this passage in Eusebius cited at note 73 above). After narrating Maxentius' death (*VC* 1.38), Constantine's entrance into Rome (*VC* 1.39), and the description of the statue (*VC* 1.40), Eusebius assembles a number of topics relating to the emperor's ἤθη and ἐπιτηδεύματα: his generosity, integrity, justice, and so on. Chapter 46 is part of a literary format and refers to no specific event; if it did, there still is no date for it more secure than after October 312 and before July 315. But it comes before the mention of the decennial celebrations (*VC* 1.48) not because a certain victory occurred shortly before 25 July 315 in time but because Eusebius inserted the ἐπιτηδεύματα section after the battle of the Milvian Bridge: a good place for it. The seventh volume of *RIC* is of no assistance in arriving at a more exact date than after the recovery of Rome and before the *decennalia.* Some of the *solidi* struck at Ticinum at the end of 315 advertise a victory over Franks and Alamanni (*RIC* 7.363, no. 28; 365, no. 37), as well as the VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM type (*RIC* 7.364, no. 33). Decennial issues, however, may celebrate all sorts of old news, including the recovery of Rome in 312 (*RIC* 7.363, no. 31: RESTITVTORI LIBERTATIS). There is no reason at all to doubt that Constantine's victory in 313 was as substantial as the contemporary orator, who spoke at the victory celebration, claimed that it was, and no good argument against making what the orator speaks of here the occasion of Constantine's taking the title Germanicus Maximus for the third time. See K. F. Stroheker, "Zur Rolle der Heermeister fränkischer Abstammung in späten vierten Jahrhundert," *Historia* 4 (1955) 318 with n. 7, supporting the year 313; M. R. Alföldi, *Die Constantinische Goldprägung* (Mainz, 1963) 42, and 169, nos. 155–156a; E. Zöllner, *Geschichte der Franken* (Munich, 1970) 15.

Go now, if it please you, all barbarian nations, and set in motion 23
enterprises fatal to yourselves: you have an example. For although our 2
Emperor accepts the submission of friendly kings and the very fact of his being feared and cultivated by the noblest kings counts the same as praise for victory, yet he is glad that the fame of his valor is increased as often as it
is challenged. What is lovelier than this triumphal celebration in which he 3
employs the slaughter of enemies for the pleasure of us all, and enlarges the procession of the games out of the survivors of the massacre of the barbarians?[146] He threw so great a multitude of captives to the beasts that the ungrateful and faithless men experienced no less suffering from the sport made of them than from death itself.[147]

This is the reason why, although they might defer their end, they rush 4
to their ruin and offer themselves to lethal wounds and to death. It is

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146. The occasion of the oration was the festivities attendant upon Constantine's triumph over the Franks (see the Introduction, pp. 289–90). The captives were first displayed in the procession before being used in the games. The Calendar of Philocalus (*CIL* 1.1^2, p. 268) lists *ludi Francici* under 15 and 20 July.

147. Cf. *Pan.* 6.12.3 and the Introduction, pp. 289–90. Years later, a more clement image was preferable; Eus. *VC* 1.25.1 reports that after Constantine defeated the barbarians in the vicinity of the Rhine and western Ocean, he tamed some and banished those who were intractable.

apparent from this very fact how great a thing it is to have conquered men so wasteful of themselves.

24 It is easy to conquer timid creatures unfit for war, such as the pleasant regions of Greece and the charms of the Orient produce, who can barely tolerate a light cloak and silken garments to keep off the sun, and who
2 if they ever get into danger forget freedom and beg to be slaves.[148] But a Roman soldier, whom training disposes and the sanctity of his oath confirms to be who and what he is, or the grim Frank filled only by the flesh of wild beasts, who despises life because of the meanness of his sustenance, how much trouble it is to overcome or capture these![149] And you, Emperor, have done this both lately in Italy and not long ago in the very sight of barbarian lands.

3 Thus without any distinction every kind of war, weapon, and enemy yields to you alone, the memorials of valor preserved in writing from the
4 memory of every age yield to you as well. Indeed you have surpassed not merely those ancient acts of dictators and consuls and great Emperors thereafter, but even the very recent and very glorious deeds of your divine father (it seems base to compare other men from the recent past);[150] you have, I repeat, overwhelmed divine Constantius himself already during the first term of your imperial office by your praiseworthy accomplishments.

25 You may be unwilling to hear this, Emperor, but while we are speaking he rejoices from heaven, and although summoned long since to the

148. Cf. Claud. 20 (*In Eutr.* 2) 112–41, 335–41, 409ff.; there is heavyweight silk at lines 337–38 (*onerique vel ipsa serica*). This commonplace is not likely to be innocently employed. Obviously Licinius and Maximinus and their subjects, and enemies, were less worthy than the Western emperor and his. Licinius' defeat of Maximinus on 30 April 313 (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 46.9–47.4) counted, therefore, for nothing: see N. Baglivi, "Paneg. IX(12),26,5," *Orpheus* n.s. 5 (1984) 44–45.

149. A Virgilian echo (*tantae molis erat*: *Aen.* 1.33).

150. The orator states what was a principle of his art. Historical figures, including worthy emperors (the likes of Augustus), (1) never measured up to the present sovereign, (2) could not be used as exempla until they had been dead long enough (see the General Introduction, p. 25). Thus Aurelian, for example, does not figure in panegyrics. Relatives or ancestors of the honorand may be excepted; here Constantius I is useful, but the orator does not bother with Claudius II Gothicus (cf. *Pan.* 6.2.1–2, 5.4.2). See C. E. V. Nixon, "The Use of the Past by the Gallic Panegyrists," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke et al. (Potts Point, NSW, 1990) 5–6.

stars he grows still more in his son and ascends by the steps of your renown.[151] He cleared Batavia[152] and expelled the foreign enemy; peoples 2
native to the farthest reaches of barbarian soil have surrendered themselves to you. He crossed the Ocean with his fleet;[153] you seized the Alps on foot and the ports of Italy by ship.[154] He recovered Britain, you the most famous islands of the African sea,[155] which were the provinces of the Roman people. May divine Constantius himself, I say, forgive 3
me: what do I have to compare to Italy, Africa, Rome?[156] For just 4
cause, Constantine, the Senate has recently dedicated to you a statue of a god and Italy shortly before that a shield and crown, all of gold, to lessen in some part the debt of their conscience.[157] There is and

151. The passage owes much to Ov. *Met.* 15.850–54.

152. In 293 and the years following; see *Pan.* 8.6–8 and notes and observe the similarity of language here with the paternal deeds portion of *Pan.* 6 (6.5.3: *terram Bataviam . . . omni hoste purgavit*).

153. In 296, when he crossed the Channel and recovered Britain; see *Pan.* 8.14–17 and notes.

154. This is the only evidence that Constantine employed a naval blockade against Italy. Galletier, 2: 111 and n. 2, cites Nazarius' information (*Pan.* 4.17.1) that during this time the Franks sailed into the sea as far as Spain; he believes that Constantine left the coast of Gaul without an imperial navy and that the absence of a deterrent force made the Frankish raids possible. See Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 91, who mention a naval blockade, although they tentatively place the Frankish piratical visits to Spain earlier (p. 87), as Constantine may have used them as a pretext for his seizure of Spain from Maxentius (see note 48 to *Pan.* 4).

155. Sicily and Sardinia, taken along with Africa and Italy.

156. Mutatis mutandis, the original of 25.2–3 is Ov. *Met.* 15.746–61.

157. Cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.28: *statuae locis quam celeberrimis, quarum plures ex auro aut argenteae sunt.* There is a problem with the golden statue, not least because the manuscripts have *dee*, which most editors change to *dei*. If this emendation is correct, one must determine what god was intended. A. Piganiol, *L'empereur Constantin* (Paris, 1932) 67–68, believes that the statue depicted Constantine as Apollo; Alföldi, *Conversion of Constantine*, 69, 132 n. 23, supposes that Constantine was represented with Sol's attributes; Maurice, "L'évolution religieuse sous le règne de Constantin," with those of Apollo-Sol; C. Ligota, "Constantiniana," *JWI* 26 (1963) 178–85, some god or other. J. Gagé, "Σταυρὸς νικοποιός," *RHPhR* (1933) 385–86, argues that the statue was of Constantine himself, that a likeness was the usual means for the Senate to honor an emperor, and that the word ἀνδρεία in Eusebius' translation of the inscription attached thereto (*Hist. eccl.* 9.9.11) is equivalent to Latin *virtus*, and he deduces that Constantine's

often will be due a likeness to divinity, a shield to valor, and a crown to patriotism.

26 For this reason, you, supreme creator of things,[158] whose names you wished to be as many as the tongues of the nations (for what you yourself wish to be called we cannot know), whether you are some kind of force and divine mind spread over the whole world[159] and mingled with all the elements and move of your own accord without the influence of any

statue held a *vexillum*, not a cross, in its hand. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 46 (and n. 16), would restore the reading *dee* (i.e., *deae*) and says that the Senate dedicated a statue of Victory in Constantine's honor; in this he follows M. R. Alföldi, "Signum Deae," *JNG* 11 (1961) 19ff. Who- or whatever the statue was, the orator relates it to the *divinitas* to which it was owed, and this divinity is that which guides Constantine (2.4 and 5, 4.1), or that within Constantine himself (4.2 and 5). A few years earlier the solution would have appeared easier, but according to Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 44.5, Constantine was warned in a dream on the eve of the battle of the Milvian Bridge to put the *caeleste signum Dei* on his men's shields, and he complied (*Christum in scutis notat*). Eus. *VC* 1.28–29 says that Constantine told him he had seen a vision in the sky and that Christ appeared to him in a dream on the following night and told him what to do. If Constantine became a Christian, or revealed that he already was one (see the Introduction, n. 17), in 312, he should not thereafter have been called a god. For the celestial army that Nazarius speaks of, see *Pan.* 4.14 and note. The orator's vague language in the prayer that follows, and his avoidance of specific pagan terminology (e.g., names of deities), have long been recognized as a signal that something had happened: Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, 98–108; Maurice, pp. 165–79; see the Introduction, pp. 292–93.

158. The panegyrist suffers some embarrassment addressing the deity (see the Introduction, p. 292). Nevertheless, syncretistic description of the supreme being instead of a proper name can antedate Constantine's taking of Rome in 312: cf. the panegyric of 291 (*Pan.* 11.3.2: *caelestis ille vestri generis conditor vel parens*). The present orator must have found useful both the predecessor's lack of specific attribution of a name for the deity as well as his philosophical ponderings, for he has expanded and improved upon the passage. He has, of course, failed to make the god his emperor's ancestor (see note 11 to *Pan.* 11). Straub, *Regeneratio imperii*, 80–81, believes that the orator is conversant with Neoplatonic philosophy, which allowed the idea of a "god in charge," chief of the divinities, and that the panegyrist's personal conception of the god is at odds neither with any official view (if there was one in 313) nor with what Straub deduces to be Constantine's personal conception of the most powerful god.

159. Virgil was a vast resource. The description of the universe at *Aen.* 6.724ff. contains the lines *totamque infusa per artus / mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.*

outside force acting upon you,[160] or whether you are some power above all heaven which look down upon this work of yours from a higher pinnacle of Nature: you, I say, we beg and beseech to preserve this prince for all ages.[161] For it is a small thing to wish that such great valor and such great 2
piety should have the longest possible course that life offers. And surely 3
there is supreme goodness and power in you, and for that reason you ought to want what is right, and there is no reason for refusal since you have the power; for if there is anything which is denied by you to the well deserving, either your power has given way, or your goodness. Therefore make the 4
best thing which you have given to the human race last eternally, and let Constantine spend all the ages on earth. Although, invincible Emperor, 5
your divine offspring[162] has already come forward in accordance with the republic's prayers and more to come are still expected, yet that future will truly be blest if when you have installed your sons at the helm of the world you are the greatest Emperor of all.[163]

The author of *Pan.* 11 has used the notion as well (*Pan.* 11.14.2: *numen tamen eius ac mentem toto infusam esse mundo*).

160. See note 140 above.

161. The orator wishes for his emperor's immortality. For a careful discussion of this peroration, especially the ideological intent of the final sentence, see Baglivi, "Paneg. IX(12),26,5," 32–67. The explanation (pp. 65–66) of the particular type of eternity that the orator asks for Constantine is novel: not exactly dynastic eternity but monarchic eternity for the "Constantinidi," who would be "photocopies" of their father just as Constantine is of his.

162. Crispus, who was made Caesar in 317. Constantine and Fausta had not yet had any children.

163. Note (1) that the orator ignores Licinius, (2) the use of the words *maximus imperator*. The Senate had voted to make Constantine the senior Augustus, and Maximinus was so angry at the affront that he revealed his hostility, *convicia iocis mixta adversus imperatorum maximum diceret* (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 44.11–12). Baglivi, "Paneg. IX(12),26,5," 64–65, observes that Constantine will be *omnium maximus imperator* when he has both installed his son(s) as successor(s) and eliminated his *socii imperii*.

IV

NAZARIUS, PANEGYRIC OF CONSTANTINE

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

Nazarius must have been a famous rhetorician in his day; indeed, Jerome's *Chronicle* is evidence of as much, reporting (s.a. 324) *Nazarius rhetor insignis habetur*. He is known to have had a daughter, also a rhetorician, who was said to have been a Christian named Eunomia.[1] Finally, Nazarius delivered at least two orations, probably at Rome,[2] in 321 to celebrate the *quinquennalia* of Constantine's sons Crispus and Constantinus, who were also both consul for the second time in that year. One of these orations, the present panegyric, is extant; the other speech Nazarius mentions at 30.2.[3] About the famous rhetorician there is no other information; anyone who would know more is forced to resort to reasonable conjecture and arguments from silence.[4]

Ausonius does not address any portion of his *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium* to Nazarius, although he mentions (*Prof. Burd.* 14.9) that

1. *Nazarii rhetoris filia Eunomia Christiana virgo in eloquentia patri coaequatur*, Jerome *Chron.* s.a. 336; Prosper Tiro *Epit. Chron.* 1044 (= *Chron. min.* 1.452).
2. See below, the section "Occasion and Date."
3. It is probable that both orations were given in this year; see note ad loc.
4. See Galletier, 2: 147–48; W. Kroll, "Nazarius 2," *RE* 16 (1935) 2097–99.

Agricius held a chair previously occupied by Nazarius and Patera (Ausonius devotes *Prof. Burd.* 4 to the latter). As a result of his appearance in Ausonius' poem, Nazarius has been claimed as a Bordelais,[5] but the supposition is open to question. If Nazarius, renowned as he seems to have been, had actually taught at Bordeaux, Ausonius ought to have devoted some lines to him. Rather, the poet mentions (in chronological order) two outstanding rhetoricians to whose chair Agricius succeeded. This chair need not have been at Bordeaux and seems more likely to have been a distinguished position at Rome, where Jerome attests that Patera taught rhetoric.[6] A. D. Booth has argued that Nazarius never taught at Bordeaux,[7] even that his *patria* appears to have been Rome.[8]

Nazarius reveals in his oration nothing about himself, his position, his family, his associates, his normal place of residence. It may be that to his audience he was so well known that he needed no introduction, or it may be that despite his prolixity he, unlike many other panegyrists, says nothing of himself.[9] The orator does exude a certain complacency: at least this is the impression created by this rambling, rather self-indulgent speech. He makes no apology for his Gallic Latinity,[10] and, if he spoke at Rome but did not live there, he has nothing like Pacatus' promise to return to Gaul to spread the emperor's praises through the provinces.[11] Nazarius may well have been resident at Rome, occupied a chair of rhetoric,[12] and enjoyed a certain renown; E. Galletier (2: 148) considers this possibility as well but admits that Nazarius' situation is impossible to determine. Indeed, the oration might even be taken for a school exercise, nearly a decade out-of-date, or a pamphlet, like Cicero's *Second Philippic*.

One thing for which it would not appear futile to search is Nazarius' religious affiliation. Although he praises Constantine immoderately, as anyone must have done who spoke publicly in the West in the 320s, his part in the public ceremonies is due not necessarily to his being the emperor's man. And even if he were, he need not have been a devout

5. E.g., R. Etienne, *Bordeaux antique* (Bordeaux, 1962) 250; *PLRE* I.
6. *Ep.* 120 *praef.*; also Jerome *Chron.* s.a. 336, reading *Patera* for *Pater*.
7. "Notes on Ausonius' *Professores*," *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 243–44.
8. "Ausonius' *Professores*," 244 n. 27.
9. Cf. *Pan.* 8.1–2.1; 9.6.1–3; 6.23.1–2; 3.1.1–2.1 and 17.1–4.
10. Unlike Pacatus and the author of *Panegyric* 12: see note 12.
11. *Pan.* 2.47.5–6: *O felix peregrinatio! . . . Quae reversus urbibus Galliarum dispensabo miracula!*
12. Booth, "Ausonius' *Professores*," 244, believes that the *Athenaei . . . loci* of *Prof. Burd.* 14.8 is Hadrian's Athenaeum at Rome.

Christian, despite his daughter's putative religious affiliation, not to mention the evidence of his own name.[13] In fact, he reveals certain pagan sympathies, especially his affirmation of Constantine's immortality.[14] He refers frequently and in vague terms to a singular deity: his circumlocutions include *rerum arbiter deus* (7.3), *illa vis, illa maiestas fandi ac nefandi discriminatrix* (7.4), *summa illa maiestas* (16.1), *benigna maiestas* (19.2). He also uses the words *divinitas* and *divinum numen*, but his favorite term of reference is *deus* (without a modifier).[15] Although this is the vocabulary of monotheism, these are only words, not an affirmation of faith. One must admit, however, that blatantly Christian sentiments were felt for many decades to be incompatible with traditional (i.e., pagan) literary genres. Add the political situation in 321, when Licinius was said to have been persecuting Christians, who were known to be enthusiastic supporters of his rival Constantine,[16] and statement of religious preference, even were it rhetorically feasible, becomes problematical, and thus a political liability. Nazarius' insistence upon the divine aid[17] given to his emperor places him among not the Christians but the temporizers.[18] And his revised version of the miraculous heavenly manifestations that preceded Constantine's invasion of Italy further complicates the argument.[19]

Nazarius writes a florid prose that owes much to an obvious, even obtrusive, employment of stylistic devices, almost in the manner of a student displaying laboriously acquired techniques. Galletier (2: 161–62) discusses the problem of excess in the oration, including an excess of *copia* ("surabondance"). Nazarius' structure is undisciplined,[20] and at times his prose grows so convoluted that it suffices to prove merely by its existence (he was, after all, a rhetorician of note) the late Roman passion for obscurity. And the closer his thought reaches the emperor's person, the darker he becomes: at times he seems either to accumulate words without giving much thought to what they mean or to be almost unintelligible when he describes some aspect of Constantine's excellence. One may look, for example, to the effusions of 2.6 and 2.9, but the worst excess comes at 3.3:

> Cuius cum divina virtus et eius misericordia comes appendixque victoria urbem Romam non praecipitantem exceperit, sed adflictam ac plane iacentem excitarit recrearit erexerit, cumque aliae felicissimae tuae prius ac deinceps expeditiones non minus in sese operis amplexae sint quam ex ipsis faucibus fati Roma servata, quid dignum magnitudine tua excogitari ac dici potest, in cuius laudibus id maximum non est quod in terrarum orbe primarium est?

The last phrase of the sentence is sufficient in itself to confound a translator who was not already at a loss. It is possible that Nazarius is so carried away by his words that he forgets what he is talking about. On the other hand, the political circumstances in 321 may go a fair way to explain the difficulties that he faced in trying to say just the right thing to please everyone.[21]

No reasonable rhetorician practiced the art without close attention to stylistic models, and although there may be features that evoke Seneca,[22] Nazarius has had a good look at a lot of Cicero. It will be no surprise to find an echo of the prototype, the *Pro Marcello*, and, in view of the theme—delivery of the city of Rome from a tyrant—of the several orations against Catiline.[23] Nazarius' research on the latter appears to have led him to Sallust as well.[24] There are also many similarities to passages in

13. See Kroll, "Nazarius 2," 2098.56ff., who allows that nothing in the oration clearly testifies to Nazarius' religious preference.

14. See 2.5–6 with notes 7 and 8.

15. See notes 66 and 68.

16. See below, the section "Historical Significance"; and T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981) 70–72.

17. And inspiration: see below, 7.4, 16.1–2, 17.1, 18.4, 19.1, 27.5, 28.1; B. Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Historia* 35 (1986) 88.

18. See Galletier, 2: 148, 157. Contra, J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford, 1979) 289–91; tentatively accepted by Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 73 and n. 118.

19. See below, the section "Historical Significance." Nazarius' version of the vision commences at 14.1; he also briefly mentions the celestial army in connection with the battle of the Milvian Bridge (29.1). See notes 61, 63, 124.

20. See Galletier, 2: 158–63; Etienne, *Bordeaux antique*, 258–59.

21. See below, the section "Historical Significance."

22. E.g., the constant striving for the epigram, the arrangement of words within the sentence.

23. See 7.3 (*Marc.* 22) (there is a possible echo of the other prototype, the *Pro Archia*, at 3.3); 3.3 (*Cat.* 3.11), 10.2 (*Cat.* 2.23), 16.5 (*Cat.* 4.9; see note 74), 21.2 (*Cat.* 1.21), 35.2 (*Cat.* 4.11). Nazarius had probably gone over other orations of Cicero that one might consult for examples of verbal abuse of obnoxious persons: see 12.2 (*Verr.* 2.4.20), 27.1 (*Verr.* 2.4.1; see note 112), 13.1 (*Mil.* 76), 30.3 (*Mil.* 6), 36.1 (*Mil.* 32), 33.7 (*Dom.* 2), 21.1 (*Phil.* 2.91).

24. At 12.2 (*Cat.* 48.9: note that the passage is about Cicero and Catiline). There are hints, too, of Nazarius' apparent use of Sallust's other monograph: 21.2 (*Iug.* 31.18), 26.1 (*Iug.* 84.1, 96.3).

Cicero's oratorical and philosophical works, and the inevitable Virgilian allusions.[25]

OCCASION AND DATE

Most scholars believe that Nazarius spoke at Rome,[26] but not in the emperor's presence, and perhaps not in the Caesars' presence either, to celebrate the *quinquennalia* of Crispus and Constantinus (1.1, 2.3, 38.1), who were appointed Caesars 1 March 317: the oration, therefore, was four years later, at the commencement of the fifth year. Nazarius also says that Constantine has reigned for fifteen years (*quintum decimum . . . salutaris imperii degit annum*, 2.2), but as the emperor's *dies imperii* was 25 July,[27] the fifteenth year, while more than half over at the beginning of March, was not yet completed.[28] The orator praises Crispus and Constantinus as well as he can;[29] the former had commenced a successful military career (17.1–2, 36.3–37.4), but the young Constantinus was a very small child at the time of the oration. Despite the occasion, Constantine himself is the main topic, and as far as one can tell from what Nazarius relates of his activities, the oration might as well have been given in the same year as *Panegyric* 12.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Nazarius' oration is remarkable most of all for its lack of contemporaneous information, for its vision (and revision) of events long past and omission of Constantine's activities during the previous seven or eight years. Ever since Licinius had overcome Maximinus Daia and reigned as Constantine's only imperial equal, he remained the only rival to his colleague's ambition, although the two had been allied since Constantine's capture of Italy and Licinius had married Constantine's sister at Milan in 313. War had finally broken out between them in 316, with actual hostilities confined to the following year. Constantinian propaganda made Licinius the aggressor who used his brother-in-law Bassianus to instigate a rebellion. Few, however, who are familiar with the rewritten version of Maximian's demise will accept the story without question.[30]

Constantine's attack upon Licinius was successful, although not to the point of eliminating his colleague altogether. Licinius, confined to territories almost entirely outside of Europe, was portrayed as the ungrateful recipient of imperial largesse, as if Constantine had created him emperor in the first place.[31] The imperial rivals made their sons Caesars in 317, and although Nazarius does not say so, the year 321 marked the *quinquennalia* also of the young Licinius, Constantine's nephew.[32]

What Nazarius celebrates in the present oration was an appointment hastened (at least in the case of Constantinus, an infant when he was made Caesar) by a civil conflict that no orator could mention, since the adversary had not yet been removed from power. After Constantine deposed Licinius in 324 it would be easy to characterize the loser as a tyrant; in 321 the two rulers had become engaged in what moderns call a cold war, and Nazarius' neglect of Licinius stems from his desire not only to make Constantine appear the sole ruler but to avoid mentioning an unsolved problem. While Crispus and Constantinus were Constantine's choice of consuls for the year, the Eastern part of the Empire recognized instead Licinius and his son (see A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell' impero romano* [Rome, 1952] s.a.).

One who looks to find a narrative of recent events in Nazarius' oration will be disappointed. The most noteworthy happenings for the panegyrists

25. Cicero: 10.2 (*Off.* 1.54), 13.3 (*Off.* 1.59), 12.4 (*De or.* 2.138, 3.100, 3.199), 30.3 (*De or.* 1.142), 13.1 (*Tusc.* 2.36), 15.4 (*N. D.* 2.6 is probably behind the Castor and Pollux stories: see note 65), 23.2 (*N. D.* 1.49). Other instances are cited in the notes. Virgil: 7.1 (*Aen.* 10.159–60), 7.4 (*Aen.* 1.543), 14.2 (*Aen.* 4.276–78), 19.3 (*Aen.* 6.157–58), 29.5 (*Aen.* 12.293–94), 30.1 (*Aen.* 10.592–93); there are reminiscences of the *Georgics* as well, e.g., 36.5 (*G.* 1.211), 28.1 (*G.* 1.415–16), 25.7 (*G.* 3.359).

26. See below. Kroll, "Nazarius 2," 2097.67–2098.2, avers that there is no evidence for the place of delivery.

27. See the Introduction to *Pan.* 7, p. 183.

28. See notes 2 and 5.

29. See 3.4–5, 17.1–2, 36.3–37.6. See Kroll, "Nazarius 2," 2098.38–39: "Am unerquicklichsten sind die Lobhudeleien gegen die Kinder des Kaisers."

30. Anon.Val. 5.14–15 (includes the detail that Licinius had Constantine's statues at Emona overthrown); cf. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 66–67. (Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 10.8.7 and *Vita Constantini* 1.50.2 relates plots and contrivances without giving specific instances.) On the other hand, it would be hard to blame Licinius if in his desire to anticipate his brother-in-law he took his cue from the story that Constantine had had circulated about Maximian's attempt on his life.

31. Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 10.8.2–4 (τῆς ἐκ πατέρων εὐγενείας βασιλικοῦ τε ἀνέκαθεν αἵματος κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι ἠξίωσεν τῆς τε κατὰ πάντων ἀπολαύειν ἀρχῆς οἷα κηδεστῇ καὶ συμβασιλεῖ παρεῖχεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐκ ἔλαττον μέρος τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐθνῶν διέπειν αὐτῷ καὶ διοικεῖν κεχαρισμένος); *VC* 1.50.1–2.

32. See C. Castello, "Il pensiero politico-religioso di Costantino alla luce dei panegirici," in *Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana 1973* (Perugia, 1975) 107.

are battles and victories, and of those since 313,[33] Constantine had had few of the sort that might be mentioned in public. The oration may owe its subject matter to the place as well as to the difficult political situation: if Nazarius was at Rome, he found it easiest to celebrate Constantine's achievements by reminding his audience both of his liberation of Rome from the tyrant Maxentius[34] and of his regard for the city and its principal citizens.[35] While he devotes the central part of the oration (21.1–30.2) to the invasion of Italy in 312, he uses the same amount of space to justify the war (6.1–15.7). His narrative of the course of the battles differs in some details from that found in *Panegyric* 12—his version of the battle at Turin, for example (22.2–24.7), the cavalry skirmish at Brescia (25.1–2), the siege of Verona (25.3–26.5)—but in essence he is telling the same story.

What qualifies as either apology or propaganda, however, is new since 313, and worth consideration. Constantine himself is said to have become more approachable than was usual under the Tetrarchy,[36] and praised for different things: chastity (34.1–3),[37] concern for moral legislation (38.4), having survived a youthful stay at the Eastern court with his virtue intact (4.5).[38] The dynastic motif is more evident than in 313, for Nazarius does not recognize any other source of authority at all, even those who might be characterized as unworthy and incompetent.[39] Constantine and his children, for all of whom the orator wishes countless *lustra*, appear to rule alone.[40]

Nazarius revises as well the story of the outbreak of the war. While the panegyrist of 313 had praised and worried over Constantine's rash venture,[41] Nazarius gradually builds a different case. He claims that Constantine's immense store of patience had run out, that he had not only tried every means at his disposal to come to an agreement with Maxentius but that when he finally invaded Italy he was only defending

33. The probable date of his victory over Franks (and Alamanni, and possibly others): see 17.1, 18.1–19.1, with notes; also *Pan.* 12.22.3–6.

34. He formally announces the topic at 6.1–2.

35. See 33.6–7, 35.1–5.

36. See 5.1–4, 34.1–4, with notes.

37. Although one can find this also at *Pan.* 12.4.4, 12.7.5, 7.4.1, it is peculiar to Constantine, not to the story of Rome's deliverance from a tyrant.

38. Nazarius does not neglect the usual topics either: he discusses peace (35.3, 38.3), building and reconstruction (35.4–5, 38.4), prosperity and abundance (38.4).

39. Cf. *Pan.* 12.2.3, 12.3.4, with notes.

40. See 3.6–4.4 with notes, 5.5–7 with note 28, 36.2. See B. Rodgers, "The Metamorphosis of Constantine," *CQ* 39 (1989) 244–45.

41. *Pan.* 12.2.1–5; *bellum . . . primus invaderes*, 12.2.3.

himself against the other's aggression, and in fact it was not really his will but divine will that was responsible: see 6.4 (the necessity of defending the city's honor), 8.1 (Constantine's unwillingness to fight), 9.1–5 (an agreement of *concordia*), 10.3 (invitation to *societas*), 12.1–13.2 (Maxentius' attack; overthrowing the images of Constantine), 13.4 (Constantine's desire for peace overcome), 13.5 (the divinity as actually the moving cause of the invasion).

Divine power supported what it had divinely ordained: Constantine received an army of heavenly beings, commanded by his father Divus Constantius, to aid him in his enterprise (14.1–7). While this is not the first episode of direct divine inspiration claimed for Constantine's benefit,[42] it is said to have been a public occurrence, there presumably having been many witnesses, and therefore it would have been open to refutation. A little earlier (ca. 315), Eusebius had written in his *Ecclesiastical History* (9.9.10; cf. 9.9.2) that Constantine knew well that he had had divine aid (ἐκ θεοῦ βοηθείᾳ) and indicated as much to the Romans by having τοῦ σωτηρίου τρόπαιον πάθους placed in the hand of a statue of himself.[43] Not much later Lactantius (*Mort. pers.* 44.5) related the story of Constantine's dream before the battle of the Milvian Bridge in which he was instructed to mark the sign of god (*caeleste signum dei*) on the shields of his men.[44] In 321, Nazarius said that the process and the knowledge of divine assistance were public and common to all who lived in Gaul: *In ore denique est omnium Galliarum exercitus visos, qui se divinitus missos prae se ferebant* (14.1). This section must have been written because of stories read or heard in which Christians attributed to their god intervention in this specific campaign. Although it would have been difficult to ignore Christianity as a legitimate religious force after Constantine's accord and joint proclamation with Licinius in 313,[45] there was no reason for any but a Christian panegyrist, even eight years later, to embrace publicly the claims of his sect over any other. Nazarius' version of divine aid is nondenominational and thus appears pagan. Years later, after Constantine had died, Eusebius revealed

42. See *Pan.* 6.21.3–5, with notes 92 and 93 ad loc.

43. The meaning and probable physical rendition of this τρόπαιον are open to divergent interpretations.

44. The text of Lactantius probably reads *Fecit ut iussus et transversa X littera, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis notat.* See J. Creed, *Lactantius* (Oxford, 1984) nn. 8 and 9 ad loc.; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 43 and n. 146. See the Introduction to *Pan.* 12, pp. 292–93.

45. See Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 10.5.2–14; Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 48.1–13, with Creed's notes ad loc.

that the emperor had told him that he and his army had seen a vision of a cross in the heavens,[46] the meaning of which required explication in a dream.[47] Eusebius' tale revises Nazarius', as the latter's revises and improves upon what had preceded, and probably counters as well the story that Licinius had been granted a vision in his struggle against Maximinus.[48] Numinous presences were everywhere.[49]

46. *VC* 1.28.1–2; the image was accompanied by the famous message: ἐν αὐτῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἡλίου σταυροῦ τρόπαιον ἐκ φωτὸς συνιστάμενον, γραφήν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι λέγουσαν τούτῳ νίκα. A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (London, 1948; reprint, Toronto, 1978) 96, accepts the vision as historical, an example of the "halo phenomenon."

47. *VC* 1.29–31.

48. Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 46.3–7.

49. See R. MacMullen, "Constantine and the Miraculous," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 81–96.

IV. NAZARIUS, PANEGYRIC OF CONSTANTINE

As I am about to voice the majestic praises of Constantine, who towers **1**
as far above the leaders of all ages as other leaders are distant from private
men, and as I am about to speak in an assemblage of exultant rejoicing and
impassioned delight,[1] which the Caesars' first quinquennial celebration[2]
has made more overwhelming than usual, I realize that no eloquence can
be either desired or imagined which could impart a grace worthy of the
occasion or an amplitude worthy of the material or a capability worthy
of your favor, since the eager and blessed devotion of all men makes an
especial display of itself at this time. It is not necessary to investigate the 2
secrets of your hearts; on the face of each person the beauty of public cheer
is apparent, and on your serene brows one reads the proof of your feelings.[3]
The magnitude of overflowing joy cannot contain itself, but disdains the 3
secret places of the heart and comes forth without, so abundant and bright
that one can see that it is no more immoderate than genuine.[4] And those
who have no bounds for their exultation rejoice at no ordinary blessings.

Of course we enjoy the overwhelming pleasure of the present, but **2**
consideration of the future already enhances it, and things which are
divided by time are united in our imagination. The greatest ruler 2
has passed the fifteenth year[5] of his beneficial reign, but we already
foretell the twenty-year celebrations and confirm our faith for what is
to come by the felicity of the past. The quinquennial celebrations of the 3
most blessed Caesars keep us busy rejoicing, but already our hastening
prayers and winged expectations have come to rest on the decennial

1. Nazarius addresses the Senate at Rome; see the Introduction, p. 338.

2. Crispus and Constantine II (and the younger Licinius) were named Caesars on 1 March 317 (Anon.Val. 5.19; *Chron. min.* 1.232); their quinquennial celebrations began four years later. The date 1 March was the anniversary of their grandfather Constantius' appointment as Caesar (*Pan.* 8.3.1).

3. Cf. Pacatus *Pan.* 2.37.2; this is one of many expressions for affirming the genuineness of joy by denying its pretense.

4. Cf. Pacatus *Pan.* 2.37.2. Nazarius is inordinately fond of making a comparison: see Galletier, 2: 160–61.

5. Constantine became emperor on 25 July 306 (see the Introduction to *Pan.* 7, p. 183), so about five months of his fifteenth year remain; he has, however, commenced upon it and celebrated the occasion of his *quindecennalia* in 320.

celebrations which will come to pass; when we have partaken of these we
4 shall afterward generate a series of desirable blessings. Thus all things which come prosperously from our princes bear a succession of fruits, and what we have obtained delights us no more than what we expect pleases us.[6]

5 But what are we doing in limiting with twenty or even thirty years what we perceive to be eternal?[7] The merits of the princes are more
6 abundant than our prayers' desires. Rather, let the course of his fortunate reign run to infinity, and let those who always contemplate what is divine give no heed to human boundaries.[8] We surely do not entertain desires to no purpose, and when we wish for great things we do so with no more benevolence than security, because on account of heaven's favor toward

6. The disquisition upon the glorious past, present, and future is not entirely for show; confident predictions are an essential part of propaganda at times of crisis; see the General Introduction, p. 34; notes 81 and 85 to *Pan.* 9.

7. Cf. *Pan.* 12.26.4–5; this passage is neither considered nor noted in Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation." For one discussion of the topic, see H. U. Instinsky, "Kaiser und Ewigheit," *Hermes* 77 (1942) 313–55. To wish that the reign of the present ruler last forever was the ultimate compliment and as a wish need not have been relinquished as inappropriate for a Christian emperor. Asseveration, however, is going too far, even under the special political circumstances of the times (see the Introduction, p. 339). But Constantine did not hear the speech and probably did not read it either.

8. Cf. *Pan.* 12.26.1; an orator who still desires a ruler's immortality does not make a good candidate for a Christian. When Pacatus declares Theodosius to be eternal (*Pan.* 2.7.6), he also reveals a muddled theology if he was a nominal Christian. One can read into this passage neither a statement about immortality of the soul nor a simple assertion of the dynastic principle. If Nazarius means that one need not worry about a twenty- or thirty-year limit to Constantine's reign because his descendants shall rule forever, he has done an execrable job of stating his point. Although one must concede that the orator is frequently so obscure that one cannot tell exactly what he is saying, this section seems rather straightforward, and what it says is that Constantine's reign should have an infinite duration, free from the sort of terminus that human beings have. Further, to make contemplation of divinity equivalent to immortality, and an emperor different from his subjects, is suspiciously like the statement in the panegyric of 291 that Diocletian and Maximian have heavenly and eternal spirits, unlike the rest of mankind (*Pan.* 11.6.4; see note ad loc.), with the result that they honor each other.

him our expectation of fulfillment is as certain as our freedom to desire is unfettered.[9]

Under these circumstances, when uttering these expressions of joy, 7
which are evoked by the present and gain strength from the memory of the past or which eager contemplation feeds upon as they are about to overflow into the future, who in the world could satisfy the burning devotion of the audience? But now, when I should like to discuss only 8
the advantages to the State and every single person thinks privately of his own, a trembling oration may be proffered which will be surpassed by silent reckoning. Even in the case of public affairs an avowed encomium 9
of mighty exploits would manifest a desire for embellishment: it is not for no reason that those things whose magnitude has removed the hope of amplification create a fear of belittlement.[10]

Who, I beg, greatest Constantine (for I seem to address you in person,[11] 3
who cannot be wrested from our minds even if you are out of our sight), who, I say, dares to breathe your praises with a greater hope of being equal to the task than for the sake of not keeping silent?[12] Who is 2
so powerful a speaker, whose wealth of expression is so extensive, so fortunate, that when it handles your virtues it is not stunned, beset by their number and despairing of a way out, or is not crushed by their magnitude, or does not fade before their splendor and has only as much luster as it has acquired from the radiance of your deeds? Since your 3
divine valor and its companion mercy and adjunct victory did not catch Rome falling headlong, but revived her when she was downcast and

9. This is not exactly the same as *Pan.* 12.26.2–3 but similar. Nazarius has clearly had a careful look at the peroration of that speech and has transferred the sentiments from there to his exordium.

10. The funeral oration that Thucydides put into Pericles' mouth finds yet another echo; see Thuc. 1.35.2. Nazarius, appropriately in the context, suppresses the best-known and probably most widely copied portion (e.g., Sall. *Cat.* 3.2), where the writer declares that no one believes things that surpass what he himself could accomplish.

11. Constantine was at Serdica in February 321 (T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* [Cambridge, Mass., 1982] 74). Celebrations of imperial anniversaries took place throughout the Empire, but the present oration is the only example in this collection of an address to an absent ruler.

12. See also *Pan.* 12.1.3, for the theme of being overwhelmed by the topic (a kind of *aporia*). The only element of apology, or *captatio benevolentiae*, that Nazarius omits is a direct admission that Gallic Latinity is inferior to Roman. For that, one must look to *Pan.* 12.1.3 and Pacatus *Pan.* 2.1.3–4.

completely prostrate,[13] restored her, raised her up, and since your other
most prosperous campaigns, before and after, encompassed in themselves
no lesser task than the rescue of Rome from the very jaws of Fate,[14] what
can be devised or spoken which is worthy of your greatness, in the praises
of which that is not the most important thing which is the most excellent
thing in the world?[15]

4 To wish to describe the merits of the most noble Caesars as well is
an agreeable undertaking, but it too is no small concern. In their ripening
years it is not the swelling seed of valor about to burst forth which is
evident, not the flower which as an early indicator of a beautiful nature is
cheerful rather than fruitful, but there are already productive deeds, and
contrary to considerations of age, a ripe gathering of all most excellent
5 fruits.[16] One of them is already impressive in crushing the enemy and has
begun to divert to his own account his father's capacity for inspiring the
terror at which every barbarian land has always trembled;[17] the other is

13. He refers to the delivery of Rome from Maxentius on 28 October 312. This oration covers most of the same events as *Pan.* 12, and not much else. See the Introduction, p. 340.

14. For the figure cf. Cic. *Cat.* 3.11: *urbem paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et nobis conservatam*; *Arch.* 21: *urbem . . . ex omni impetu regio atque totius belli ore ac faucibus ereptam esse atque servatam.* This vague rubric may embrace many events, especially Constantine's campaigns against the Franks in 306–307 (*Pan.* 7.4.2, 6.10.2), the Bructeri in 308 (*Pan.* 6.12.1), the Franks in 310 (*Pan.* 6.18.1) and 313 (*Pan.* 12.21.5). There is also his attack upon Licinius in 316–317 (Anon.Val. 5.16–19; Eutr. 10.5; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 41.6; Zosimus 2.18.2–20.2), but not a word of this in the present oration, unless it is this statement. Nazarius' vagueness would support such an interpretation were he not so copious and hyperbolic anyway.

15. Occasionally, Nazarius' rhetorical flow overwhelms his logic. Either Rome or Constantine's position as first-ranking Augustus is the *primarium*, and Nazarius' fulsomeness is the reader's undoing.

16. Praising children for world-class accomplishments is always difficult (cf. *Pan.* 10.14.1). At 37.5 Nazarius praises Constantine II for being able to write his name. Cic. *Cael.* 76 contains a similar idea that may have influenced Nazarius' phrasing: *quae studia . . . in adulescentia vero tamquam in herbis significant quae virtutis maturitas et quantae fruges industriae sint futurae.*

17. Crispus had already celebrated a victory against the Franks in Gaul (see 17.2 below). In view of his valuable service to his father in the later struggle against Licinius, one may surmise that Crispus was possessed of military ability; it may be that his seniority and talents were instrumental in his untimely end: see P. Guthrie, "The Execution of Crispus," *Phoenix* 20 (1966) 325–31.

already aware of his consulship,[18] the reverence shown him, his father,
and if either his parent or his brother will leave anything undone he
who already overcomes his age with his spirit gives notice that he will
soon be a conqueror.[19] Every outstanding nature is rapidly drawn to the 6
resemblance of its equals, and once a vigorous talent has burst through
the envelopment of infancy it does not disclose the mark of goodness
gradually and slowly. For where does the greatest leader find such lavish 7
affection for his children, unless he already observes in them some likeness
of himself?

Let Nature's compulsion alone commend their own to lesser men, 4
and let them love any sort of children without having anything in them to
want of themselves: the most excellent leader finds it particularly pleasing
that in their earliest years lines have already been drawn by which the
image of his own virtues can be encompassed, and the best of fathers,
but a better Emperor, rejoices not so much for himself as for the State
when he gazes upon children like himself.[20] To perfect their inherent 2
good qualities training is given them, no indifferent artisan of virtues, so
that their expectation of becoming equal to their father is assured; since
their nature is like his, but with him as director of their learning their
circumstances are more fortunate.[21]

Observing him from a tender age, their eyes and mind directed 3
toward him, they never turn aside from the contemplation of him, unsure
whether they should admire or love him, except that both together must
be done simultaneously; for love commends deeds, which give rise to
admiration, and when deeds are admirable they in turn engender love.

18. Constantine II was born 7 August 316; he and Crispus were (Western) consuls for 321.

19. The idea that one's father might achieve everything worth doing was probably not new when Alexander made the complaint of Philip. Nazarius does not say how a child not yet five years old reveals his martial talents except by the inference that follows that if the child were not like his father, the father would not love him.

20. Nazarius enthusiastically supports the Constantinian dynasty and ignores Licinius, who was already at odds with Constantine in 321, although not yet at war. In the Eastern part of the Empire, he and his son Licinius Caesar were consuls every year from 321 to 324.

21. Nazarius soon reveals that he is not finding fault with Constantius I as overseer of Constantine's upbringing, but with the Eastern Tetrarchs who kept Constantine with them.

4 Thus whatever splendid thing he accomplishes under the gaze of his
children both pleases the more on his account and grows in them through
5 their desire for imitation. In your upbringing, however, best of Emperors,
not everything offered you was what you would wish to follow,[22] although
as an exceptionally keen observer of proper behavior, if something were
done improperly you withdrew your modest gaze from the distress of
watching it. Your clemency will pardon me if the truth makes me rather
bold.

5 No one may pass judgment upon rulers, for confrontation with an
object of veneration repulses the seeker in the entranceway, and any who
have approached closer[23] have been blinded and lost the faculty of sight,
2 which is what happens to the eyes when they are directed at the sun.[24] But
you bring it to pass, greatest of rulers, that things which had previously
been shut away are seen to lie open, you who desire as much to be seen
3 in your entirety as the rest were reluctant.[25] You do not use terror as a

22. Constantine remained with Diocletian and Galerius while his father was Caesar in Gaul (Anon.Val. 2.2; Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 18.10, 24.3–5; Eus. *VC* 1.12.2, 19; *Epit.* 41.2). Nazarius implies that he was exposed to unseemly goings-on at their courts. To the same effect but with different frame of reference, Eus. *VC* 1.12 compares Constantine to Moses.

23. The MSS have *mente[m]*, either before or after *propius* (see Mynors' app. crit.). Galletier prints instead Durand's *vultum*, and Fedeli writes *in⟨tu⟩entes*. M. Winterbottom, "*Concedat laurea linguae*," review of *Panegyrici Latini*, by V. Paladini and P. Fedeli, *CR* 29 (1979) 235, suggests deleting *mente*, which might be a repetition of (*inqui*)*rentem* from the line above. This translation follows that suggestion.

24. Cf. *Pan.* 11.2.1: *si non sensus meos dicatorum vobis dierum proxima quaeque veneratio sui maiestate praestringit*; *Pan.* 6.17.1: *hic fulgor oculorum, haec veneranda pariter et grata maiestas praestringit simul et invitat adspectus*; Cic. *Sen.* 42: *mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos.*

25. Diocletian had made court ceremonial even more elaborate to keep the emperor as far removed from men (and assassination attempts) as possible (see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* [Oxford, 1964] 40–41; S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* [London, 1985] 111–14). See *Pan.* 11.11.1–3, with note 65. On the other hand, isolation made ruling well difficult, as Diocletian was supposed to have said to the father of one Flavius Vopiscus: SHA, *Aurel.* 43.2–5. Evidently the question of imperial inaccessibility still rankled at the end of the fourth century. Later generations accused Constantine and his family of the same thing (e.g., *Pan.* 3.30.3; Amm. Marc. 16.10.12). Here Nazarius draws a distinction between Constantine and the Tetrarchs (1) because he is at Rome, and (2) because Licinius still ruled. Once his colleague was disposed of,

veil, nor present a handsome display by hiding what usually lies concealed
from the outside or by putting off your appearances.[26] You receive men's 4
gazes kindly; an excessive brightness does not restrain the onlooker, but a
serene light attracts him.[27] Now at last we understand what was missing in
your predecessors, now that we reverence disclosed in you what we feared
concealed in the rest.

Therefore, most blessed Caesars, go securely along all the paths of 5
your father's fame, as you are doing. His numerous virtues advance on no 6
single road, but all lead to the same end of glory. There are no detours for
desires, no winding paths of error, so those who advance need not fear a
costly withdrawal, and you who are not delayed by scouting out the route 7
embark upon a speedier course.[28] But I am unsure as to what particular 8
road I should best take, what approach I ought to make, beset as I am
by the very abundance of material: so many things suggest themselves,
equal in splendor, proportionate in size.[29]

But as in great houses where the very entrance halls give evidence 6
of the beautifully furnished interiors, so Rome ought to furnish us, who

Constantine could forget about Diocletian's experiment and rely solely upon the dynastic and monarchic principles of sole rule and succession by one's own children.

26. Pacatus *Pan.* 2.21.3–5 recasts these sections for Theodosius' benefit. His description of earlier princes who kept themselves hidden (2.21.3) gives a working definition of Diocletian's and his colleagues' imperial manner. Further, the characterization of the rare public appearances (2.21.4) seems to be a generalized restatement of Ammianus' well-known passage (16.10.4–12) on the visit to Rome and triumphal procession of Constantius II in 357.

27. Contrast *Pan.* 6.17.1 and 12.19.6, where Constantine's *fulgor oculorum* is still an attribute of his splendid appearance. Nazarius proffers a new characterization, more human and approachable, or, one might say, more Augustan.

28. The argument for the superiority of one born in the purple is similar to the that found at *Pan.* 6.2–3, although Nazarius employs it to commend the young princes for their good start in life, not to argue that Constantine is better than Licinius—especially since Licinius must appear not to exist. This marks the end of the section on family. Note the orientation toward the future: the hopes for the children, hence for the dynasty, replace the praise of ancestors. Constantius I is ignored here (later, at 14.6, he appears at the head of the celestial army). The occasion may account for the untraditional treatment of the topic.

29. The aporetic pause (cf. *Pan.* 10.2.2–7). Nazarius kindly omits specific topics that he will decline to treat. He chooses the liberation of Rome because that is old and safe news, and because he is at Rome (see the Introduction, p. 338).

are about to come to the astonishing sanctuary of egregious virtues, with
2 an entrance for our praise and a doorway for our commendation.[30] Once overwhelmed by the crimes of an impious tyrant[31] and more pitiable the grander she was, she applied the glory of her former majesty to the pursuit of pity, yet she was venerable to you, greatest Constantine, even in that sorry condition of hers, because our regard for those whom we love well remains undiminished even if their fortunes have ebbed. Services to the downcast are more welcome if they come not from pity but from respect.

3 But wise men have doubtless rightly supposed that virtues are closely connected with one another.[32] For they both support each other's works and share the fruits of their labor with such reciprocity that the ad-
4 mixture is easily seen to be inseparable and undivided.[33] You waged a war, greatest of Emperors, which the honor of the City imposed upon
5 you no less than the same city's distress persuaded you to. Thus as a result of that war more praise has been given your fortitude than bestown upon your piety because you liberated the wretched while pur-
6 suing the wicked. Rome has been established and founded for eternity,

30. For the second time in as many pages, Nazarius has likened his topic to the same architectural feature (*vestibulum*). At 5.1 above, the person revered (an emperor) was compared to a dwelling, which an onlooker would not be able to enter, save only if the house were Constantine's and its interior reveal his soul and not some other. Here the edifice houses the emperor's many virtues.

31. Maxentius. Nazarius strictly observes the old rule that prohibits the naming of any opponent, and the new rule formulated under Constantine of not naming any colleague who is not of the immediate family.

32. Cicero more than once couples forms of the verbs *conecto* and *apo:* e.g., *N. D.* 2.97 (*tamque inter se omnia conexa et apta*), *Part.* 137 (*inter se pleraque conexa et apta*); *Orat.* 235 (*facilius est enim apta dissolvere quam dissipata conectere*). The word *conexio* is late, save for its creation by Cicero (a hapax: *Fat.* 2: *fatum est conectio rerum per aeternitatem se invicem tenens*) and many occurrences in Quintilian. For the same idea, without the vocabulary, see Claud. 22 (*Laud. Stil.* 2) 100–102.

33. Except for the occasional literal use in Cicero (e.g., *Tim.* 42, verb and noun together), *permixtio*, and even the verb whence it comes, more often indicate a confounding than a stable or desirable mixture. The purpose of the aside is to claim that it is impossible to say whether the demands of *honestum* or *pietas* were more important in Constantine's decision and action. As usual, Nazarius takes some time to develop the theme before he gets to the point.

since all who could weaken her condition have been destroyed root and branch.[34]

Contrary to what usually occurs in warfare, wavering Mars did 7
not wander through mutable and varied events;[35] changes of fortune, which commonly fasten something sorrowful onto successes, did not mar the victors' delight; but the slaughter of enemies was so extensive and abundant, the victory so happy and bloodless, that you would not believe that they struggled in a dangerous war but only that punishment was demanded from the impious. A good conscience even under arms makes 2
so great a claim upon itself that the victory has begun to be one not more of valor than of integrity.

God the ruler of things regards us from on high and, although human 3
minds have deep hiding places for their thoughts,[36] yet divinity winds its way in when it will explore the whole; and it cannot happen that since the divine will[37] bestows upon us the breath which we draw and the many good things by which we are nourished that it has renounced any care

34. Maxentius died at the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. This passage implies that his small son was done away with, although there is no information about his fate.

35. Cf. *Aen.* 10.159–60: *hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat / eventus belli varios.* Also Caes. *BGall.* 6.42 (*eventus belli non ignorans*), *BCiv.* 1.53, 2.32.10 (in both instances *eventum belli* = the issue); Cic. *Mil.* 69 (*vaga volubilisque fortuna*); Amm. Marc. 22.1.1 (*fortunae volubiles casus*), 26.1.3 (*volubilium casuum diritas*).

36. Cic. *Marc.* 22 (*cum in animis hominum tantae latebrae sint et tanti recessus*); Pliny *Ep.* 3.3.6 (*vita hominum altos recessus magnasque latebras habet*). Cf. Val. Max. 3.4 *Ext.* 1 (of Socrates): *primus ab his indoctis erroribus abductum animum suum intima condicionis humanae et in secessu pectoris repositos adfectus scrutari coegit.* Nazarius' conception of the god who reads all human secrets makes a statement opposite to Pliny's (*Pan.* 5.9), that god hides the causes of things from men: *occultat utrorumque semina deus, et plerumque bonorum malorumque causae sub diversa specie latent.* Pliny's god, incidentally, like Nazarius', is singular, not modified even with a demonstrative (see note 68).

37. Nazarius uses this word only once, of the divinity. The author of *Pan.* 12 referred four times to Constantine's *numen* and only once to the deity's (in that instance the word is modified with the adjective *divinum*). Time was, *numen* alone indicated divine power, but the word had become an imperial epithet, which Nazarius is the first of the extant panegyrists to avoid. See Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation," 71–75.

for the earth and does not distinguish among the lives of those whose necessities it governs.[38]

4 Therefore that force, that majesty which distinguishes right and wrong,[39] which weighs, balances and tests all the particles of worth, that force protected your piety, that force shattered the impious insanity of the tyrant, that force aided your invincible army,[40] ardent and full of spirit in consciousness of so many victories, with as much additional strength as either god was able or love for you ought to furnish, so that your brilliant soldiery[41] overturned the dreadful battle array, the unknown strengths of men and weapons, so that in felicitous combat you annihilated whatever the long contrivance of a lasting wickedness had prepared.

8 O your victory, Emperor, no more to be praised than your mercy!
With reluctance in your spirit even the evil perish. You who conquered so
2 easily fought unwillingly.[42] You had long since perceived that the man was
not suitable for rule, not fit for so much majesty, because the magnitude of
the wrongly entrusted office overflowed beyond the narrow bounds of his
spirit.[43] Those who are unable to support it turn power into license when
their weakness has given way beneath so great a burden imposed by Fate.

3 Why should I remind you of the shameful murders of unfortunates,
or of the sustenance of unsated passions, or of the violent thefts of
4 inheritances?[44] Well, let these not be spoken of, not so much to prevent
my oration from awakening the sleeping memory of evils, but to prevent

38. Nazarius' deity has much description but no name, but the belief in divine providence directly contradicts the statement of an earlier panegyrist that terrible things happen when the gods are not paying attention or when fate outweighs their goodwill (*Pan.* 7.9.1).

39. Cf. *Aen.* 1.543: *at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi.*

40. The idea of divine help is similar to that expressed in *Pan.* 12 (e.g., 12.3.3, 12.4.1–2; see also Amm. Marc. 29.5.40 [*magni numinis adiumento*] on Theodosius the Elder).

41. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.812: *fulmineus Mnestheus.* For other examples of the adjective used of persons see *TLL*, s.v. "Fulmineus" B.1.b.

42. The story has changed since *Pan.* 12 was delivered; in 313 it was a mark of valor to have taken on the awesome task (see *Pan.* 12.2.3ff.). Left with but one colleague with whom he had already come into conflict and whom he was about to remove from power, Constantine most likely preferred not to be characterized as an aggressor, even in the noblest of causes.

43. Cf. Cic. *Pis.* 24: *magnum nomen . . . non capient angustiae pectoris tui.*

44. Cf. *Pan.* 12.3.5–6, 12.4.4, and notes. Murder, robbery, and lust are crimes typically attributed to tyrants.

such talk from defiling the most sacred praises of the ruler while we are
exposing another man's vices. The memory of having driven off evil 5
is indeed an augmentation of felicity attained; but as in fields of grain,
although the many weeds which take over the ground must be pulled up
diligently while those who gaze upon the crops produced do not know
the labor of clearing the ground, so for Constantine's praises it is enough,
while we see good things flourishing, not to reflect upon the extirpation of
bad ones.

Nevertheless you endured, Emperor, you endured that man at play 9
among evils of such magnitude and, although you knew all about them,
you exhausted men's prayers by your indulgent patience, since not even
under those circumstances would you take up arms unjustly; although not
yet provoked by the man you were already an enemy of his vices. But (and 2
this was consistent with your clemency) you would try a gentler remedy, to
have a milder medicine heal what you preferred to have alleviated rather
than amputated. Indeed you wrest from your soul both the desire for 3
a conference and the wish for concord,[45] if it is right to call it concord
rather than pardon when he who can vanquish chooses to forgive.

I do not doubt that your heavenly prudence made this calculation,[46]
that by union with itself it would either extinguish the man's blazing
desires entirely or restrain them with moderation. In fact there is no 4
passion so mad that association with moderation does not contain it; ugly
cowardice casts down its eyes when virtue's beauty is set before it.

You would see impudence become evasive and embarrassed, con- 5
founded by dignity, modesty, and grace, so it is clear that by procuring

45. The author of *Pan.* 12 says nothing of Constantine's attempts at a conference, and neither does anyone else (see E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* [Paris, 1959] 1: 87–88). In fact, Constantine had damned Maximian's memory in 311 (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 42.1), and Maxentius had rediscovered his filial piety after his father's death and had, by some accounts, intended to declare war on Constantine (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 43.4; Zosimus 2.14.1). This whole rather embarrassing passage sounds like an apology, as if Nazarius felt compelled to counter a recent accusation that Constantine had turned on the man with whom he had once entered into an alliance. That there had been concord prior to Maximian's rebellion in 310 was a fact; conflicting allegiances as well as self-interest kept Constantine neutral when Galerius unsuccessfully invaded Italy.

46. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.126: *debere eum aiebat suam quoque rationem ducere*; 2.2.129: *novus astrologus, qui non tam caeli rationem quam caelati argenti duceret.*

concord, best of Emperors, you were not intending to give him a free hand for injuring the City, but that you had sought a gentler victory, since you would rather overcome his vices than his arms.

10 But of course things which are at war because of natural opposition cannot combine under any compulsion, and no bond is sufficiently trustworthy if its fastenings hold things which are aiming in opposite directions.
2 It is clear that your outstanding discretion, and the piety always joined to it, assesses all the advantages of concord; this is the foundation and root of repose, the seedbed of civil benefits,[47] the standing crop of public tranquillity and the nourishing sustainer of peace.

3 But, oh, how difficult is the return to respectability for those who have already advanced in wickedness! You invite him to an alliance;[48] he flees, rejects, shudders at your advances, he thinks that there is nothing

47. Cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.54: *prima societas in ipso coniugio est, proxima in liberis, deinde una domus, communia omnia; id autem est principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei publicae*; *Cat.* 2.23: *scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum.* Nazarius extends the metaphor to include the seedlings' maturity and food value.

48. Again, this is very strange. The lengthy apology accomplishes nothing more than a display of moralizing, especially since Nazarius affirms later (12.1) that Maxentius attacked first. Nazarius implies that the offer came not long before the invasion, which was occasioned by Maxentius' violent response. This cannot be. Constantine had earlier granted Maxentius occasional recognition on coins (*RIC* 6.217, no. 772c) until after the conference at Carnuntum in November 308. Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 87, argue from numismatic evidence that Constantine took Spain from Maxentius in 310, which gave the latter a reason for hostility. The numismatic evidence, however, fails, as the mint in question is not Tarraco but Ticinum: see P. Bastien, "Le pseudo-atelier monétaire de Tarragone au Bas-Empire et le gouvernement de l'Espagne," *Latomus* 38 (1979) 90–109; C. H. V. Sutherland, *RIC* 6.6–7, 43 n. 1, 276 (the mint [at Ticinum, not Tarraco] closed ca. 309–310, and Aquileia as well, not because Maxentius lost control of them but because they were not secure). Most agree nowadays that Constantine controlled all of his father's territories (Britain, Gaul, Spain) from 306 on: M. Christol and P. Sillières, "Constantin et la péninsule ibérique," *REA* 82 (1980) 70–80; Barnes, *New Empire*, 197, and *Constantine and Eusebius*, 27. Anyway, Spain had nothing to do with the hostilities between Constantine and Maxentius. The ruler at Rome had more than once been declared illegitimate, and Constantine anticipated Licinius when he attacked. Maxentius had been prepared rather to defend himself from the east (see note 24 to *Pan.* 12). Possibly Licinius' propaganda included the contention that Constantine had stolen Italy from his Eastern colleague, its rightful liberator. Note that the apology continued to be made later on; Eus. *VC* 1.26 reports that Constantine explained why he

in common between himself and you because there is nothing alike. It certainly is no longer in virtue's power to remain at peace; for to wage 4
war in spirit while refraining from force is not concern for concord but cowardly disagreement.

Although judgment is not to be looked for in those who have once 11
begun to rush headlong from the right path, yet I cannot cease to wonder why, when you made your offer, he did not embrace what he would have been impudent to have dared to wish for. Or did he think that you would 2
endure with indulgent indifference the mournful mutilation of the City? But Nature makes the injuries of one whom you love, even when they are truly grievous, become yet more grievous because of the love.

Or did he believe that he would not be inferior when joining battle? The event has proven that he could not have entertained this supposition, 3
when after the standards had been set against one another so often there was never anything for his hope to chase after or his fortune to promise.[49]

By guile, I am to believe, he reckoned he could deceive you. But 4
your wisdom is no less safe from deception than your valor from the risks of combat. For who is more sagacious in presentiment? Who is more watchful in observation? Who views the present more keenly, the future more comprehensively, uncertainties with more certainty, fallacies with more felicity? In this respect Lynceus[50] could not compete with you, he 5
who, as the poets have it, easily saw through walled enclosures and tree trunks, or even he of whom the same antiquity has told, that when he had taken his position in a watchtower in Sicily, he used to catch sight of ships which were approaching port in Africa,[51] since neither the surrounding air which the sea's vapor makes denser nor the distance of such widely separated places impeded the man's vision.

When all hope was bound to fail and the will to make peace had been 12
alienated, who would doubt that he was divinely delivered to your arms, when he had attained such a degree of madness that he even provoked,

took on Maxentius, "saying that life was not worth living if he should ignore the suffering of the queen city."

49. See below (17.3 and 21.1–26.5) for the campaign.

50. See Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.28, *Sat.* 1.2.90; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3; Val. Fl. *Arg.* 1.462–67.

51. Pliny *HN* 7.21.85 says that Varro says his name was Strabo. Cf. Val. Max. 1.8.14; Ael. *VH* 11.13. Livineius notes on this whole section: "Haec fere ad unguem e *Plutarcho* videntur expressa." The passage may be found at Plut. *Mor.* 1083D.

2 on his own, the one whom he ought to have tried to win over?[52] Oh, what
sharp and painful stings you have, insult, when inflicted[53] by an inferior!
Behold, for sorrow! (words come with difficulty), the violent overthrow
of venerable statues and the ugly erasure of the divine visage.[54]
3 O impious hands, O savage eyes! How is it that you were not
enveloped in darkness?[55] In concealing the light of the world, did you
yourselves not imbibe the blackness which you deserved? Rouse yourself
at last, Virtue conscious of wrong, and do not pardon Rage for this, which
4 used to be permitted nothing else where you are concerned. But what did
you attain in the end, blind madness? This countenance cannot be effaced.
It is impressed on the hearts of every person; it does not shine because
it is beautified with wax or falsified with paint,[56] but blossoms through the
longing of our spirits. The one and only oblivion of Constantine is the end
5 of the human race. But now your injury will make his patience the more
commendable: they will long more keenly for him if no picture represents
him. The desires of the spirit are more passionate when they have lost the
consolation which the eyes provide.

13 In fact, there was nothing for which you lamented with greater grief,
Rome, or with greater despair. Although you sighed the more over things
deeply concealed and endured daily inflicted griefs with a calloused and

52. Same story in Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 43.4 and Zosimus 2.14.1; see note 48 above, and note 24 to *Pan.* 12.

53. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.20: *quibus tu privatim iniurias plurimas contumeliasque imposuisti*; Sall. *Cat.* 48.9: *tantam illam contumeliam sibi a Cicerone impositam.*

54. This is the only evidence that Maxentius destroyed images of Constantine, which would have been sent to Rome long since, as was usual between emperors who recognized each other (at Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 44.10 Constantine discovers statues and pictures of Maximinus at Rome). It was also usual to destroy the images of a ruler declared illegitimate, or one whose memory was damned: Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 42.1–2 relates that when Maximian's images were taken down Diocletian's usually had to go too, as the two were so often depicted together.

55. *Ita* here means *nonne*, or *quae cum ita sint*; cf. Sen. *Ben.* 2.10.3 (*ita tu hominem non servabis in tenebris?*). The aim of this rather emotional passage is to exaggerate the extent of Maxentius' aggression, and perhaps the timing of it as well.

56. *Fucus* is a pejorative word. Nazarius got the idea from Cicero in another context (*De or.* 2.188, 3.100, 3.199), as the great orator deplored tarting up one's speeches by, as it were, smearing false colors upon them.

hardened patience,[57] an indiscreet sorrow revealed itself without fear of
detection, and the signs of ill-suppressed mourning escaped through faces
which betrayed themselves.
This was what you wanted to be avenged, Rome injured by so many 2
wounds, yet the most excellent leader, heedless of his own injury, preferred
to take vengeance for yours. Thus both of you, benevolent calculators 3
of duty,[58] repaid the other, you in the prayer where your only strength
lay, he with love and capability both, so that he bestowed as much good
upon you as he knew you wished for him.
Therefore you fought, Emperor, although under compulsion, but you 4
deserved a victory for the very reason that you did not desire it.[59] You
wished for peace, but forgive us if everyone's prayers prevailed. That 5
divinity which habitually complies with your undertakings did not resist
you in this one, but one thing it did not grant in accordance with your
purpose, that it contrive something greater in proportion to your merits.[60]
He for whom victory had been readied was denied concord.
Finally, it is the talk of all the Gauls that armies were seen which let **14**
it be known that they had been divinely sent.[61] And although heavenly 2

57. Cf. Cic. *Mil.* 76: *nescio quomodo usu iam obduruerat et percalluerat civitatis incredibilis patientia; Tusc.* 2.36: *ipse labor quasi callum quoddam obducit dolori*; *Fam.* 9.2.3: *consuetudo diuturna callum iam obduxit stomacho meo.*

58. The phrase comes from Cic. *Off.* 1.59 (*Haec igitur et talia circumspicienda sunt in omni officio, ut boni ratiocinatores officiorum esse possimus*).

59. This marks the end of the apology for Constantine's expedition of 312. The most curious thing is why Nazarius thought it was necessary—unless he was preparing his listeners to accept in the proper spirit the coming conflict with Licinius; cf. *Pan.* 6.20.4: *di te vindicant et invitum.* Pacatus borrows this notion of unwillingness to perform an unpleasant duty at *Pan.* 2.44.2 to preface Maximus' death at the hands of the soldiers. The idea is akin to *recusatio imperii* (for examples of which see *Pan.* 6.8.3–6 and 2.11.1–12.3).

60. Jaeger favored the emendation *promeriti* (genitive with *plus*); the word *promeritum* means the same as *meritum*, and with the verb *inire* the collocation approaches the meaning of *gratiam inire* (= *facere*). Cf. 15.3: *divinam opem pro merito integritatis.*

61. This vision is even more spectacular than the ones reported in Christian sources (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 44.5–6; Eus. *VC* 1.28–31). There is no way to tell the origin of Nazarius' story, which the orator of 313 does not have. It is a piece of propaganda, definitely political (as H. Grégoire, "La vision de Constantin 'liquidée,'" *Byzantion* 14 [1939] 341–51, maintains), but it may also be religious, and if so, with what sympathy? One might suspect that the *verendum*

things are not in the habit of coming before men's eyes, because the unmixed and incorporeal substance of their subtle nature eludes our dull and darkened vision, yet at that time your helpers submitted to being seen and heard, and escaped contamination by mortal sight[62] after they had
3 attested your worth. But what is their appearance said to have been, the vigor of their bodies, the size of their limbs, the eagerness of their wills? Their flashing shields were aflame with something dreadful; their celestial weaponry was ablaze with a terrible glow; for they had come in such a
4 form that they were believed to be yours. This was their discourse, this was the speech they composed in the midst of their hearers: "We seek Constantine, we go to help Constantine."

5 Surely even divine things admit conceit and ambition touches heavenly things as well: those armies come down from heaven, those armies
6 divinely sent bragged because they were fighting for you. Your father Constantius, I believe, was their leader, who had yielded earthly triumphs to you, greater than he, and who, now deified, was enjoying divine

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nescio quid burning on the shields (14.3) is a periphrasis for Lactantius' *Christum in scutis notat* (*Mort. pers.* 44.5), were it not merely half of Nazarius' depiction of the supernatural brilliance of the celestial beings (cf. *caelestium armorum lux terribilis ardebat*, which follows). Galletier, 2: 157 (cf. p. 177 n. 1) can find no clear indication of either monotheism or polytheism but rejects attempts to make this a version of the Christian vision. He adduces *Aen.* 8.520–40, Venus' sign to Aeneas that the gods will send him new armor. (The panegyrist of 313 also consulted this passage in Virgil, to another purpose: see note 109 to *Pan.* 12.) A. Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford, 1948) 72, wrote that Nazarius invented the heavenly army to try to avoid the Christian symbolism attached to what was by then a well-known incident. Since Licinius also had had his own vision (Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 46.3–6), Nazarius' story may have been meant to give Constantine a better one. It is fortunate that the incomplete version of Constantinian rewriting of history survives in Lactantius' work; a better expurgated, or later revised, version would have made Licinius a villain from the outset. Licinius had an angel; the prayer that this angel dictated to him is addressed to the *summus deus*, who has no other name. Pacatus borrows Nazarius' idea, but he avoids flashy visions in favor of greater subtlety: *Pan.* 2.39.3–5.

62. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.276–78: *tali Cyllenius ore locutus / mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit / et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.* Also Cic. *Clu.* 193: *Itaque nullo in oppido consistendi potestas ei fuit, nemo ex tot hospitibus inventus est qui non contagionem aspectus fugeret*; *Tusc.* 1.50: [*animi*] *tenuitas . . . fugiat aciem.*

expeditions.[63] This too is a great reward for your piety: although he shared in heaven, he felt that he became more distinguished thanks to you, and your services redounded upon him himself whose services can still abound for others.[64]

Let antiquity, not only of recent ages but of the memory of all time, 15
give way to you, although, as one which strives for the right and has never been corrupted in any duty, it prides itself that the reputation of sanctity abides in its presence. But the laudations of men are ne- 2
glected when divine judgments are sought. Then when did those men 3
of old, who were celebrated for their moderate lives, who lived sparingly and with restraint by bridling their desires, whose whole lifetime was passed in arms, have so great a measure of divine help in battle in return for the merit of their integrity, so that, although they are far removed from you in virtue, they may be counted in at least the next rank of justice?

Men say that in one of Rome's wars two young men on horseback 4
appeared,[65] worthy to be beheld for their beauty as much as for their strength, who were distinguished beyond the rest in the fighting. When

63. In this version, Constantius replaces Christ. The words *iam divus* indicate not that Constantius is a god but that he is dead and officially honored by a grateful state (Senate) as having been a good ruler. The technical term does not rule out a Christian doing the describing, but secularizes it, a good idea especially at Rome. At any rate, Constantius' official title was *divus Constantius*, as on the coinage (*RIC* 7.180, 252, 310, 394, 429, 502: the various "May the three *divi* rest in peace" issues of 317/318, honoring Maximian, Constantius, and the putative ancestor Claudius Gothicus).

64. There are times when Nazarius tries one's patience. The image is of two *lacus* of achievements, Constantine's below Constantius', overflowing for his subjects but also running back up into his father's, Constantius' pouring forth for humanity as well. Nazarius has accomplished the aim of praising the parent but not excessively; the parent naturally is proud to be surpassed by the child; cf. *Pan.* 12.24.4–25.3, where Constantius is said to observe and rejoice from heaven. No extant oration given during Constantine's lifetime even hints, however, that a child of his may surpass him. In any other orator the mention of Constantius' *munera* would introduce a judiciously brief rehearsal of the departed ruler's *res gestae*, but not here. After fifteen years a claim of still efficacious benefits was better left to a general statement than to a detailed proof.

65. Castor and Pollux, who appeared either at or after (or both at and after) the battle of Lake Regillus in 496 B.C.E.: Livy 2.42.5; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 6.13.1–4. The Dioscuri reappear at *Pan.* 2.39.4. Pacatus relates that they were said

they were sought out by order of the commander to have their diligence rewarded, and when they were not to be found, men believed that they were divine because although they had zealously shared their labor, they
5 spurned labor's reward. For my part I am not unwilling to agree with history; in this instance what promises not to be an untrustworthy reporter of antiquity is not to be considered a refurbisher of truth. Yet those who inserted this into the records of history feared that faith in the miracle might waver among later generations.

6 Do not fear, most eminent authors, for the veneration of your writings; we who have now seen greater things believe in those deeds. Our leader's greatness wins credence for the ancients' accomplishments, but removes
7 the miraculous element. A reckoning of the affairs must be measured by the number of supporters. Once two young men were seen, but now armies: the present instance is surely richer and no less dependable as truth. Faith stands firm, relying upon a twofold argument: this is how Constantine deserved to be helped, and this is how Rome ought to have been saved.

16 This is a great thing, greatest of Emperors, but not surprising in view of your piety. We knew by mental conjecture, even if it was not yet exposed to visual confirmation, that the supreme majesty which embraces and
2 watches over you supports you in all things.[66] Indeed since your mind, separate from mortal contact,[67] entirely pure, utterly sincere, manifests itself everywhere in winning over god, since your glory has overstepped human boundaries, who in the world is there who does not believe that god assists you, since your life is worthy of it and the magnitude of your accomplishments attests to it?[68]

to have announced the Roman victory over Perseus of Macedon. Cic. *N. D.* 2.6 has both these stories and others as well.

66. *Maiestas* qualified is Nazarius' second-favorite expression for the nameless supreme being; it occurs at 7.4 (*benigna maiestas*) and 19.2 (*illa maiestas fandi ac nefandi discriminatrix*) as well. He uses *divinitas* twice (7.3 and 13.5).

67. I.e., he contemplates only what is divine, as at 2.6 above. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.72 says that spirits that avoid contact with the concerns of the body approach the gods' lifestyle: *qui [animi] autem se integros castosque servavissent quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio seseque ab iis semper sevocavissent essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum*. Cf. *Div.* 1.63.

68. Twice in this sentence Nazarius calls the deity *deus* without any other qualifier, as any monotheist, including a Christian, would say "God." He prefers this simple appellation over any other; it recurs at 18.4, 26.1, 28.1 (there is also

Let us retire, then, for a moment from our appointed course[69] along 3 a not unpleasant detour. I shall observe the following restrictions in my oration, that it neither maintain a discourteous silence about other matters nor interrupt annoyingly the subject in hand.[70]

You, best of Emperors, at the outset of your Principate, still unripe 4 in years[71] but already ripe for power, showed that one did not have to await the passage of time in the hastening of virtue.[72] After that, 5 good at war and at peace alike, you have never taken a step without having glory accompany you everywhere like a shadow. When the fierce kings Ascaricus and his associate[73] had been captured you inaugurated your martial endeavors with so much acclaim that we considered it a guarantee[74] of unheard-of greatness. As Hercules is said, while still a babe 6 at the breast, to have crushed two serpents with his hands,[75] so that the inborn nature of future strength burst forth from him even when he was a tiny infant, so you, Emperor, in the very cradle of your rule, as if you were

rerum arbiter deus at 7.3). Compare, however, Pliny *Pan.* 5.9 (cited in note 36). The lack of the article makes it sound more familiar to modern ears than Socrates' saying ὁ θεός.

69. It would have been kind of Nazarius to remind his audience that his course was tending in a roundabout way to come to a narration of Rome's salvation.

70. Nazarius in fact wastes little breath on Constantine's deeds prior to 312.

71. Constantine preferred to be depicted as younger than he was; when he was acclaimed emperor in 306 he was over thirty. See Barnes, *New Empire*, 39–41. For another view, see *Pan.* 7, notes 10, 15, 16.

72. Soon after he was proclaimed emperor in 306, Constantine crossed from Britain to fight the Franks who had invaded Gaul. See *Pan.* 7.4.2, 6.10.1–6, and notes.

73. Merogaisus (*Pan.* 6.11.5). Constantine had them both put to death.

74. For *obses* meaning "proof" (instead of "hostage" or "pledge"), cf. Cic. *Cael.* 78 (*duas accusationes vel obsides periculi vel pignora voluntatis*), *Cat.* 4.9 (*sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis*), *Clu.* 83 (*hanc enim condemnationem dederat obsidem Bulbo*); Cl. Mam. *Pan.* 3.3.3 (*amoris inflammatrices et fidei obsides*).

75. See Pind. *Nem.* 1.39–47. There is another reference to Hercules (the ruling house of the Heracleidae at Sparta) at 36.2, but these two instances are accidental, not deliberate in a political sense. Whereas one expects to find Hercules stories serving the Western rulers until Maximian's death, Constantine never resurrected the name Herculius when he rehabilitated Maximian. He wishes, after all, to be neither a Tetrarch nor a Dyarch.

slaying twin dragons, amused yourself with the celebrated punishments of savage kings.

17 Those very Franks who are more ferocious than other nations held even the coasts of Spain infested with arms when a large number of them spread abroad beyond the Ocean itself in an outburst of fury in their passion to make war.[76] These men were felled under your arms in such numbers that they could have been utterly wiped out, if you had not, with the divine inspiration with which you manage everything,
2 reserved for your son the destruction of those whom you had broken. For your glory, however, that nation which is fecund to its own detriment grew up so rapidly and was so stoutly restored that it gave the most valiant Caesar the firstfruits of an enormous victory[77] when it made battle not broken but whetted by the memory of the disaster it had sustained.

3 Let us put off for a while the Italian campaign in which with forceful valor you broke into the town of Segusio,[78] which set up a barrier

76. Galletier, 2: 180 n. 1, believes that this invasion is contemporaneous with Constantine's campaign in Italy (see note 145 to *Pan.* 12). The panegyrists of 307 and 310 do not say anything about it, although Constantine was engaged on the Rhine in 310 at the time of Maximian's rebellion (*Pan.* 6.18.2). Most of the events in this section belong to the years 306–312 and encompass Constantine's career before that date but may include events from 313 on. It is difficult to tell. The Bructeri are mentioned subsequently; on the other hand, Crispus in section 2 violates chronological sequence. There are similar tales told of the Franks at other periods: Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33.3 and Eutr. 9.8.2 write of their invasion of Spain and destruction of Tarraco when Gallienus was emperor; *Pan.* 8.18.3 and Zosimus 1.71.2 relate their voyage, when Probus was emperor, from the eastern end of the Mediterranean through to the Atlantic. It would, however, take an impossible leap of logic, even for Nazarius, to connect the Franks under Gallienus and/or Probus with Constantine's campaigns since 306.

77. Crispus' victory was probably in 319, although a year earlier or later is not impossible: P. Bruun, *RIC* 7.51, 76, 145–46, and for coinage up to the date of this oration, 185, nos. 237–41 (Trier); 471, nos. 23–24 (Sirmium). Whether or not Crispus was actually in charge of military operations at the age of perhaps seventeen (?) (see note 10 to *Pan.* 7; his first child was born in 322), he would have been given credit for it as ruler resident in Gaul. Nazarius does state (36.3, 37.1–4, esp. 37.4) that Crispus fought in person. The Franks' putative fecundity is a commonplace and was rivaled by that of the Alamanni: Amm. Marc. 28.5.9.

78. Susa. See 21 below, where Nazarius at last returns to the campaign. Nazarius interrupts here his review of Constantine's early deeds to announce

to Italy after the passage of the Alps, as if it were the doorway of war, and whence the unhindered train of victories ran through opposing lines and through armies in its path all the way up to the walls of Rome.

Why should I mention the Bructeri,[79] why the Chamavi, why the **18**
Cherusci, Lancionae, Alamanni, Tubantes? Their names sound the signal for war; the monstrousness of uncivilized nations employs horror in their own terminology.[80] All these nations, which had taken up arms one by one, later joined forces, inflamed by an agreement of confederation and

that he will not yet speak of the Italian campaign of 312 although that year is next in chronological order of events that he feels rate remembrance. What follows happened after Constantine returned from Rome in 313.

79. Constantine had invaded the territory of the Bructeri in 308. A. Arnaldi, "La successione dei *cognomina devictarum gentium* e le loro iterazioni nella titolatura di Costantino il Grande," in *Contributi di storia antica in onore di Albino Garzetti*, Pubbl. Ist. di Storia ant. Univ. di Genova 14 (Genova, 1977) 192 n. 1, appears to link this invasion with the punishment of the Frankish kings very early in Constantine's reign and later (pp. 193–95) argues (1) that the victory of 313 was the occasion of Constantine's assumption of the title Germanicus Maximus for the second time, and (2) that the third title comes from another campaign late in 313, the one mentioned here, which is an alliance subsequent to an invasion of Franks alone during the summer, the only invasion that the orator of 313 knew about. There are problems with such an interpretation, especially with the invasion of the Bructeri, which the orator of 310 clearly makes a separate affair from Constantine's initial retaliation, and also with the title Germanicus Maximus II, which Licinius does not share. See *Pan.* 6.12.1–3 and note.

The Bructeri, the Chamavi, and the Tubantes are all Frankish peoples (E. Zöllner, *Geschichte der Franken* [Munich, 1970] 2–3, 15–16) who lived across the Rhine east of Germania Inferior. Arntzen observes ad loc.: "Oratorum more, hoc loco rem auxisse statuit, tot gentes enumerando, quos uno nomine *Francos* dicere potuisset." See note 81. Arntzen continues: "Sed tamen de lectionis *Cheruscos* veritate dubito." L. Schmidt, *Die Westgermanen* (Munich, 1938) 1: 574, states that the Cherusci in this passage play a rhetorical rather than a historical role; he compares Claudian's combination of Cherusci with Cimbri (7 [*IV. cons. Hon.*] 452). The Lancionae are otherwise unknown, although mentioned in the Calendar of Philocalus (Schmidt, *Die Westgermanen*, 1: 574 n. 3).

80. For not dissimilar sentiments see Ov. *Tr.* 5.12.55–56 (*omnia barbariae loca sunt, vocisque ferinae, / omnia sunt Getici plena timore soni*); Flor. 1.45.20–21 (*sed maxima omnium eademque novissima coniuratio fuit Galliarum, cum omnis pariter Arvernos atque Biturigas, Carnuntas simul Sequanosque contraxit corpore armis spirituque terribilis, nomine etiam quasi ad terrorem composito, Vercingetorix*).

2 alliance.[81] Yet you, Emperor, when you saw so great a mass of war, feared
nothing more than being feared.[82]

You approach the barbarians, and having concealed your princely
3 attire as near as you could you advance with two men.[83] The Principate
is never more exalted than when it subjects itself to public duty. You
make conversation, you stir their hope and manipulate their credulity,
4 you deny that you are present. O truly blind barbarians, who did not see
the marks of a ruler on that face, whom you recognized as Constantine not
even when he stood within a shaft's throw unconcerned for himself! Can
anyone doubt that you, who could face this without fear, walk through
all things relying upon god? You lead the invincible and you alone are
feared.

5 So many kingdoms, so many peoples, such powerful nations joined
together consider themselves inferior in strength to you, whom they

81. The alliance among the peoples named here (who lived between the Rhine and the Elbe) belongs to the year 313 (see *Pan.* 12.22.3–6). The orator of 313, in a more general context, calls the enemy Franks (*Pan.* 12.24.2); pace Arnaldi, "La successione dei *cognomina devictarum gentium*," 195 n. 2, the story of Constantine's deception identifies this as the same campaign. As often, Nazarius' emphasis is different: he gives Constantine credit for the foresight to realize what effect his presence would have, while the earlier orator states that Constantine's arrival had initially prevented the invaders from crossing the Rhine. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1926; reprint, Brussels, 1964) 7: 111 n. 3, discusses this passage; he believes that the various peoples named here were "le débris de l'ancienne confédération franque, plus ou moins réorganisée . . ., les Saliens toujours mis à part et toujours tranquilles." Imperial coinage issued after the victory names Franks and Alamanni: *RIC* 7.363, no. 28; 365, no. 37. There is good rhetorical value to be found in alliances of enemies; increased numbers of opponents increase the conqueror's glory. Cf. *Pan.* 10.5.

82. Pacatus *Pan.* 2.35.2f. (Theodosius' army: *qui nihil magis timuerat quam timeri*) and Claud. 21 (*Laud. Stil.* 1) 341 (*ne timeare times*, of Stilicho) also use the commonplace.

83. Compare with this exciting story the tactic reported by the orator of 313 (*Pan.* 12.22.5), who says that Constantine departed on a pretended expedition to Upper Germany but left generals behind to deal with the expected invasion. Constantine can never be outdone in anything: Galerius had exhibited similar temerity in his second (and successful) expedition against Persia. Eutr. 9.25.1 reports: [*Galerius*] *rursus . . . in Armenia maiore pugnavit successu ingenti nec minore consilio, simul fortitudine, quippe qui etiam speculatoris munus cum altero aut tertio equite susceperit.* Constantine with two companions actually confronts the enemy.

believe to be absent. Yet for you glory increases by the multiplication
of terror. There is greater splendor in your crushing a massed force of
those whom it takes a greater effort to follow when they are dispersed.[84]
Countless nations assembled together for war, but routed with one assault 6
of yours offered a speedier victory while they fashioned a united force.

For this one war, if time were available to linger over the praise 19
that it deserves, an entire day might be set aside. But as it is, my
oration has touched in its flight upon everything in such a way that it has
not disclosed the sum of your victories but indicated their adornments.
The accomplishment of these things, always in the public interest, so 2
forcefully and with so much success that your valor never quailed, your
wisdom never failed, your felicity never wavered, sufficiently proves, in
my opinion, that a continuous influence of benign majesty streams into
you, so that your heavenly armies seem not to have been sent then for
the first time but then at last to have been perceived.[85]

You undertake the liberation of Italy so distinguished and so secure 3
that although war's results are uncertain,[86] you still maintain in your
person as a pledge of victory the will to fight even if divine aid were
wanting. For there was also your army, flourishing and firm, full of 4
strength, full of spirit, delighting in arms and performing its military
duties out of eagerness rather than necessity, since its years of service are
fewer than its battles (when I say battles, I mean victories),[87] and besides

84. Compare the praise of Maximian's tactics in *Pan.* 10.5.2 (there the emperor lets the foes' large numbers contribute to their downfall; those whom he attacks are fewer). It would be stretching a point to see here a correction in Constantine's favor of the earlier view. Rather, tactics are remarkable for whatever one wants to praise: Symmachus *Or.* 2.10–11 favorably regards Valentinian's combination of mercy with direct attack and observes that it is better to see barbarians running about in panic than to kill them all.

85. Nazarius ends his digression with a return to his recurrent theme of divine support. He has gotten to a point where he is prepared to describe the Italian campaign; there remains only the praise of the regular army.

86. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.157–58: *caecosque volutat / eventus animo secum.* The idea is commonplace: e.g., Thuc. 5.10.2; Cic. *Att.* 7.7.7; Sen. *Phoen.* 625–30.

87. Eus. *VC* 1.6 has a similar claim, that Constantine's reward for piety was invincibility; it is the old *pietas-felicitas* equation (see note 40 to *Pan.* 11), but well developed: καὶ οἱ μὲν οἷα πιστὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς θεράπων τοῦτ' ἔπραττε καὶ ἐκήρυττε, δοῦλον ἄντικρυς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ θεράποντα τοῦ παμβασιλέως ὁμολογῶν ἑαυτόν, θεὸς δ' αὐτὸν ἐγγύθεν ἀμειβόμενος κύριον καθίστησι καὶ δεσπότην νικητήν τε μόνον τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος αὐτοκρατόρων

5 as fond of you as you are of them. Forgive me, proud valor: however much confidence and courage you contain, love of their leader makes the soldiers braver.[88]

20 The story which I shall relate is rather an old one, but not unworthy of mention. Once upon a time the Illyrians, thinking little of the infant king Aeropus,[89] provoked the Macedonians in war, and the first battle at least was in their favor, but when the Macedonians renewed the war they
2 carried their king in his cradle up to the battle line. When passion and the sounding of the battle signal inflamed one side, pity and the wails of a child the other, the nature of the conflict changed: they conquered who fought
3 for love. As love is more faithful in remembrance of a benefit received than in expectation of a future one, because in the former instance something gotten gives pleasure, in the latter something expected is enticing, so your men struggled with much more spirit, as they were not awarding the expectation of favor to a boy but repaying the debt for his service to the most beneficent ruler since the origin of mankind.[90]

21 The city of Segusio, which was the first offered by your route, was first to be embraced by an easy victory.[91] By the obstinacy of its resistance it directed the Emperor's power against itself only to the extent that it did

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ἄμαχον καὶ ἀήττητον, εἰσαεὶ νικῶντα τροπαίοις τε τοῖς κατ' ἐχθρῶν διὰ παντὸς φαιδρυνόμενον, βασιλέα τε τοσοῦτον, ὅσος οὐδεὶς ἀκοῇ τῶν πάλαι πρότερον μνημονεύεται γενέσθαι· οὕτω μὲν θεοφιλῆ καὶ τρισμακάριον, οὕτω δ' εὐσεβῆ καὶ πανευδαίμονα, ὡς μετὰ πάσης μὲν ῥᾳστώνης πλειόνων ἢ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν κατασχεῖν ἐθνῶν, ἄλυπον δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς αὐτὴν καταλῆξαι τελευτήν.

88. Cf. *Pan.* 6.16–17, where that orator has much to say about the soldiers' loyalty to and affection for their emperor, also in a context of legitimate vis-à-vis illegitimate rule.

89. For the story see Justin 7.2–12; the enemy there is listed as Thracian and Illyrian. Amm. Marc. 26.9.3 has the story as well, without the child's name. Ammianus mentions it because the pretender Procopius carried Constantine's infant granddaughter about with his army.

90. One finds the same hint (through denial) that financial rewards influenced the soldiers at *Pan.* 6.16.7–8.

91. See *Pan.* 12.5.4–6.1 and notes. That oration agrees with Nazarius' account in the brevity and means of the assault as well as in the attribution of clemency to Constantine (here, in putting out the fire; at 12.6.1 in preventing pillaging).

not estrange his piety. For when the army sought to force an entrance,[92] 2
and the burning of the gates had spread fire far and wide, which in its easy contact with adjacent buildings gained strength on its deadly fodder, the kindest of Emperors showed the greatest concern not only that the conflagration die down without being fed deliberately but that it be smothered to make it die out, and his clemency was observed to give him far more trouble than his courage, since saving the city caused more work than capturing it. Thus at his departure he made the city 3
so fond of him that it was not fear of his victory but admiration for his gentleness which reconciled it to total allegiance.

They say that the best remedies for self-correction are those which 22
arise from another's;[93] but a spirit encumbered by perversity as if by a disease cannot distinguish what is good. Behold a harder battle awaits 2
him now as he comes to the people of Turin;[94] the devastation of Segusio has not warned them to look out for themselves, and they neglected to consider with what leader they would have to deal, since his power gave no hope and his clemency no reason for resistance.

So many soldiers filled the open plain that he who saw them arrayed 3
would not fault their confidence. What a spectacle that is said to have 4
been, how dreadful to behold, how terrible, horses and men alike enclosed in a covering of iron! In the army they are called *clibanarii*: the men are covered [with mail] in the upper part, a corselet which extends down to the horses' chests and hangs to their forelegs protects them from the injury of a wound without impeding their gait.[95]

92. For the collocation of *vis* with *manus*, but not in asyndeton, see Cic. *Cat.* 1.21, *Phil.* 2.91; Sall. *Iug.* 31.18.

93. Cf. *Pan.* 12.6.2 and the analogy with Caesar's treatment of Gomphi.

94. In *Pan.* 12.6.2–5 one hears of the opponents' tactics, a wedge formation that Constantine outflanked, but not of the special contingent described below.

95. Soldiers clad in mail were no novelty to the Romans, who had had experience of Eastern troops so equipped for centuries: see J. W. Eadie, "The Development of Roman Mailed Cavalry," *JRS* 57 (1967) 161–73. They formed part of Constantius' triumphal procession in 357: Amm. Marc. 16.10.8 (*cataphracti equites* [*quos clibanarios dictitant*]). Ammianus says that they look more like statues than men; he says "they" use the word *clibanarios*. See Eadie, p. 170, for the distinction between the two. The word *clibanarius* has been claimed as Persian: see O. Fiebiger, "Clibanarii 2," *RE* 4 (1901) 22. The author of the *Historia Augusta* (*Alex. Sev.* 56.5) contrasts the Roman term *cataphracti* with the Persian *clibanarii*—this despite the word κλιβανός / Lat. *clibanus*, an iron container for baking, or an oven. See 24.6 below for a Roman encounter with Parthian mailed

23 Nevertheless, neither the fact that their armor doubled the terror inspired by so large a number nor that numbers added force to their
2 arms frightened you, Emperor. For it is certain that valor shows a spirit proportionate to the type of engagement because it regulates its capacities in accordance with the course of events: in small matters it is lax almost to negligence, in affairs of moderate importance moderately attentive; when great things come it is aroused according to the magnitude of the task to
3 be endured. That display of armor, that army covered with iron, which would have been a painful sight to unwarlike men, stimulated the spirits of invincible ones, because the soldiers infected by the Emperor's example took fire with all their courage when they encountered an enemy whom it
4 was fitting to defeat. You yourself take over the mailed cavalry, where the greatest strength of the opposing battle line lay. Their training for combat is to preserve the course of their assault after they have crashed into[96] the opposing line, and since they are invulnerable they resolutely break through whatever is set against them.

24 But you, most prudent Emperor, who knew all the ways of fight-
2 ing, got assistance from your ingenuity: that it is safest to elude those whom it is most difficult to withstand.[97] By drawing your lines apart you induce an enemy attack which cannot be reversed; next by leading your lines back together you hem in the men whom you admit to your game. It did them no good to press forward, since your men purposely gave way;[98] iron's rigidity did not allow a change in direction for pursuit.

cavalry. L. Cracco Ruggini, "Fatto storico e coloritura letteraria (da passi della 'Historia Augusta')," in *Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium 1972–1974*, Antiquitas 4.12 (Bonn, 1976) 119–21, discusses this passage and compares its information and emphasis with the descriptions of Maxentius' armies in the panegyric of 313 (read *Pan.* IX, 6 on p. 121 n. 32).

96. *Arietare*, from the animal, is a splendid word, found in Plaut. *Truc.* 256, Virg. *Aen.* 11.890, Sil. 4.149 (*arietat ala in primos*), Accius in Cic. *De div.* 1.44, and in Seneca frequently. See *TLL*, s.v., II.

97. There is not a hint of these tactics in the panegyric of 313. Constantine seems not to have had any men similarly equipped, but his strategy was effective. On the other hand, if he had mailed cavalry, the enemy would not appear so mighty when the audience learnt about Constantine's own *cataphracti*. Thus Nazarius' silence proves nothing. Galletier, 2: 184 n. 1, observes the similarity to Scipio's tactics against elephants at Zama (Livy 30.33; Frontin. *Str.* 2.3.16). One might mention as well Scipio in Spain (Frontin. *Str.* 2.3.4; cf. 2.3.8).

Thus our men assailed those who were delivered to them with clubs 3
equipped with heavy iron knobs which wore out an invulnerable enemy with their beating, and when they were inflicted especially on their heads they forced those whom the blows had confused to tumble down. Then 4
they began to fall headlong, to slide down backward, to totter half-dead or dying to be held fast by their saddles, to lie entangled in the confused slaughter of horses, which in unbridled pain, when their vulnerable points had been discovered, cast their riders everywhere.

When all had been killed to a man[99] and your soldiers were untouched, 5
people transferred the horror inspired by their armor to wonder at the victory because those who were considered invulnerable had died without wounding anyone on your side. When Antoninus, an outstanding 6
Emperor in peacetime and not without energy and capacity in war, made trial of the Parthians in combat, after he had seen their men clad in mail he lapsed so completely into fear that on his own he sent the King a letter promoting peace.[100] And when the overly proud king had spurned it, the 7
barbarian's insolence was vanquished indeed, but it was made clear that there is so much potential power in that type of armor that he who was to be overcome felt confident and he who was to conquer was afraid.

Why should I relate, after so great and serious a battle, that at Brescia[101] 25
a band of cavalry, large enough and eager, but feeling safer in flight than in its own power, was repulsed at your first onslaught and sped as far as Verona for more assistance? Not that it was a disgrace, because those 2

98. This portion of the enemy line would advance beyond the rest if it proceeded forward unchecked, and Constantine's deliberate retreat would form a concave V on his side. If both Nazarius and the author of *Pan.* 12 preserve authentic details from the battle, one can combine them to get a fair impression of what occurred. See *Pan.* 12.6.3–4 with notes.

99. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.687–88: *Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum / Troianos.*

100. Fronto *Principia historiae* 4.45 relates the story. The emperor is not Marcus Aurelius but his brother, Lucius Verus.

101. Brixa. Nazarius omits the triumphant entry into Milan (*Pan.* 12.7.6–7). The author of *Pan.* 12 ignores this first encounter with the cavalry contingent; Nazarius turns the skirmish to such good account (25.4) that it was worth including: he imagines that the rotten apples (the men who fled from Brescia) spoilt the whole barrel (the forces gathered at Verona).

who yield to you are excused in the running away. On the contrary, that wretched cowardice may attain something to boast of, a flight which had dignity.

3 Verona itself, however, packed with enormous forces which dread of your coming had gathered into one place, became for a time (since it had already learnt that many had been destroyed) more cautious in its fear, but not more fortunate in its calculation: it defended itself from attack
4 by its walls.[102] Ruricius[103] was present, a man well versed in war and the mainstay of the tyrant's generals, and there was a great force of men along the entire circuit of the walls; but at Brescia most of them had already been subdued. As the body's condition as a whole is usually corrupted when some part is ailing, so the portion of that multitude infected with misfortune spread the contagion of fear to the whole army.

5 It has often been observed both at other times and especially in that
6 siege how easily weakness falls when untimely daring moves it. The besieged mount an attack, and those who defended themselves for a time by hiding from death paid the penalty for their rash sally when they were
7 given an opportunity for combat.[104] That same Ruricius was driven back within the walls with great slaughter of his men, his hope now exhausted and his mind still maddened. After he had hastened away from Verona he led new armies back there,[105] and when the day was already ending[106] he did not decline battle, as he was more eager for a fight than for safety. But the results, rather than his deserts, deceived him; for death subdued his fury, which neither calculation of caution nor fear of defeat could heal.

26 O that night to be consigned to the memorials of eternal ages! Although in the thickest darkness everything in the conflict was permitted to Fortune, nevertheless, Emperor, you were no more unguarded by the occasion than protected by god, you pursued the savage enemy

102. Nazarius does not mention the difficulty involved in fording the river: see *Pan.* 12.8.2–3 with notes.

103. At *Pan.* 12.8.1 (see note ad loc.) called Pompeianus, Maxentius' praetorian prefect.

104. Cf. *Pan.* 12.8.3: *omnes qui eruptionem temptaverunt cecidisti.*

105. Cf. *Pan.* 12.8.3 (Pompeianus' escape and return).

106. The orator of 313 does not specify the time of day but says that Constantine was anxious to join battle upon his adversary's return (*Pan.* 12.8.4). The "headlong day" finds a parallel in Cic. *De or.* 3.209 (*sol praecipitans*), Caes. *BCiv.* 3.25 (*hiems*), Virg. *Aen.* 2.8–9 (*nox . . . praecipitat*); similarly *praeceps*: Virg. *G.* 3.359 (*sol*), Livy 4.9 (*dies*), 10.42 (*sol*), Pacatus *Pan.* 2.35.3 (*praecipiti die*).

everywhere[107] and exulting in the freedom of slaughter you considered it a gift of night that no one observed you fighting.[108] Fearlessly you pass through hostile lines, you break through all the thickest ranks, you lay them low, you trample them down. Those whom you strike down unrecognized 2
lose the honor of their death,[109] unless your very force compels them to recognize you.

The shattered sounds of trumpets disturb you not at all, nor the horrible cry of soldiers, wounds coming at hazard, swords clashing in hand-to-hand combat, the heavy groans of the fallen, arms resounding far and wide and the mingling of different noises into a kind of unified din, either because your courage ignored all these things or your anger did not perceive them. The night itself, a most justifiable source of terror to the 3
combatants, made you more vigorous in creating carnage. The darkness had no mercy (the sole impediment to your valor), so one may understand how much your might accomplished in that battle when it was secured by your majesty and unimpeded by your piety. When the fighting had 4
scarcely been finished late into the night, worn out by slaughter, panting from the battle, besmeared with blood—but enemy blood—you hastened back to the watch of the siege.[110] O Fortune! O all-powerful Rome! What 5
thanks will you ever return for these extraordinary labors? Except that the most indulgent leader, as if he owed you this very thing, cherishes you the more because of the greater effort it took to preserve you.

And since some chance[111] has brought me to mention the City, al- **27**
though the order of events has not led me there, and it is not right to

107. Cf. Sall. *Iug.* 84.1: *Marius . . . nobilitati . . . multus atque ferox instare.* But note also *Iug.* 96.3; [*Sulla*] *in operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigilias multus adesse.* The word *multus* thus used adverbially need not mean *multum* but something like *ubique/in multis locis.*

108. Nazarius agrees with the orator of 313 that Constantine fought in person (*Pan.* 12.9.2–6 and 10.3), although he does not express the same concern or disapproval. He reserves such emotion for the battle of the Milvian Bridge (see 29.5).

109. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.829–30, 11.686–89, for the honor, or solace, of being killed by a great warrior.

110. Cf. *Pan.* 12.8.4; Nazarius does not emphasize the difficulty of Constantine's position, caught as he was between the enemy within and without the city.

111. Galletier, 2: 159, remarks upon Nazarius' excessive dependence on chance to form the structure of his oration: "coquetterie de l'auteur ou impuissance?"

call back the oration from the place where it has been happily heading[112] some time since, I pass over you, Aquileia, you, Mutina, and the other places[113] to which the damage of a siege itself was most welcome because
2 of the subsequent advantages of unbelievable blessings.[114] For when the rudders of their fortunes had been transferred to the most valiant leader they perceived how easily all things returned to a salutary course, when everything had been being driven in such a fashion that they were on the point either of colliding with the rocks of all evils or of sticking fast in the shallows of wretchedness.[115]

3 I repeat, I am passing over both these and many other things whose mass is burdensome if they are treated singly and whose combined
4 multitude is more burdensome still. Now to take up in a body things which you are unable to carry separately is to submit to unreasonable expectation rather than to ready self-confidence.

5 Therefore, when Italy had been recovered, this was the first step toward liberating the City and an easy ascent to victory, that the force of divinity drove him out from his habitual hiding places, he who always
6 clung fast to the bowels of the City which he would devour.[116] And this added so much to the ease with which you accomplished the task that your valor ought not to pride itself so much, most excellent Emperor, that

112. Cf. Cic. *Sest.* 13 (*ad tribunatum . . . contento studio cursuque veniamus*), also *Rep.* 2.4, 3.45, *Rosc. Am.* 46, *Verr.* 2.4.1, *Mur.* 33; Claud. 20 (*In Eutr.* 2) 169: in Cicero it is the speaker or speakers who will get somewhere; in Nazarius it is the oration itself.

113. The author of *Pan.* 12 says that Aquileia had sent legates to negotiate a surrender and that other places (presumably including Mutina) also gave in after a siege (*Pan.* 12.11.1). The besieging of Aquileia is not out of the question, especially in view of the language here (see note 74 to *Pan.* 12).

114. Nazarius rephrases the sentiment of *Pan.* 12.11.1 (*quos obsidendo servaveras*).

115. Nautical similes are very common, especially in Cicero. Here Nazarius has combined the idea of the ship of state (cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 51, *Sest.* 20; Livy 4.3.17, 24.8.13; Lactant. *Div. inst.* 1.1.14) with the metaphor of the dangerous passage, used of the course both of an oration and of other things (e.g., Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 79, *Rab. perd.* 25, *Cael.* 51).

116. Nazarius transforms Maxentius into as it were a medical condition; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.27: *eius negotii initium, ordinem, finem curatius disseram, quia tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere.*

you conquered him as your felicity ought to be congratulated that you were able to call him forth to battle.[117]

Let us not think that it happened by chance or in confidence,[118] that 28
he led out his army voluntarily against him when he had a horror of the very clamor of his arrival, unless a hostile god[119] and the ripeness of his demise had compelled him when his mind was already mad with fear. His very plan for arraying his forces[120] proved that he was in a desperate state of mind and confused in counsel, since he chose a location for the fight that would cut off escape and make dying a necessity, as he had no expectation of winning. And this was greatly to be desired by our 2
Emperor, who encounters his greatest misfortune in this one thing, that a ready hope of escape might leave a contest uncertain. Let the lines 3
break up, let the front falter on impact, and trust in the hands migrates to the feet.[121] You do not like wars, Emperor, unless you hold a raging enemy fast on his own ground with escape cut off, that he either fall by the sword or be saved by compassion.

He arrays his men near the Tiber, stationing them on its banks in such 4
a way that in a kind of foreboding of the coming disaster the fatal waves lapped the feet of the last ranks.[122] Such a multitude was at hand that the extended line reached farther than the eye could see, not that his front 5

117. There is much truth in this compliment. Maxentius' decision to offer battle appears to have been sudden (see *Pan.* 12.16.1–2 and notes); had he elected to stay within the city Constantine would have had a long wait.

118. Cf. Virg. *G.* 1.415–16: *haud equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis / ingenium aut rerum fato prudentia maior*; Suet. *Claud.* 13: *casu quodam ac divinitus neque aquila ornari neque signa convelli moverique potuerunt.*

119. Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.4.26: *infestumque mihi sit satis esse Iovem*; Prop. 3.18.7–8: *at nunc invisae magno cum crimine Baiae, / quis deus in vestra constitit hostis aqua?*; Juv. 13.231: *missus morbus infesto a numine.* From the beginning of recorded Greco-Roman thought men have believed that gods not only turn away and refuse the requests of those to whom they are not well disposed (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 6.301–12, 8.545–52), but that they actively punish men or bring about their destruction (*Il.* 1.43–52 and passim). Christianity has no monopoly on the "God will punish you" mentality.

120. Nazarius uses nearly the same phrase, though expanded, at 29.1, when he turns to the description of Constantine's battle arrangements. (Here: *ratio disponendi exercitus*; there: *disponendi militis tui mira incredibilisque ratio.*)

121. Pacatus reiterates the principle at *Pan.* 2.36.1: *at ubi impulsa acies fronsque laxata et fiducia in pedes versa est* (he switches the verb/participle with each noun). *Laxatis ordinibus* = getting out of order, as at Frontin. *Str.* 1.5.16.

122. See *Pan.* 12.16.3–4 and note 103.

was weak, lengthened by an enfeebling extension, but the reinforcement of auxiliaries and companies was so great that the line, as strong as it was long, occasioned a twofold wonder, that its thick ranks did not shorten it and its length did not thin it out.[123]

29 At this point, greatest Constantine, I shall pass over your marvelous and extraordinary plan for arraying your soldiers.[124] I would have liked to pursue this question: what position should I say your heavenly armies held?—although I do not think that they stood anywhere except with you.
2 You choose the most difficult part of the fight for yourself and, as if one's measure of strength ought to be in proportion to one's degree of fortune, so you wish to excel among your men not more by princely station than by effort.

3 It is the most complete service of a ruler, if he withdraws from the fighting, not to have withdrawn from the planning; but all at the same time, no slower to act than to command, you direct your armies with your instructions, help them with your labors, inflame them by
4 your example. And this you do even more readily here than in your other engagements, because now the reward of the combat was as ample as the combatant was illustrious and Rome so immediately the victor's.

5 When I imagine the thing I shudder as I am about to speak. You are the first to fall upon the enemy line, alone you break into it. Ineffectual casts of weapons cast a shadow over him[125] as he comes, his shield

123. Thus Maxentius had discovered in vast numbers a means of solving the difficulty that always plagued commanders, whether to sacrifice breadth or depth. Cf. *Pan.* 12.9.1, where Constantine must thin out his line to increase its length.

124. Nazarius mentions the heavenly armies only in this combat, the one with which they have always been associated. Their absence from the narrative of the campaign in northern Italy leads one to believe that Nazarius was either echoing or answering the Christian tale without trying to outdo it. Or perhaps he did not wish to become mired in invented details. His account of the battle of the Milvian Bridge is as empty of substance as it is full of descriptive elements. The orator of 313 does not do much better, but he is brief. Evidently the battle was too (30.2).

125. As in the famous address to an absent consul, Cicero's *Second Philippic*, Nazarius abruptly changes more than once between second and third person, now addressing the emperor, now the Senate.

untroubled by blows resounds.[126] These men, whom his beam of a spear[127] threw down, his horse leaps at and crushes underfoot.[128] The noble helmet glitters and with the gems' flashing light shows off the divine head.[129] The shield shines with gold, with gold the arms. Oh, how much power you have, valor, who in this attire display more fearsomeness than beauty! The brave soldiers followed this ardor, and in proof that they were worthy 6
of his leadership and command they labored as hard individually as if the outcome were held in the hand of each single one.

I shall not mention here the banks covered with an unbroken line **30**
of carnage, nor the Tiber filled with heaps of bodies, moving along with weakened effort among high-piled masses of cadavers, its waters barely forcing their way through,[130] that not a manly death but a shameful flight betrayed[131] the tyrant himself when the bloody billows slew him in a demise worthy of his cowardice and cruelty.[132] It suffices to touch upon 2
these things, because I related them at greater length just yesterday[133] and

126. Cf. Ennius 391–94 (401–4V): *undique conveniunt velut imber tela tribuno: / contigunt parmam, tinnit hastilibus umbo, / aerato sonitu galeae, sed nec pote quisquam / undique nitendo corpus discerpere ferro.*

127. *Trabalis*, so employed, is a poetic word. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.293–94 (Servius observes ad loc. that Ennius [607Sk, 601V] had written *teloque trabali* and apparently invented the metaphor of a beamlike spear); Stat. *Theb.* 4.5–7 (*prima manu rutilam de vertice Larisaeo / ostendit Bellona facem dextraque trabalem / hastam intorsit agens*).

128. Arntzen ad loc. believes that for this passage Nazarius had adapted a piece of poetry, for which he essays a reconstruction. He includes the reading *ferus* for *equus*, as at *Aen.* 2.51.

129. Cf. *Epit.* 41.14 on Constantine's dress: *Habitum regium gemmis et caput exornans perpetuo diademate.* On the topic of Constantine's vanity, see Eus. *Laus Constantini* 5.4–7 (with H. A. Drake's notes, *In Praise of Constantine* [Berkeley, 1976]), also Drake, p. 135 n. 47. To adorn one's helmet with jewels, however, and to wear golden armor is not only vainglorious but foolish, especially since gold is not only softer but much heavier than iron. Nazarius describes Constantine as he would appear in a parade.

130. Pacatus copies this phrase, with modifications (*Pan.* 2.34.4).

131. Virg. *Aen.* 10.592–93: *Lucage, nulla tuos currus fuga segnis equorum / prodidit aut vanae vertere ex hostibus umbrae.*

132. Cf. *Pan.* 12.17.2.

133. If one is to take *pridie* in its literal meaning, he must mean that he spoke at another performance, and evidently on the same topic, during the many

there is no ability[134] to narrate them according to their worth, and also
because a battle speedily finished should not seem to be longer in the
3 telling than in the execution.[135] Oh, if now were given me the power to
adorn a speech in proportion to the measure of the deeds! I would apply
all the flourishes and use every aspect of an exquisite grace and charm
of speech.

4 Now the shrill sounds of Mars, now the noises of trumpets change
to merry voices and resounding applause. The Emperor's entrance into
the City must be described, and in expressing the greatest rejoicing of
the Senate and people of Rome no oration is likely to please unless it is
5 exuberant itself. No day since the founding of the City has shone upon
the Roman Empire for which there either was or ought to have been a
thanksgiving so lavish and distinguished; no triumphs which the antiquity
of annals has immortalized in literature were so gay.

31 Leaders in chains were not driven before the chariot, but the nobility
marched along, freed at last. Barbarians were not cast into prison but
ex-consuls were led out of it.[136] Captive foreigners did not adorn that
2 entrance but Rome now free. She received nothing of an enemy's but
recovered her own self, she was not enriched by spoils but ceased to be
despoiled and—and there is nothing greater than this which can be added
to the magnitude of her glory—she who had endured slavery got back her
command.

3 It certainly seemed to everyone that the vices which had grievously
haunted the City were led in a subjugated procession: Crime was mastered, Treachery conquered, Daring without its self-confidence and Insolence enchained. Fettered Fury and bloody Cruelty gnashed their teeth

festivities associated with the Caesars' *quinquennalia*. Late Latin writers, however, may use the word to mean "before this time."

134. In a rhetorical context, especially combined with *facultas*, as it is just below, the word *copia* should indicate Ciceronian abundance, a notion never quite divorced from the idea of "ability to do something justice"; cf. *Verr.* 1.11: *quod est ingenium tantum, quae tanta facultas dicendi aut copia, quae istius vitam . . . aliqua ex parte possit defendere?*

135. Pacatus *Pan.* 2.34.2 uses this sentiment as well: *sermo iste prolixior est quam illa res fuerit.*

136. Nazarius states in vague terms that Maxentius had persecuted the Senate (cf. *Pan.* 12.4.4 with note 28). Prudent. *C. Symm.* 1.467–71 supports the hyperbolic tradition when he reminds Rome that one hundred senators were released from prison after Constantine liberated the city.

without the power to frighten; Pride and Arrogance were vanquished,
Luxury was kept restrained and Lust bound with iron bonds.

There followed this court of his the loathsome head of the tyrant 4
himself; and, if those who report the sight may be trusted, savagery was
still upon it and death itself had not conquered the menacing aspect of
his dreadful brow. Abusive words were hurled by the mob; for it delighted
them to inaugurate their freedom by mocking their oppressor, and with
wonderful pleasure the terror conceived of his life was crushed by insulting
his death.[137]

What triumph was more illustrious, what spectacle more beautiful, 32
what procession more fortunate? I shall say the one thing, Emperor, 2
which seems to me to express your divine glory adequately. As many
badges of praise glittered on you as the blots of disgraces which you had
rubbed out in him. For this reason the most indulgent leader wanted 3
no one to be cheated of having the sight of the tyrant's corpse purify
everything wherever hatred of him had penetrated.

Fleet Rumor and Victory winged[138] for speeding the message had 4
already spread the joy of the accomplishment everywhere; nevertheless
the enjoyment of the thing itself followed with a richer gladness, because
things which trickle in by way of the ears reach the mind more slowly than
those which are drunk in by the eyes.[139] And so such enormous assemblies 5
of men were elicited throughout Italy, such numbers poured forth from
the towns,[140] that proof of the bygone terror was readily apparent in the
present exultation.

With equal goodwill the head of the tyrant was sent to appease Africa, 6
that after his destruction he might give satisfaction to that place which
he had afflicted while he lived.[141] And although it was not yet the proper

137. Same detail in *Pan.* 12.18.3; a bit more graphic here, both in description of action and in psychological explanation.

138. At *Pan.* 6.8.5 the wings of Victory carry imperial majesty to Constantine.

139. The idea is found in Hor. *Ars p.* 180–82: *segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem, / quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae / ipse sibi tradit spectator*; also in Eumenius *Pan.* 9.20.2: *quo manifestius oculis discerentur quae difficilius percipiuntur auditu.*

140. Cf. Cic. *Pis.* 51: *effusiones hominum ex oppidis, . . . concursus ex agris patrum familias cum coniugibus ac liberis.*

141. In retribution for the rebellion of Domitius Alexander. See *Pan.* 12.16.1 and note 99.

season for navigation,[142] yet the sailors had favorable breezes and following
7 winds, and even the elements assisted the most blessed victory.[143] The
Tiber gave back the head on which the notice of such great glory was
8 carried about, the winds attended it, the seas preserved it. Powerful
Africa, how you rejoiced, with what great shouts of happiness, with what
unrestrained pleasure! In fact nothing is more intemperate than sudden
joy after a long sorrowing; it rages on its own impetus, and it is not cleansed
9 at once and immediately purified as soon as it is free. For as pipes which
have been stopped up for a long time spit out water as much more turbid
as abundant when an outlet has been given, so men's accumulated prayers
which had been cut off by fear brought forth some turbulence when they
burst out.[144]

33 These are the expressions of joy for your victories; no less rich were
2 the fruits of your other virtues. Your tireless might and exceptional
bravery extricated the City from the grievous ills in which she had been
entangled and smothered; but how much good your wisdom contrived,
3 your kindness and clemency conferred![145] It is difficult to decide which
of these was of greater service. For those beset by calamity the end of
their prayers is to be freed from misery, and soon the absence of misery
4 is not pleasurable enough unless delight attends it. Thus the Emperor's
bravery and generosity each discharged its own duties, and rendered the
City's happiness complete both by emptying her of misery and by heaping
5 benefits upon her. The path of injury is always easier and much more
downhill than the path of service; it is easier to wound what is whole than
to heal what is wounded, easier to dissipate possessions than to restore

142. As the battle of the Milvian Bridge took place on 28 October, the voyage to Africa was begun in November 312 at the earliest.

143. Once an orator had ascribed the cooperation of elements to the emperor's own power (*Pan.* 10.12.8); Nazarius will not do the same.

144. The "crass" water is found also in Ov. *Am.* 3.6.7–8; Luc. 6.363–64. Clearly there was disturbance in Africa, although Nazarius alone connects it with rejoicing following the overthrow of Maxentius. As soon as he became master of Africa, Constantine was embroiled in the Donatist controversy, and Nazarius probably subsumes all of those troubles into the one wellspring of pent-up emotion, especially since Constantine had suffered the embarrassment of persecuting the Donatists and only stopped a little later than the occasion of this speech (see Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 60).

145. Details commence at 33.7 and (with another interruption) 35.2.

what has been wrested away;[146] yet this condition of things has yielded
to our leader. For whatever harm deadly domination had inflicted during 6
six whole years, the solicitude of about two months[147] healed.

Healed do I say? The restoration of her original condition is enough
for soothing pain, not for inviting rejoicing too; and you would not require
more than that he not be displeased with himself who brought it about with
his customary ⟨care⟩[148] not only that she ceased to grieve by recovering
what she had lost but even that she was gladdened by new acquisitions.
I pass over the return of their estates to all the individuals whom that 7
monstrous plague[149] had driven away from their homes;[150] I pass over this,
I say, because my oration barely suffices for treatment of the things done
for the State; although, since the republic is a combination of individuals,
and whatever is bestowed upon it necessarily extends to all in proportion
and in turn, what all attain individually proceeds to the common good
of the republic.

Now I hardly dare relate the following of so great a ruler, that not **34**
one of the married women whose form was exceptional[151] regretted her
beauty, since under a most temperate leader a splendid appearance was
not an incitement to licentiousness but an adornment of modesty.[152] And 2
without a doubt this great or rather divine commendation has often, even
in the persons of philosophers, been not so much displayed in their actions
as examined in their discussions.[153] But let us relieve our leader of this, 3
who desires so much to engender moderation in all men that we think

146. Cf. Cic. *Orat.* 235: *facilius est enim apta dissolvere quam dissipata conectere;* and above, 6.3 with note 32.

147. Constantine remained at Rome, then, until early in the new year. *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.3 is dated 6 January, given at Rome; and Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 45.1 writes *Constantinus rebus in urbe compositis hieme proxima Mediolanum concessit.*

148. There is a lacuna in the text after "customary" (*solita*); "care" adequately translates any of the suggested readings (see Mynors' app. crit.).

149. Cf. Cic. *Dom.* 2: *illa labes ac flamma rei publicae* (of P. Clodius); Claud. 5 (*In Ruf.* 2) 498ff., where Minos calls the honorand, inter alia, *superum labes.*

150. Constantine recalled exiles and restored confiscated property. He did the same for the Christians, although Nazarius does not specifically say so (see Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 10.5.9–17).

151. Cf. Petron. *Sat.* 126.13: *mulierem omnibus simulacris emendatiorem.* There is no reason for the comparative here, only emphasis; the comparative of *emendatus* means *eximius*, or *vitiis carens*: see *TLL*, s.v., 466.42ff., 467.47ff. (cf. Cic. *N. D.* 1.80).

152. Cf. *Pan.* 12.7.5 (on Constantine) and 12.4.4 (Maxentius).

153. Cf. *Pan.* 6.16.3: *rara illa virtus continentiae*, etc.

it ought not to be ascribed to the glory of his own virtues but referred to the honor of Nature herself.

4 What shall I say of his easy access?[154] what of his most patient ears, what of his kindly replies, what of his very countenance, in dignity of august grace, with an admixture of cheerfulness, reflecting[155] something venerable and lovable, who could properly describe them? Men were bound so fast by the wonder of these things that everyone grieved not so much that they had borne that tyrant for so long as that they enjoyed such a ruler so late.

35 It would be tedious to enumerate our leader's benefactions since then, which shine out as they proceed into the world without limit in union with his liberality, so infinite in number and great in benefits that neither the multitude of them all nor the usefulness of individual ones will ever draw
2 oblivion over our thankfulness. You felt at last, Rome, that you were the
citadel of all nations[156] and of all lands the queen, when you were promised the best men out of every province for your curia, so that the dignity of the Senate be no more illustrious in name than in fact, since it was composed of the flower of the whole world.[157]

154. Pacatus *Pan.* 2.21.2 (*facilis adiri*) usurped the claim for Theodosius; it is a species of praise that is suited, and owes, more to the place of delivery than to anything else. Panegyrists continued to maintain a pretense of the prince's civility vis-à-vis the Roman Senate; cf. Cl. Mam. *Pan.* 3.24.5; Symmachus *Or.* 1.23, 4.5–6; Pacatus *Pan.* 2.47.3; Claud. 28 (*VI. cons. Hon.*) 587–96.

155. Cl. Mam. *Pan.* 3.14.6 says simply of Julian *serenum renidens.*

156. Cic. *Cat.* 4.11 said it first: *hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum et arcem omnium gentium.*

157. Julian later claimed that Constantine made barbarians consuls (see Amm. Marc. 21.10.8, 21.12.25). Eus. *VC* 4.1 says that Constantine blessed many with senatorial and consular dignity. Alföldi, *Conversion of Constantine,* 75, believes that one of Constantine's motives was to dilute the influence of the old guard by the infiltration of Christian senators, but if it was, his attempt failed. Alföldi also notes (p. 85) that the pagans had supported Constantine in 306 and 312, so that "Constantine found his hands tied both by his own earlier policy of toleration and by the loyalty of the officials." M. T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972) chap. 3, discusses various possible reasons for Constantine's reversal of Diocletian's policy toward the nobility, including the trade-off of high office against new tax and a new religion. D. M. Novak, "Constantine and the Senate," *AncSoc* 10 (1979) 271–72, argues against interpretation of events early in the fourth century with a view to what happened later. Jones (*Later Roman Empire,* 106, 326–27) discusses the

Even that force and venerable greatness of the Roman people, re- 3
stored to the likeness of its ancient self, does not exult in unrestrained license, does not lie feebly despondent, but has been so tempered by the constant admonitions of the divine ruler that since it is made pliant and soft to his will it shows itself obedient not to his fearsomeness but to his kindness.[158]

Vanquished nations have established quiet repose in the world and
profound peace for the City. There is leisure for more relaxed spirits 4
to employ the amusements of peace. All the most celebrated things in the City gleam with new work,[159] and not only are those which have been worn out through age distinguished with renewed splendor, but the very ones which were formerly considered the most magnificent betray the unseemly parsimony of the ancients now that they shine with golden light.

Lofty porticoes and columns glowing red with gold have given such 5
uncommon adornment to the Circus Maximus[160] itself that people gather there no less eagerly for the sake of the place than for the pleasure of the spectacle.

While partaking of such great blessings, which in fact are hers in **36**
common with the whole world, Rome also derives enjoyment from the enormous hopes which she has conceived of the most noble Caesars and their brothers,[161] whose very names we already revere, even if our prayers
are deferred in the meantime. The Lacedaemonians had no greater 2

phenomenon, especially the creation of more offices that required senatorial rank and necessitated the creation of more senators. Constantine thus increased the Senate's numbers and included more senators in his administration (see also Alföldi, *Conversion of Constantine,* 122–23). Cf. *Pan.* 12.20.1.

158. The habitual misbehavior of the Roman plebs is a topos: cf. Diocletian's disgust with the people's misbehavior: Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 17.2.

159. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.26: the Senate dedicated a temple (*fanum*) and basilica, which Maxentius had begun, as well as other buildings, in Constantine's name. Constantine enlarged the basilica, remains of which are still standing (E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* rev. ed. [London, 1968] 1: 180–81). He also built baths (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.27) that were adorned with various sculptures, including statues of the emperor and his son (Nash, 2: 442–47).

160. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.27 agrees: *Circus maximus excultus mirifice.*

161. One of these brothers was the future emperor Constantius II, born 7 August 317. Another may be Constans, who was born either in 320 (Eutr. 10.9 and Zonar. 13.6 report that he died, in 350, aged thirty) or in 323 (*Epit.* 41.23 says that he died aged twenty-seven). The authors of *PLRE* I incline to the latter date,

freedom to watch over their state in accordance with this institution, since
they would not have a king except from the offspring of Hercules:[162] Rome
wishes for your children, greatest Constantine, for your children and for
your grandchildren afterward, with you, that the greater your reputations,
the more men will entreat you.

3 The reason and passion for our prayers, behold, the deeds of Crispus
make plain, the oldest of the Caesars, in whom the rapidly growing valor
unimpeded by youth's delay has filled his boyhood years with triumphal
renown,[163] whose already plentiful praises so abound that they could seem
complete, if we did not consider that this was also how his father started
4 out.[164] And now this most noble Caesar enjoys the sight of his venerable
father, of his brothers and all of his own family, and offers himself to all
5 to be enjoyed.[165] The winter was still raw when with unbelievable speed
he traversed a route impassable with ice, immeasurable in distance and
treacherous with snow,[166] so that we understand that nothing troubles his
active nature, since he has acquired as industrious a disposition as he
demands of his men.

37 What rejoicing, greatest Constantine, inundated your gentle breast
when you were permitted to see your son after so long an interval, and to
2 see him victorious! He must have related wars brought to an end, and this
for your sake, not for display of himself: how he received the enemy, how
3 violently he met resistance, how he yielded to supplication. His brother
listened intently to these things, and glad hope and seductive joys titillated
his boyish spirit; when he admired his brother he applauded himself as

and Barnes, *New Empire*, 45, concurs. In that case, the other child mentioned here could not be Constans and must be another who died when he was young.

162. The two branches of the royal house at Sparta were thought to derive from Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus, a descendant of Heracles (Hdt. 6.52). Cf. *Pan.* 10.9.4.

163. See 3.5 above.

164. Same usage of the verb *incipio* in Claud. 1 (*Cons. Olyb. et Prob.*) 67–68 (*coepistis quo finis erat, primordia vestra / vix pauci meruere senes*) and Sid. 5 (*Majorian*) 319–20 (*res ordine currit; / hanc ambit famam quisquis sic incipit*: here the context is that of conquerors become emperors, viz. Trajan and Vespasian and those like them).

165. Crispus traveled in late winter to Serdica where Constantine (probably: see note 11 above) was on 1 March 321.

166. Cf. *Pan.* 11.9, the Dyarchs' winter journey over the Alps to Italy. Nazarius gives the feat a more human cast. While Crispus is said to endure rigorous exertion, Diocletian and Maximian were believed miraculously (i.e., divinely) to dispense with any need of it.

well because he recognized from his years how close he was to such great
glory.[167]

Now all of us ask you, greatest Constantine, when you have praised 4
him in person, when you send him back to the republic which demands
him, to the Gauls which miss him,[168] again and again to admonish him
at his return (for he cannot easily be persuaded), to be like you in spirit,
like you in counsel if ever the barbarians, despite having been crushed
by your arms, set something in motion; let him only restrain his right arm,
let him stay his hand, and let there be something, we beg, in which he
not want to imitate you for a second time.[169]

But you, Constantine Caesar, greatest increment of the public good, 5
with what prayers Roman felicity embraces you, which expects as much
of you as you promise by your name![170] And although your youth still
draws you back from imitation of your father's valor, yet Nature already
draws you to his piety: already skillful at letters in accelerated study, your
fortunate right hand already delights in fruitful signatures.[171] Your most 6
indulgent parent assigns you many things, and what he grants through
you he prefers to be referred to your favor.

What is happier than these times, when through the favor of great- 38
est Constantine, who has so quickly given us Caesars, we enjoy the
greatest advantages from them and their whole life remains? Noth-
ing is subtracted while a great deal is spent, with the result that al-
though the substance is present in abundance, expectation still con-
tinues undiminished.[172] Now that the five years have been felicitously 2
commenced, we are reminded by the blessings of the times and the ad-
vantage of the State how earnestly it becomes us to ask and to pray

167. Cf. 3.5 above.

168. An echo of pleas to earlier emperors, esp. *Pan.* 10.14.4–5.

169. This is an exhortation to Crispus not to engage in battle personally, to protect and spare himself; it is not a plea for him to spare the enemy.

170. It being the same as his father's.

171. Constantine II was about four and a half at the time, easily old enough to be able to write his name. Constantine would issue rescripts with his own name and that of his two Caesars, but there is no way of telling whether little Constantine actually signed official documents.

172. The notion that power (or whatever) can expand indefinitely may be found also at *Pan.* 7.7.5–6 in Maximian's honor.

that the ten years of the most noble Caesars be lengthened beyond our posterity.[173]

3 The barbarian lies prostrate at the side of Gaul or dispersed in the interior of his territory; the Persians themselves, a powerful nation and second on earth after Rome's greatness, have with no less fear than affection sought your friendship, greatest Constantine.[174] There is no
4 nation on earth so fierce that it does not fear or love you.[175] All is quiet without, prosperous within with abundance of grain and a wealth of crops.[176] Cities have been adorned in a wondrous manner and practically founded anew.[177] New laws have been established for regulating morals and quashing vices;[178] the cunning evasions of earlier times have been
5 cut short and have lost their snares for entrapping honesty.[179] Modesty is safe, marriage protected. Properties free from worry take pleasure in being sought, and there is no fear of having as much as possible, but

173. The orator of 313 had made a similar request for Constantine: see *Pan.* 12.26.1.

174. Cf. *Pan.* 11.16–17; 10.10.6. Pace T. D. Barnes, "Constantine and the Christians of Persia," *JRS* 75 (1985) 131, there was no reason for Constantine to have diplomatic relations with King Sapor (Shapur) II, whose realm abutted Licinius' territories (except, perhaps, that he might be named in documents as Licinius' colleague), and there is no evidence besides this passage that Constantine and the Persian king corresponded until after 324 (Eus. *VC* 4.8–13). In this catchall section Nazarius has inserted various elements commonly attributed to emperors. Encomiastic purpose may ignore political reality (cf. *Pan.* 2.22.5).

175. Cf. *Pan.* 9.20.2; Eus. *VC* 4.14; models for such a claim may be found at Virg. *Aen.* 6.794–800, Suet. *Aug.* 21.3.

176. Cf. *Pan.* 11.15; the topic of fertility. Nazarius now begins to use up whatever rhetorical commonplaces germane to the *basilikos logos* remain in his store of devices.

177. Cf. *Pan.* 9.18; the topic of rebuilding is not to be found in a general scheme of a panegyric but only when historical conditions allow.

178. Constantine was the author of much moral legislation and many of his laws reflect a Christian attitude, e.g., against penalizing celibacy (*Cod. Theod.* 8.16.1); against rape (*Cod. Theod.* 9.24.1), seduction (*Cod. Theod.* 9.8.1), or women having sexual relationships with slaves (*Cod. Theod.* 9.9.1); on divorce (*Cod. Theod.* 3.16.1); against magicians (*Cod. Theod.* 9.16.3); against gladiators (*Cod. Theod.* 15.12.1); on grants of food and other necessities to the poor (*Cod. Theod.* 11.27.1–2).

179. Cf. *Pan.* 12.20.4. Constantine was hostile to the activities of informers and legislated against them: *Cod. Theod.* 9.5.1, 10.10.2–3; *Epit.* 41.14 (*calumnias sedare legibus severissimis*). He was not alone; see Symmachus *Or.* 4.9.

in so large a profusion of blessings there is a great dread of not having any.[180]

Finally, the condition of life is such that we entertain prayers for maintaining happiness rather than desires for increasing it. There is but 6
one thing by which Rome could be made happier, a very great thing but yet the only one, that it see Constantine its preserver, that it see the blessed Caesars, that it obtain the means of enjoyment in proportion to the measure of its longing, that it receive you joyously and, when reasons of state have made you depart, that it send you away with a promise of your return.[181]

180. The point is that delation thrives under a bad ruler, and the richest were the most obvious targets for accusations of, for instance, *maiestas*, or for blackmail to keep the *delator* silent. See note 29 to *Pan.* 12.

181. Cf. *Pan.* 10.14.4–5. Constantine had revisited Rome in 315 from 21 July to 27 September but stayed in Sirmium or Serdica most of the time between 317, when he took over most of Licinius' European territory, until 324. He was in northern Italy in the summer and fall of 318 but did not travel south to Rome. His next, and last, visit to Rome was in late July to early August 326, at the end of his twentieth year of rule. Constantius, but probably not Constantine II, accompanied him on the visit of 326: see tables in Barnes, *New Empire*, chap. 5. Eventually, Constantine founded a new capital for himself in the East. See Alföldi, *Conversion of Constantine*, 92–104.

III

CLAUDIUS MAMERTINUS, SPEECH OF THANKS TO JULIAN

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

Claudius Mamertinus entered the (extant) historical record rather late in life, holding high public office under the emperor Julian. Of his earlier career, we know nothing, although one may be permitted to guess that he had attained some prominence, whatever he engaged in, or his long-standing wish to be made consul (17.1–4) would have sounded ludicrous.[1] Indeed, he implies (17.1–2) that he has performed various functions in the government, all, he avers, without any ambition but purely out of a sense of duty. Those that he lists, however, are offices to which Julian appointed him. His abilities as a rhetorician he would owe to his education, whether or not he professed rhetoric for a living.[2]

What we know of his activities before the date of the oration we know from his own words or from Ammianus, who first mentions him in connection with the events of 361. Julian made him *comes sacrarum largitionum* in that year (1.4 and 22.2; Amm. Marc. 21.8.1) and subsequently praetorian prefect (*per Illyricum*) (1.5, 15.5, 22.2; Amm. Marc. 21.12.25).

1. Cf. R. Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes* (Paris, 1906) 115: "Ces paroles se comprendraient moins bien dans la bouche d'un parvenu que dans celle d'un homme d'origine plus relevée."

2. Cf. Galletier, 3: 4.

While still at Naissus, Julian named Mamertinus *consul prior* for 362, with the military man Flavius Nevitta for his colleague (2.1, 15.2ff., 22.2–4; Amm. Marc. 21.10.8 and 12.25). Mamertinus was a senator (3.3), which he would have been by virtue of his office; it cannot be discovered whether he had attained this standing earlier.[3]

He may have been a native of Gaul or resident there for a long time, as his concern for the area attests (1.4, 3.1, 4.1–3). At any rate he seems to have been a Westerner, as he addressed the Senate at Constantinople in Latin, despite his ruler's preference for Greek and the example of, for instance, Themistius.[4] He supported Julian's usurpation and accompanied him on his march eastward in 361 (6.3). Finally, after Constantius' death, Julian extended Mamertinus' prefecture to include Italy and Africa and made him one of the members of the commission established to put on trial at Chalcedon some of the officers and functionaries of Constantius II.[5] Mamertinus continued in his prefecture under the emperors Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens; his service under the latter two included the duty of restoring to the imperial fisc lands given by Julian to temples (see *Cod. Theod.* 5.13.3).[6] He was removed from office in 365 after having been accused of peculation (Amm. Marc. 27.7.1).

Mamertinus describes himself as a man of a certain age:[7] middle-aged at least, and probably older, a man whose birth would have occurred early in the fourth century, and who might not remember having lived under any legitimate emperors save the family of Constantius I. What Mamertinus did during Magnentius' usurpation (350–353), if he was in

3. It is likely that he had not. Governorships and prefectures were one thing, but A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford, 1964) 134–35, says that during the period 337–363 members of the Western aristocracy [if that is what Mamertinus was] were reluctant to serve in any of the palatine ministries: "The holders of these offices were all, so far as is known, new men." So M. T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy of the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972) 92; J. F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364–425* (Oxford, 1975) 16–17. Mamertinus' insistence on duty, however, as opposed to ambition, was a normal pose of the senators, who sent letters of condolence to mark their friends' acceptance of an office (Matthews, pp. 9–11).

4. We do not know whether Nevitta was also expected to deliver an address. Mamertinus indicates (28.2ff.) that he was present.

5. See note 185.

6. For other laws addressed to him, and his other services, see *PLRE* I, Claudius Mamertinus 2.

7. See 17.2 (*ad hanc usque canitiem*), 18.1 (*non brevis aevi*), 18.5 (*meliore aevi parte transacta*).

Gaul, is likely to be what almost everyone else did: if he were in a position to have mattered to anyone of consequence, he would have acquiesced and saved himself afterward. When for rhetorical reasons he speaks of usurpers he uses recent names, but not Magnentius', and his silence may denote embarrassment, sympathy, or tact.[8] Religious sympathy is another question asked of fourth-century people, and Mamertinus' beliefs cannot really be extrapolated from his statements about the deity.[9] His audience, the Senate at Constantinople, probably contained many Christians, but Mamertinus' defense of philosophy would indicate that he was not one of them. As E. Galletier (3: 5) observed, it is safe to assume that Julian would not have conferred both confidence and multiple office on "un adepte du Christ."

Some speculate that Claudius Mamertinus is offspring or descendant of the Mamertinus to whom *Panegyrics* 10 and 11 are often attributed.[10] The name Mamertinus, given as the author of *Panegyric* 10 in manuscript H, can easily have been copied from another part of the manuscript by a scribe despairing of the impossible †memet†;[11] it should not be taken to indicate anything about Claudius Mamertinus' ancestry. The name recalls those who occasioned the First Punic War, or others who have taken their name from the god Mars: a suggestion that the orator's family is (or once was) military is no more farfetched,[12] if no more correct, than the suspicion of a Sicilian connection.[13]

Mamertinus has studied his predecessors, as many of his predecessors (and, subsequently, Pacatus) have done theirs.[14] He includes various references to things Greek: history (14.6), mythology (8.2, 23.1), and the traditional plaint that Greeks can praise people and events far more than they are worth (8.1). He uses Latin motifs as well, including a disquisition

8. See 13.3 with notes 85 and 86; also see note 38.

9. See 3.2 with note 21, and 28.5.

10. Thus O. Schäfer, "Die beiden Panegyrici des Mamertinus und die Geschichte des Kaisers Maximianus Herculius" (Diss., Strassburg, 1914) 6; Galletier, 3: 3; G. Barabino, *Il panegirico dell' imperatore Giuliano* (Genova, 1965) 17–18; *PLRE* I, Mamertinus 1.

11. Cf. Gensel, "Claudius 212," *RE* 3 (1899) 2731.10–17. For the attribution of the name Mamertinus to a third-century rhetorician, see the Introduction to *Pan.* 10.

12. Barabino, *Il panegirico dell' imperatore Giuliano*, 18.

13. Cf. the name of his late fourth-century fellow orator Latinius Pacatus Drepanius.

14. Barabino, *Il panegirico dell' imperatore Giuliano*, 18–20, compares various phrases in Mamertinus' panegyric with those of *Panegyrics* 10 and 11, to find a connection between a putative earlier Mamertinus and this one.

on the uselessness of popular elections (16 and 19.1–2),[15] and an appeal to the first consul, Brutus (30.3–4).[16] This last owes something to Mamertinus' avowal of Julian's republican sympathies (28–30), a theme perhaps more fitting for Rome's than for Constantinople's Senate; nevertheless, this particular type of praise well suits the emperor's personal prejudices. There are scattered allusions to Cicero, encompassing at least ten different works;[17] the last two sections alone contain five separate echoes of four orations, a tour de force of Ciceronian language. For good measure, the panegyric ends with the tag *esse videantur.* One must not rule out the possibility that Mamertinus possessed a keen sense of humor.[18]

OCCASION AND DATE

The oration is a *gratiarum actio* for the consulship of 362 and was delivered on the first day of that year before the Senate at Constantinople (2.3–5, 29.4). Mamertinus' job was to thank Julian for his consulship, to praise his emperor, and to justify him to the immediate audience, as well as to the world at large, for his recent actions.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Mamertinus reveals little about Julian's tenure as Caesar, and later Augustus, in Gaul (355–361). He says that the provinces had been worn out by both barbarian incursions and governmental exactions (1.4), an accurate depiction of the situation in the middle of the fourth century, but a strange statement to make about the moment of his appointment as *comes sacrarum largitionum*, after Julian had had more than five years to restore the borders and work fiscal reform. It would be excessively generous to assume that Mamertinus' observation is based on a serious assessment of the amount of time that true economic recovery would take. He is guilty of

15. See note 106; both Ausonius and Symmachus imitated the passage(s).

16. See the chart in C. E. V. Nixon, "The Use of the Past by the Gallic Panegyrists," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke et al. (Potts Point, NSW, 1990) 32–33, for a complete listing of exempla.

17. See 1.1 (*Rosc. Am.*), 3.2 (*Off.*), 9.3 (*De or.*), 10.1 (*Rep.*), 11.2 (*Mil.*), 16.2 (*De or.*), 20.4 (*Phil.* 9), 24.4 (*Phil.* 2), 24.5 (*Amic.* 15), 31.1 bis (*Marc.*), 31.3 (*Red. Sen.*), 32.1 (*Red. Quir.*), 32.3 (*Verr.* 2.5), with notes.

18. Cf. B. Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Historia* 35 (1986) 90–91. For other features of Mamertinus' style, see Galletier, 3: 10–13.

contradicting himself because he wants to attain two things for one price:[19] to make his task seem the more formidable and to score some points against Constantius, who, he implies here and elsewhere,[20] neglected Gaul as well as Italy and the Balkan provinces. When Mamertinus declares that Julian freed his provinces from fear of foreign invasion he reduces the Caesar's military campaigns and fort-rebuilding activities to one battle, clearly (although the orator does not say so) the victory over the Alamanni at Strasburg in 357.[21] R. C. Blockley[22] would explain the absence of military material not only because of the genre[23] but by the panegyrist's caution: the Eastern army was likely to be jealous of those legions that had been more successful at foreign warfare, and emphasis on the military might turn people's minds to the trials at Chalcedon, the primary function of which was to allow army men to punish various civil officials.[24] But the connection between rehearsal of successful military campaigns and the trials at Chalcedon seems tenuous.[25] Julian's attempts at administrative reform receive more extensive treatment, although with a notable absence of specific details (4.3ff.). The section introduces, not for the first time, nor yet the last, the theme of Constantius the suspicious co-ruler.

The primary historical value of the panegyric lies in its treatment of Julian's usurpation. Mamertinus eventually reveals that there had existed a state of civil war, although he says that Julian had taken part only in self-defense.[26] He says nothing of the proclamation at Paris, which Julian himself (*Ep. ad Ath.* 283–84) and Ammianus (20.4.9–18) represent as entirely the soldiers' doing.[27] While Mamertinus tries to disguise the march eastward in 361 as an extension of a punitive expedition against barbarians (the latter having been nefariously incited to invade

19. Not to mention contradicting Ammianus, e.g., 17.3.1–6, 18.1.1–2.

20. E.g., 4.1–3, 9.1–4, 14.1–2 and 5.

21. See 3.1 and 4.3 with notes. The attribution of an easy victory is "good panegyric": R. C. Blockley, "The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus on the Emperor Julian," *AJP* 93 (1972) 448.

22. Blockley, "The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus," 448–49.

23. We have few examples of a *gratiarum actio*, but neither Pliny's *Panegyricus* nor the panegyric of 311 gives much information about military campaigns. Domestic virtues are at a premium in these orations.

24. Blockley, "The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus," 449–50, argues for this interpretation of the events at Chalcedon.

25. Cf. note 185.

26. See 27.4 with note.

27. See note 39.

the Western provinces),[28] he admits that the initiative was Julian's. After Julian made his sudden appearance in the bosom of Illyricum (6.2), he thought (a decision of the moment, it is made to seem) of sailing the Danube, the purpose being to make a tour of the provinces to assure himself of their well-being (i.e., loyalty), and to frighten the barbarians on the opposite shore (7.1). Mamertinus' depiction of the Danube voyage has a great deal in common with the mythological narratives that he affects to despise; there is little factual information, although there appears to be: he says that Julian relieved Dalmatia and Epirus of an excessive burden of taxation and restored to vigorous civic existence Nicopolis, Athens, Eleusis, and all the cities of Macedonia, Illyricum, and the Peloponnesus.[29]

Constantius' death, of an illness, made an actual battle (or series of them) unnecessary, and, for the lack of any other heir, his courtiers accepted Julian as his successor. Constantius, the emperor whom, had he not died, Julian would have tried to depose, receives his share of obloquy, suitably disguised as criticism of his advisers, or gathered beneath the title of the way things were under earlier emperors. One cannot always tell whether or not Mamertinus wants to reproach Constantius specifically. Certain topics belong in the "round up the usual faults" category, while others appear directly pertinent to Constantius. Mamertinus declares that Julian's martial endeavors occasioned jealousy rather than esteem, and that Constantius' courtiers, endangered by Julian's civil reforms, were quick to use the device of accusation by means of excessive praise.[30] The orator also criticizes other rulers' fondness for luxurious living, a handbook complaint,[31] the specifics of which do not fit Constantius' actual habits (cf. Amm. Marc. 21.16.5–6). In any event, the panegyrist seems a harsher critic than his emperor.[32] The criticisms of 19.3–20.4 are more to the point, that seekers of office under predecessors (*paulo ante*) had to make themselves acceptable to all the worst of the courtiers, to women, to eunuchs. Again, other emperors were known to be suspicious of excellence, untrustworthy,

28. He never actually says that Constantius was responsible, but it must have been known that Julian had made this accusation. See 6.1–2 with notes. Treachery of this sort became a standard later Roman accusation (e.g., Claud. 5 [*In Ruf.* 2] 17ff.: see A. Cameron, *Claudian* [Oxford, 1970] 73–74).

29. See 8.3–9.4, with notes.

30. 3.1–3, 4.3–5.2.

31. 11.1–13.3.

32. Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, 119–20; cf. Blockley, "The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus," 438–40.

and cruel.[33] Finally, Mamertinus returns to specific charges: Julian had been endangered in Gaul by his mortal enemies' open warfare and secret machinations (27.1); although Constantius had sought to destroy him, Julian forgave him and granted him a proper imperial funeral (27.5). Mamertinus' depiction of life under Constantius is similar to Ammianus' and others'; one may accept that there was both truth and exaggeration, and that Julian's official version was not at odds with what Mamertinus said in his oration.[34]

Positive propaganda for the new regime may be found in abundance. Mamertinus' remark that Julian has restored philosophy to its proper position in the state counts not only as a commonplace element of the *laus principis* but as an oblique announcement of a pagan program.[35] A new age has commenced, a standard claim.[36] By contrast with previous regimes, the orator proclaims a prince beloved by every section of society, indeed, by the entire human race: Senate, people, and army (24.1–7), advisers and friends (25.1–26.5). In a long discursus, Mamertinus describes a new imperial ethos: while the ruler's demands of himself are unremitting, his indulgent treatment of his subjects is a model of kindly concern (10.2–13.3). Much of what Mamertinus says has been said before to other emperors by other panegyrists; it happens that outside evidence corroborates some of this panegyrist's praises, although the two most readily accessible contemporary sources, the orator Libanius and the historian Ammianus, cannot be called unbiased or even independent.[37] It is clear that, whatever his faults, Julian's notions of his ideals and aims had made a favorable impression upon a number of people. Mamertinus' oration, delivered before the emperor in person, contains no more excessive praise than the Greek rhetorician's funeral oration or the laudatory history written after Julian's death.

33. 25.1–2, 26.1–5.

34. Cf. Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, 117: "une espèce de manifeste où se traduisent les sentiments de l'entourage impérial, ceux de l'Empereur lui-même peut-être."

35. See 23.4–5 with notes 142 and 143; Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation," 91.

36. 10.1–3, 21.1–5; cf. *Pan.* 10.11.3, 11.15.3–4, 9.18.5, 6.21ff.; Symmachus *Or.* 3.9; Claud. 3 (*In Ruf.* 1) 51–54, 380–87; Sid. 2 (*Anthemius*) 102–14, and 7 (*Avitus*) 600–602.

37. See H. Gärtner, "Einige Überlegungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Panegyrik und zu Ammians Charakteristik des Kaisers Julian," *AbhMainz, Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl.* 10 (1968) 499–529, on mutual influences of panegyric and history, especially in Ammianus' portrait of Julian.

III. CLAUDIUS MAMERTINUS, SPEECH OF THANKS TO JULIAN

Although I know that you, Emperor, and all who share in your counsel 1
may be surprised[1] that now at last I have begun to give thanks, as if your kindnesses to me had commenced with the consulship,[2] yet I confess that knowing full well how embarrassed I am by my intellect I would have preferred even now to keep silent[3] and although it is bursting to escape to keep as a happy secret known only to me the joy attached to this
service. But the kindnesses showered and heaped upon one man have 2
overcome my misgivings—or common sense—and have reduced them to wavering between one or the other unavoidable result: since I must endure the reputation of lacking either eloquence or gratitude, I preferred to have my eloquence found wanting rather than my sense of duty toward
you.[4] Of course, in the case of those offices with which you honored 3
me previously there seemed to be less reason to give thanks. For when 4
you wanted me to administer the public treasury,[5] when, in search of a man whose spirit was strong enough to resist gain,[6] free enough to withstand displeasure, firm enough to disregard ill will, you chose me, as I seemed to you to be that sort of person, and this at a time when the provinces, exhausted partly by barbarian plundering,[7] partly by the no

1. Cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 1 (*credo ego vos, iudices, mirari*, etc.); Eumenius *Pan.* 9.1.1.

2. The speaker, Claudius Mamertinus, was *consul prior* in 362. See the Introduction, p. 387.

3. Cf. *Pan.* 12.1.3, on which this passage is modeled, for this commonplace apologetic element.

4. Cf. Cic. *Orat.* 2: *malo enim, cum studio tuo sim obsecutus, desiderari a te prudentiam meam quam, si id non fecerim, benevolentiam;* Auson. *Grat. act.* 9.41: *aut ingrati crimine arguendus aut temerarii professione culpandus: tamen, alterum cum subeundum sit, audaciam quam malevolentiam malo reprehendi.*

5. Julian named Mamertinus *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 361 as one of several appointments that he made just before he left Gaul for the Danube (Amm. Marc. 21.8.1). At the same time, Flavius Nevitta, Mamertinus' colleague in the consulship, became *magister equitum* (Amm. Marc. 21.8.3; called *magister armorum* at 21.8.1).

6. One must report that Mamertinus lost his office of PPO in 365 after having been accused of peculation: Amm. Marc. 27.7.1–2.

7. In the fourth century, Gaul had been prey to foreign invasions since Magnentius' assassination of Constans in 350. See 4.1 and note. I observe,

less pernicious than shameful robberies of the governors,[8] were taking it upon themselves to implore the Emperor's aid, and the soldiers, often trifled with in times past, were demanding the pay owed them, the onus seemed in every way to compensate for the office.[9] But when you made me praetorian prefect and placed in my charge and trust provinces which had deserved exceedingly well of you,[10] the favor of your decision was indeed great, but in so doing you seemed to have served not only me

however, that in 361, the time of Mamertinus' appointment, Gaul should have been both pacified from without and reformed from within, as Mamertinus himself states (4.3ff.), and should not have been described as he does here. This is an apologetic element for Julian's "invasion" of other provinces.

8. On *praesides* cf. 4.2 and note. In a similar vein, R. MacMullen, "Tax-Pressure in the Roman Empire," *Latomus* 46 (1987) 752, observes: "It becomes almost a cliché to declare them [tax-collectors] more to be feared than the barbarians," citing Themistius *Or.* 8.173 Schenkl; Oros. 7.41.7; Salv. *Gub. Dei* 5.5.21f.; Zosimus 4.32.3. For one who actually did desert to the barbarian, see Amm. Marc. 18.8.5–6.

9. Note the word play in *videbar honorem onere pensare.* Mamertinus' problems were probably not so vexing as they would have been when Julian first arrived in Gaul as Caesar. Ammianus says both that Constantius allowed him no money for the troops (17.9.6) and that Julian persuaded Florentius, his PPO, neither to increase nor to extort the taxes due (17.3.1–6; cf. 18.1.1–2: sufficient income was nevertheless forthcoming). Cf. Themistius *Or.* 8.118C–D for similar sentiments (on the occasion of Valens' *quinquennalia*).

Julian is said to have lowered the *caput* from 25 to 7 aurei during his tenure in Gaul (Amm. Marc. 16.5.14). Three decades after the date of this oration, Ambrose (*De ob. Val.* 21) recalled that the provincials praised Julian for this, but he avers that Julian had encountered a more profitable situation to begin with, and done less for his subjects (*ille [Julian] plurima repperit et exhausit omnia, iste [Valentinian] nihil invenit et omnibus abundavit*). For a careful discussion of Ammianus' reports of Julian's administrative successes in Gaul, see E. Pack, *Städte und Steuern in der Politik Julians*, Coll. Latomus 194 (Brussels, 1986) 62–98.

Perhaps here Mamertinus hints that he had trouble finding the gold and silver for the donative that Julian promised his men in 361 (Amm. Marc. 20.4.18).

10. Amm. Marc. 21.12.25: *Mamertinum promotum praefectum praetorio per Illyricum designavit consulem.* As PPO, Mamertinus presided over the trial of those accused of having taken control of Aquileia after they declared for Constantius in 361 (Amm. Marc. 21.12.20; cf. 21.11.1–3). The provinces deserved well of Julian because they supported his side when he was declared Augustus. Cf. Libanius *Or.* 18.113–14.

whom you had provided with so much power but also to some extent your own interests.

On the other hand, in deciding upon the consulship you considered **2**
only my dignity, your own advantage aside.[11] In administrative positions 2
labor accompanies honor, in the consulship one assumes honor without labor; if you were to rejoice in the former you would appear to be greedily ambitious, if you were not to rejoice openly and publicly in the latter you would be ungrateful. Add to this the fact that this city herself and 3
this most august sanctuary of public counsel[12] demand the performance of this oration. This city, newly named but of ancient nobility, is your birthplace,[13] here you were first brought forth, here you arose like a kind of star beneficial to the human race.[14] These fellow citizens and countrymen 4
of yours do not permit me to be silent, and on this most auspicious day they do not suffer any other to usurp the privilege of speaking before

11. It is possible to argue anything. Pacatus (*Pan.* 2.16.3) says: *Nec nunc de his honoribus loquor quos in quemcumque conferre imperatori necesse est. Consul creator: habiturus est nomen annus* (Pacatus has evidently had a look at what Mamertinus himself says at 32.3: *ut honores in me tui non, quia necesse fuerit, ad quemcumque delati . . .*).

12. The Senate at Constantinople. Cf. Cic. *Dom.* 131, *Mil.* 90: *consilii publici templum.*

13. The city was over a thousand years old. The Megarians founded Byzantium in the seventh century B.C.E., seventeen years after the foundation of Chalcedon (according to Hdt. 4.144, who cites Megabazus' famous remark on the blindness of the people of Chalcedon). Constantine renamed it for himself in 330. Julian was born in Constantinople (Julian *Epistula ad Alex.* [*ELF* 59] 443B; Amm. Marc. 22.9.2, 25.3.23) in 331 or 332 (he died in 363, aged thirty-one: Amm. Marc. 25.3.23). Cf. Himerius' fulsome praise of the city at *Or.* 7.4, for example.

14. Cf. *sidereis ignibus* (3.6.4). Amm. Marc. 21.10.2 says that Julian hopes that other cities besides Sirmium will receive him *ut sidus salutare*; this is the reaction, at first, of the people of Antioch (22.9.14: *in speciem alicuius numinis votis excipitur publicis, miratus voces multitudinis magnae, salutare sidus illuxisse eois partibus acclamantis*). See S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), 47–50. Himerius says rather that Constantinople raised up a torch (Julian) of human freedom: *Or.* 7.4: ὦ τὸν ἐλεύθερον πυρσὸν ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ἀνάψασα!

This is one instance where Ammianus appears to have used Mamertinus as a source; he must have read the panegyric: cf. Galletier, 3: 9 with nn. 4 and 5; Blockley, "The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus," 446–47; J. Szidat, *Historischer Kommentar zu Ammianus Marcellinus, Buch XX–XXI*, Historia Einzelschrift 31 (Stuttgart, 1977) 36–37.

you and about you, than he who is possessed of the most distinguished
5 magistracy.[15] They think that the name of consul adds something to the
splendor of your praises, and they think rightly; the dignity of the praise
6 is enhanced by the praiser's rank. And although, greatest of Emperors,
I ought to give you thanks both in accordance with and on behalf of
public opinion, yet I shall pass over most of those things which you have
accomplished at home and abroad for the highest interests of the State,[16]
so my oration may that much more quickly reach its proper sphere.[17]
3 Or should I now proceed to relate that the Gauls were recovered by
your valor, that all barbary was subdued,[18] as if these things were new and
unheard of? They have been celebrated in this part of the Roman Empire
with the most glorious praise and renown, so much so that they merited
the envy of your imperial brother.[19] What else, if not the splendor of
2 your glory, alienated your imperial partner's affections?[20] I call to witness

15. One does not know whether the other consul, Nevitta, had to orate, but it seems unlikely, unless he employed the services of a speech writer. Mamertinus was *consul prior* and consequently the higher ranking of the two.

16. Cf. Pacatus *Pan.* 2.47.2, who borrows and expands the phrase.

17. Cf. *Pan.* 11.5.2–5 for a similar preterition, lengthy but (unlike this one) genuine. Claudius Mamertinus pads his brief rehearsal of Julian's exploits with an apology for his independent behavior, and usurpation.

18. Cf. Amm. Marc. 25.4.25; Eutr. 10.14.2. On the topic of Julian's military campaigns Mamertinus supplies fewer details than an epitomator. See 4.3.

19. An official designation of the relationship between the cousins. Cf. Julian's letter to Hermogenes (*ELF* 33) 389D: τὸν ἀδελφόν . . . Κωνστάντιον.

20. He expands this theme, which one may accept as the official apologetic line, at 4.5–5.1 below. Ammianus tells it somewhat differently: at 16.12.67–68 and 17.11.1 he says that Constantius' friends belittled his Caesar's exploits. Note accusations of Julian by Barbatio, his *magister peditum* (Amm. Marc. 16.11.7), Gaudentius (Amm. Marc. 18.9.7), an *agens in rebus* who had kept an eye on Julian in Gaul and in 361 took Africa for Constantius (Amm. Marc. 21.7.2–5), and the ill will of Gomoarius, whom Julian had replaced as *magister equitum* by Nevitta (Amm. Marc. 21.13.16, 21.8.1). At 20.4.1 Ammianus makes Constantius' jealousy appear to be prompted from within himself, although at 20.4.2 the historian says that Florentius encouraged the emperor to ask Julian to send his best troops to him, an action that precipitated both a rebellion among the Western soldiers and their demand that Julian become Augustus. In a letter to Hermogenes (*ELF* 33) 389D (τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν θηρία) and in *Ep. ad Ath.* 282B–D Julian blames Constantius' courtiers for exacerbating his already harsh nature and feelings of jealousy. Libanius *Or.* 12.57–58 and 18.90 says envy possessed

immortal god,[21] I call to witness in place of a deity my own conscience,
sacred to me,[22] that I would have spoken firmly and at length in this city
above all about the harsh and faithless designs set in motion against the
best of Emperors, if even now divine Constantius frequented the company
of men.[23] Assuredly I would never have failed in the duty of a free citizen 3
and of a good senator and not demonstrated and proven incontestably

Constantius. Zosimus 3.8.3 also ignores other authors of the emperor's feelings, while he makes the senior emperor seem unreasonable by reporting that the East was at peace when Constantius said that he needed soldiers and told Julian to send him some.

G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978) 34–40, argues against the view, founded in Julian's own propaganda in 361, that Constantius had sent him to Gaul with no real authority; he argues that at least until the battle of Argentoratum (note 27 below) Constantius unstintingly supported his Caesar. After this victory, Julian found it more difficult to play the role of a subordinate. See also A. Selem, "A proposito del comando militare di Giuliano in Gallia secondo Ammiano," *RCCM* 13 (1971) 193–200; R. C. Blockley, "Constantius Gallus and Julian as Caesars of Constantius II," *Latomus* 31 (1972) 447–48; P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism: An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford, 1981) 62–70. T. G. Elliott, *Ammianus Marcellinus and Fourth Century History* (Sarasota and Toronto, 1983) 75–87, argues that Julian *was* a subordinate, whom Constantius II had supported well, and for whose satisfaction he had frequently changed officers. See now J. F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (Baltimore, 1989) 87–93, for a careful examination of the evidence in Ammianus for Julian's civil and military activities as Caesar, e.g., on 17.3.6: "We have to admire the patience of Constantius in striving to reconcile Julian and his praetorian prefect" (p. 90). It is well to remember that Constantius is entitled to reasonable consideration (cf. Matthews, p. 100).

21. Note the nameless, singular deity. Mamertinus is clearly pagan in sympathy, but most of his listeners are not: see Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation," 91.

22. H. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede des Konsuls Claudius Mamertinus vor dem Kaiser Julian: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Basel, 1942) ad loc., adduces Cic. *Off.* 3.44: *cum vero iurato sententia dicenda erit, meminerit deum se adhibere testem, id est, ut ego arbitror, mentem suam qua nihil homini dedit deus ipse divinius.*

23. Constantius died at Mopsucrenae in Cilicia, while traveling westward to encounter Julian (Amm. Marc. 21.15.2–3). Ammianus' date is 5 October 361; other sources make it a month later, 3 November: *Cons. Const.* s.a. 361 (*Chron. min.* 1.240); Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 2.47.4, 3.1.1; Jerome *Chron.* s.a. 337. See further at note 99. Constantius is called divine because Julian had him so honored after his death (cf. 27.5 with notes). Under the Christian emperors there continued

that the things which caused him to hate you were the very things which ought to have kindled his admiration and provided surety for your good faith.

4 The barbarians were occupying the most ancient and once most prosperous cities; the famous nobility of Gaul had either fallen by the
2 sword or had been bound and enslaved to harsh masters.[24] Other cities besides, which physical distance had kept apart from barbarian devastation, were in the hands of wicked robbers who called themselves governors.[25] The bodies of freeborn men were given up to shameful tortures; no one was free from injury, no one untouched by abuse, unless he appeased the plunderer's cruelty for a price, so that by this time men longed for the barbarians, and wretched people preferred the captives'
3 lot.[26] After our Emperor had found the Gauls in this condition, he had the least trouble and danger against the enemy: in one engagement

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at first the tradition of honoring with the title *divus* a deceased ruler who was either well regarded or related to his successor.

24. See Eutr. 10.14.1: *cum multa oppida barbari expugnassent, alia obsiderent, ubique foeda vastitas esset Romanumque imperium non dubia iam calamitate nutaret;* Amm. Marc. 15.8.1, 15.8.6–7, 15.8.19 (destruction of Cologne), 16.2.12: *Argentoratum, Brotomagum, Tabernas, Salisonem, Nemetas et Vangionas et Moguntiacum civitates barbaros possidentes*; Julian *Ep. ad Ath.* 279A–B; Libanius *Or.* 12.44 and 48. At *Or.* 18.33–35 Libanius blames the barbarian ascendancy in Gaul on Constantius' policy during the usurpation of Magnentius. See Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.20.2 and note 38 below. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1926; reprint, Brussels, 1964) 7: 170–76, attributes the great invasion of 355 to the death of Silvanus and to Constantius' withdrawal of Ursicinus from the command, leaving no one in Gaul competent to lead the Roman army.

25. *Iudices* = governors here: see note 17 to *Pan.* 10, but also Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc., who observes that the word can mean any sort of civil servant, depending on the context. Cf. Amm. Marc. 17.3.1–6, 18.1.1–2: *diligenter observans [ne] ... iudicum quisquam ab aequitate deviaret impune. Idque ea re levi labore correxit, quod ipse iurgia dirimens, ubi causarum cogebat magnitudo vel personarum;* Julian *Ep. ad Ath.* 282B–C. The author of *De rebus bellicis* 4 makes a similar claim about the rapacity of provincial governors.

26. Not all freeborn men were exempt from torture, only those of rank (the *honestiores*): *Cod. Theod.* 9.35.1 (except for treason; this law is of 369, though). Decurions could not be tortured even for debt (*Cod. Theod.* 12.1.39, 80, 85; 9.35.2 and 6).

Germany in its entirety was destroyed, in one battle the war was ended.[27] But the emendation of morals and the reform of the law courts was both a difficult struggle and a troublesome, dangerous business.[28] For the more 4
dishonest a man was, the more hostile he was to the Caesar's endeavors, and he would seek a remedy for avoiding the laws' penalties in a new crime; because he had no defense against the crimes which he had committed, he built up hatred against the laws' avenger.[29] And since the sacred prince's 5
character and habits deprived them of the license to lie and malign him, by using a clever device for doing harm they continued the accuser's mischief under the pretext of praise.[30] At every meeting, as if through goodwill, they tossed out comments such as these: "Julian has vanquished Alamannia,

27. Cf. Alexander's defeat of Persia in "one battle": *Pan.* 12.5.3. If there is any echo of Cicero's *Man.* it is here (*Man.* 21: *ceterasque urbes ... permultas uno aditu adventuque esse captas*). Mamertinus exaggerates, but in this he is followed by others, who cite Julian's great victory over the Alamanni near Strasburg (Argentoratum) in 357: Eutr. 10.14.1; *Epit.* 42.13–14. See Amm. Marc. 16.12.1–63 for details. This was Julian's most famous accomplishment in Gaul (cf. Julian *Ep. ad Ath.* 279C–D). Matthews, *Ammianus*, 92, observes: "Although Ammianus gives due weight to the considerations recommending an immediate engagement (16.12.14f.), this detail is a salutary reminder that the battle, Julian's greatest single military triumph and the event that more than any other transformed his position in Gaul, was fought in circumstances in which he was overridden by his advisers."

28. And, officially, none of Julian's affair while he was a Caesar: Blockley, "Constantius Gallus and Julian," 448–49, 452–54; M. Caltabiano, "Il comportamento di Giuliano in Gallia verso i suoi funzionari," *Acme* 32 (1979), esp. 418–19, 436–39 (with a useful survey of all the individuals involved, and a prosopography). Amm. Marc. 18.1.2 says that Julian had little difficulty. Specifically, Florentius, whom Constantius had appointed as his PPO, was reluctant to permit any reforms (Amm. Marc. 17.3.2–5) and later became hostile to his Caesar (e.g., Amm. Marc. 21.6.2, 21.8.20–21). Florentius left Gaul after Julian was acclaimed Augustus; Constantius made him PPO of Illyricum and consul for 361 (Amm. Marc. 21.6.5). After Constantius' death he was condemned in absentia but preserved himself by remaining in hiding (Amm. Marc. 22.3.6, 22.7.5).

29. This characterization fits Ammianus' Florentius well (see note 28). Cf. Julian *Or.* 8 241D–242A and his letter to Oribasius (*ELF* 14) 384D–385A. All the same, Mamertinus' assertions are vague commonplaces.

30. Cf. Tac. *Agr.* 41.1: *crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes.* Barabino, *Il panegirico dell' imperatore Giuliano*, 52, notes the contrast between Ammianus' emphasis on the courtiers' belittling Julian and flattering Constantius (e.g.,

6 Julian has raised up the cities of Gaul from cinders and ashes. Those provinces which were besieged, assailed, devastated by fire and sword, are happier than these towns which Constantius holds without an enemy present. He spends his entire summers in the camps, his winters on the tribunal;[31] the periods of the year are so divided that he either subdues barbarians or restores rights to the citizens, since he has proclaimed a never-ending struggle, be it against the enemy or crime."

5 For inflaming hatred such statements were more powerful than any abuse, for if they had attempted to invent some disgraceful action they would easily have been refuted by the very splendor of his praise and glory; they discovered a method of accusing which no one could combat.

2 But what, I ask you, do you think our prince ought to have done?[32] Should he have given Roman cities to the enemy, lest he offend his brother's sensibilities? Should he have allowed provinces which were the most steadfast and useful[33] to the State to be harassed and raided before his eyes, lest the Augustus hear something which he would not wish to hear? Should he not only have given free rein to the officials' crimes but even become their instigator, lest unlikeness of character[34] create discord

3 between the rulers? There is a story that a noble youth of Etruria[35] wounded his own face to obliterate his beauty since he had aroused the passions of many women because of his uncommon good looks. But it was easy for a young man who thought grace of spirit more important

16.12.67–70) and Mamertinus' assertion here that flattery of Julian was used as a weapon.

31. Cf. Amm. Marc. 22.9.9 (and Valens' wish to hear cases, with his courtiers' fears that the consequences would be the same as under Julian: Amm. Marc. 30.4.1).

32. On this and what follows cf. (in a different connection) Julian's letter to Oribasius (*ELF* 14) 385A–C. Mamertinus produces a reductio ad absurdum. There is an excellent expression of this commonplace notion in Shakespeare *As You Like It* 2.3.5–15.

33. Mamertinus means "useful" quite literally. Gaul was famous as a source not only of wine (cf. *Pan.* 5.6.4 and 6–8 with notes) but of grain: its extensive areas of relatively level terrain permitted the use of a reaping machine: Pall. 7.2.2–4. One must, of course, make allowances for social and political conditions: see E. M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London, 1985) chap. 11; J. F. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 B.C.–A.D. 260* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983) chap. 10.

34. A sharper blow indeed (as Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, observes ad loc.) than Mamertinus has landed on Constantius up to this point in the oration.

35. Named Spurina: for the story see Val. Max. 4.5.1.

than physical charm to deface his fairness and disfigure the brilliance of his face with deeply marked scars. Does it seem right that Julian have 4
done something of this sort to ward off the citizens' love? But he could not even have done so, unless perhaps we suppose that the virtues' beauty can be afflicted with wounds. Of course, he could have darkened the fairness of Justice and removed the blush of sacred modesty from Temperance, pierced the neck of Fortitude with shameful wounds, plucked out the eyes of Foresight![36] And then, if that young man had not laid his stern hand 5
upon his own countenance, days, an interval of time, a short procession of life would have destroyed all that physical beauty. But the beauty of our leader's virtues grows more extraordinary as it advances in age.

I shall not speak of the entire barbarian world roused to arms against 6
the defender of Roman liberty,[37] and of peoples recently conquered and stubbornly resisting the yoke newly placed upon their untrustworthy necks incited by impious inducements to renewed fury,[38] all of which

36. Mamertinus lists the four cardinal virtues; cf. Menander *Second Treatise* 373 (ἀρεταὶ δὲ τέσσαρές εἰσιν, ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις). This is a commonplace element inserted in a novel way.

37. Vocabulary dating back to Augustus and before (*Res gestae* 1.1: *rem publicam . . . oppressam in libertate vindicavi*). See Ch. Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea* (Cambridge, 1950) 103–6; and cf. the language of Constantinian propaganda after 312: *restitutori publicae libertatis* (*ILS* 687), *restitutori libertatis* (*ILS* 691), *liberatori urbis* (*ILS* 694: the Arch of Constantine).

38. He alludes to and seriously exaggerates (*cunctam barbariam*) the accusation reported by Ammianus (21.3.1–4.7; note 21.3.4 and 5: *si famae solius admittenda est fides . . . si dignum est credere*), and affirmed by Julian *Ep. ad Ath.* 286A, 287A, and Libanius *Or.* 12.62, 13.35, 18.107 (Zosimus does not have it), that in 361 Constantius told Vadomarius, king of the Alamanni, to attack Julian's provinces to keep him occupied in Gaul. Blockley, "The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus," 441–42, observes that Mamertinus' version of this story omits the element of time: others place Constantius' incitement of Vadomarius after Julian's usurpation, but Mamertinus makes it the cause (although he does not actually mention usurpation).

Vadomarius, a client of Constantius, had previously made a treaty with Julian (Amm. Marc. 18.2.16–19). The Alamanni were laying waste the territory bordering Raetia, and when Julian sent Count Libino across the Rhine the Roman commander lost his life after he decided (*inconsulte*) to attack the Germans (Amm. Marc. 21.3.1–3). The only evidence that Ammianus cites (21.3.5) to show that Vadomarius was acting on Constantius' orders are the words *Caesar tuus disciplinam non habet* in a letter seized from one of his secretaries. Libanius *Or.*

at last overcame the resolute and steadfast patience of the greatest of
2 rulers.[39] Consequently, he suppressed Alamannia at the outset of the

18.113 says that Julian made good use of Constantius' captured letters by reading them aloud at every place he stopped on his journey through Illyricum. This is not the only occasion for which Constantius was accused of such a tactic, as Libanius *Or.* 18.33 says that he had invited the barbarians to attack Gaul while Magnentius was in Italy (cf. *Or.* 18.107; Zosimus 2.53.3; Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 3.1.25–28; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.2.20). See also Julian *Ep. ad Ath.* 287: Constantius has twice betrayed the Gauls (Celts) to the enemy. Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.2 says that after his accession Julian revealed Constantius' letters inviting the barbarians to attack Magnentius, which sounds like a conflation, unless he refers to the letters that the German ambassadors showed to Julian, in which Constantius had invited them into Roman territory (no mention of Magnentius): Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 3.1.32–34; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.2.22; Libanius *Or.* 18.52. Amm. Marc. 16.12.3 says that the Germans claimed they won the land *virtute et ferro.* At any rate, Julian had Vadomarius arrested and sent to Spain (Amm. Marc. 21.4.1–6; Libanius *Or.* 18.107–8) and then retaliated for the death of Count Libino with an excursion across the Rhine (Amm. Marc. 21.4.7–8). Vadomarius later served the Romans as a general (Amm. Marc. 21.3.5, 26.8.2, 29.1.2). *Epit.* 42.14 mentions the capture of Vadomarius in the same sentence with the battle of Argentoratum and, despite the adverb *postmodum*, makes the event precede Julian's acclamation as Augustus and Constantius' demand for troops. Modern reactions to the story about Vadomarius as Constantius' agent vary. E. A. Thompson, "Three Notes on Julian in 361 A.D.," *Hermathena* 62 (1943) 83–88, argues strenuously for credence; Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 56–57, and Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism*, 75, accept it; Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 226, and J. Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1965) 191 (he calls it a rumor) and 198, are neutral; R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (London, 1975) 111–12, is skeptical. I am inclined to disbelief myself. It would have been excellent politics to seize the opportunity offered by Libino's debacle and rewrite its opening scenes. It is, however, probably going too far to suggest that Julian engineered the conflict with the Alamanni.

39. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 4.46) avers that Julian was the motivating force behind his usurpation, and that he disguised his eastward march as an expedition aimed at justifying his conduct. Mamertinus, Julian *Ep. ad Ath.* 286D, and Libanius *Or.* 12.62 represent Constantius' treachery as the factor that prompted Julian's decision to march eastward, but although Julian and Libanius both allege a state of war and admit that the immediate initiative was Julian's, Mamertinus says even less about the circumstances. Ammianus says (21.5.1) merely that it was at this point that Julian decided that swift action would be his best policy. See Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, 192: "Il se trouve sur le chemin de

attempted rebellion. Not long after he had wandered with his victorious army through regions, rivers, and mountains with unheard-of names, through the farthest kingdoms of wild races, flying over the trampled
heads of kings, he suddenly appeared in the middle of Illyricum.[40] We, the 3

l'Orient. Il sait que l'Illyrie est dégarnie de troupes. . . . En coup de vent, Julien va faire la guerre." I. Müller-Seidel, "Die Usurpation Julians des Abtrünnigen im Lichte seiner Germanenpolitik," *HZ* 180 (1955) 225–44, believes that Julian had long planned to become Augustus and had awaited an opportunity; after Eusebia died childless, and Constantius remarried, Julian had to do something quickly, before there was a successor. Blockley, "The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus," 441, prefers Mamertinus' admission here to versions stressing the military as instigators.

Although there is not sufficient surviving evidence to prove Julian's accusation, whether there ever was or not, the new Augustus turned the incident to good use. Mamertinus never even hints at the soldiers' part in Julian's promotion. The acclamation at Paris might never have happened. See Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 222–23; Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, 181–85; Browning, *Emperor Julian*, 101–4; Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism*, 72–74, for a traditional interpretation of the event; Blockley, "The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus," 450, is suspicious; Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 48–52, believes that Julian's own machinations were decisive. J. F. Drinkwater, "The 'Pagan Underground,' Constantius II's 'Secret Service,' and the Survival and the Usurpation of Julian the Apostate," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, ed. C. Deroux, Coll. Latomus 180 (Brussels, 1983) 3: 370–83, argues that others, especially Oribasius, without Julian's complicity, engineered the events at Paris. Matthews, *Ammianus*, 93–100, discusses also the evidence and possible motivations, and while he neither acquits nor condemns Julian of actively seeking a promotion at the hands of the soldiers, he presents a rational discussion of the extent to which words and actions, especially Julian's, are compatible. See also K. Rosen, "Beobachtungen zur Erhebung Julians 360–361 n. Chr.," *Acta classica* 12 (1969) 121–49, esp. 143–46, on the plan; and for discussion of ritual, propagandistic, and legitimating features of the elevation, A. Selem, "L'atteggiamento storiografico di Ammiano nei confronti di Giuliano dalla proclamazione di Parigi alla morte di Costanzo," *Athenaeum* 49 (1971) 89–97. Szidat, *Kommentar zu Ammianus Marcellinus*, 129–34, discusses ancient evidence for and modern opinion about Julian's usurpation.

40. Mamertinus makes Julian's march appear to be an extension of his punitive expedition against the Alamanni, taking him by a circuitous, and traditional (for conquering emperors), route through distant, vast, and unknown reaches of nearly mythological landscapes, into his cousin's part of the Empire. See Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, 117–18; S. MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," in *Empire and Aftermath*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London, 1975) 184–85; Browning, *Emperor*

fortunate companions of that journey, saw the stunned peoples of the cities
4 questioning whether they should believe what they were seeing.[41] I believe that the consternation of the people who first took up the Palladium[42] fallen from heaven was no different. Maidens, boys, men, women, trembling old women, tottering old men,[43] thunderstruck and not without great dread gazed at the Emperor as he sped on his long journey under the weight of heavy armor, his breathing more rapid as he hastened without any sense of fatigue, rivulets of sweat dripping down his strong neck, and amid the coating of dust which covered his beard and hair his eyes flashing
5 starry flames.[44] The magnitude of the miracle overwhelmed the voices

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Julian, 123–24. Müller-Seidel, "Die Usurpation Julians des Abtrünnigen," 241, observes that Gaul and Illyricum were the best recruiting grounds, but that Illyricum was Constantius' territory. Ammianus has Julian say that it is a good time to attack because Illyricum has not yet been protected with greater concentrations of troops (Amm. Marc. 21.5.6). Julian set out from Augst (Augusta Raurica) and divided his forces into three parts. Jovinus and Jovius left for Italy with one, with another Nevitta was to travel through Raetia, and Julian took the third along the Danube (Amm. Marc. 21.8.2–3). Cf. Libanius *Or.* 18.111–14.

41. On the astonishment of the people at his appearance cf. Zosimus 3.10.3.

42. The Palladium was an image that was said to have fallen from heaven on the site of Troy (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.3 says it landed near Ilus' tent). Other cities (e.g., Athens) also claimed it: see Serv. ad *Aen.* 2.166. On the Palladium at Rome see L. Ziehen, "Palladion," *RE* 18:3 (1949) 182–85.

Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc., comments upon the relation between this passage and the panegyrical commonplace of the commander as apparition from heaven (e.g., Cic. *Man.* 41; *Pan.* 8.19.1). Mamertinus is more likely to hint at than to make explicit such analogies: Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation," 89–91.

43. Or, as we would say, "people of all ages": cf. the shorter version of this commonplace element (which is connected with the idea of *adventus*) at *Pan.* 11.10.3 (*omnibus viris feminis parvulis senibus*).

44. The description is similar to Mamertinus' other characterizations of the emperor (e.g., at 2.3): stars cast a less blinding light than the sun's (cf. *Pan.* 6.17.1). Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 60–61, notes the beard, evidence that Julian's physical appearance already proclaimed the philosopher, and he observes (p. 61 n. 13) that F. D. Gilliard ("Notes on the Coinage of Julian the Apostate," *JRS* 54 [1964] 135–36) missed this piece of evidence when he argued (with E. Babelon, "L'iconographie monétaire de Julien l'Apostat," *RN*^{4} 7 [1903] 140) that Julian did not begin to let his beard grow until he had arrived at Constantinople, 11 December 361. J. P. C. Kent, *RIC* 8.174–75, although noting that Gilliard's arguments are framed on a priori grounds, does not disagree with the conclusion, which the coinage does nothing to contradict. While Bowersock is correct that

of the rejoicing people; the duties of praising failed those who beheld what was beyond praise.[45]

Haste alone could have been enough indeed for his immediate 7
enterprise,[46] but it is not enough for our leader to care for the State in only one way. His mind, never wearied by any labors, pondered many undertakings at the same time. To restore the condition of the most faithful provinces[47] and at one and the same time to rob all the barbarian world of its spirit by bringing terror nearer, he decided to make a lengthy voyage along the Danube.[48] O sacred divinity! What was the procession[49] 2
of that voyage like, when an unbroken rank of both sexes, of every class, of people armed and unarmed covered the right bank of the famous river, while on the left bank one looked down upon barbarians kneeling in wretched supplication?[50] All the cities which are situate upon the Danube 3

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coins are not photographs, panegyrics are not, either. Since everyone agrees that Julian was bearded as he heard this oration, it may be that his panegyrist has penned in his beard *post eventum*.

45. Cf. Amm. Marc. 21.8.2: *id verebatur, ne contemptus ut comitantibus paucis, multitudinem offenderet repugnantem*. He divided his army, *quo diffusi per varia opinionem numeri praeberent immensi formidineque cuncta complerent* (21.8.3). Mamertinus presents the march, which was really an invasion, in a better light but preserves the effect not only of Julian's rapid advance but probably also of the onlookers' reaction to the onset of a civil war. See also Libanius *Or.* 12.62–63, 18.111; Gregory Naz. *Or.* 4.47; Zosimus 4.10.3 (ἐν ἐκπλήξει πάντες ἦσαν, φάσματι τὸ συμβὰν ἀπεικάζοντες).

46. The occupation of Illyricum and commencement of civil war.

47. I.e., to gain control of the Danubian provinces, which subsequently became faithful to his cause. (Cf. 1.5 above.) Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, 117–18, and MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," 184–85, have observed that Mamertinus describes Julian's progress toward the east as if it were an expedition designed to restore peace along the borders threatened by foreign nations.

48. Amm. Marc. 21.9.2–6 says that Julian chanced to find a great many ships at the point where the Danube was navigable (near Ulm: F. Paschoud, *Zosime* [Paris, 1979] 2: 92), and sailed as far as Bononia, 19 miles from Sirmium. Zosimus 3.10.2 reports that Julian had boats built for the voyage and sailed with three thousand men (twenty thousand more were to march to Sirmium on foot: these are the armies already divided at Augst). Browning, *Emperor Julian*, 115, believes that Julian ordered the boats readied in advance.

49. Note the use of *pompa*, the term for official processions of many sorts, implying that Julian was sailing through an extended triumphal tour.

50. Again, Mamertinus intimates that internal security was a primary consideration. Cf. 8.4.

were visited, the decrees of all were heard, their conditions were eased and their fortunes restored,[51] and to barbarians without number he gave pardon and conceded the gift of peace.[52] He who contemplates the haste will think the Emperor had accomplished nothing beside the journey; he who considers the multitude of accomplishments will not believe that he hastened.

8 O Greece, mighty in eloquence! You alone have been able to exalt beyond their due the accomplishments of all your rulers, you alone have
2 expanded glorious deeds to meet your abundance of words.[53] Because of the theft of a golden fleece and the abduction of a maiden you have elevated one ship all the way to the stars of heaven.[54] You have boasted that a boy, the inventor of sowing, flew in a chariot drawn by winged
3 dragons and scattered seeds upon the earth.[55] If you turn your mind to writing up and celebrating the actions of our leader, what will you

51. On Julian's benefactions to the cities see notes 58–60 below: there is no evidence that he did anything extraordinary on his way to Naissus, but his presence alleviated these territories of the burdens of supporting Constantius' side in a civil war.

52. Amm. Marc. 21.9.2 relates that Julian sailed by all the towns and forts (*castra*) without having to stop, and passed for the most part in secret, although Rumor finally took off ahead of him (21.9.3). Mamertinus continues to portray the invasion as an expedition on behalf of the neglected and distressed Balkan provinces; accordingly he speaks of barbarians. There are also the multiple *adventus* : see S. N. C. Lieu, *Emperor Julian,* 2d ed. (Liverpool, 1989) ad loc. In *Or.* 12, delivered 1 January 363, Libanius compares Julian's journey to that of a man swimming underwater: his appearance [at Sirmium] was sudden (*Or.* 12.63). Note that Libanius says he was careful not to appear to do any wrong (*Or.* 12.64). In the *Funeral Oration* he says that Julian both marched and sailed, kept away from the forts on the frontiers, and gained control of the cities by persuasion, force, or trickery, but took over Italy and Illyricum without shedding any blood (*Or.* 18.111–12). Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 4.47) agrees that the voyage was speedy and skulking (τῷ λαθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κρατῆσαι τὴν πάροδον ἁρπάσας). Zosimus 3.10.3 reports that the river journey took eleven days.

53. The value of being praised in Greek (and by the best) is an ancient commonplace.

54. Most notably in Apollonius' *Argonautica.*

55. Amm. Marc. 22.2.3 also compares (another leg of) Julian's journey to Triptolemus' flight. Demeter gave Triptolemus a chariot of winged dragons and wheat to sow from the air over the earth (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.5.2; Ov. *Met.* 5.642–61

make of Julian's cutters and galleys?—which not only carry off nothing from anyone, nor plunder host cities, but freely bestow upon all peoples immunities, privileges, monies.[56] With what grandeur will you describe 4
the fleet flying with oars and winds along the course of the world's greatest river, and then our leader, high on the lofty helm, not scattering grain over a field of some kind, but distributing good hope, freedom, riches to Roman towns; then on the other side sowing the terror of war, alarms, flight, fears on barbarian soil?

Now what kind of accomplishment was it that while you were still 9
navigating the Danube you extended your benefits all the way to the Adriatic Sea, the Tuscan Sea, the Mareotic Lake?[57] At that very time the Dalmatians[58] were relieved of the enormous taxes in horses, and the Epirotes,[59] weighed down and unable to move under the burden of an

includes an episode in which Triptolemus narrowly escapes a jealous king). Lieu, *Emperor Julian*, adds Pliny *HN* 7.56; Virg. *G.* 1.19.

56. Insofar as there was political value to be gained, Julian was careful to appear as a liberator, relieving burdens both financial and otherwise. But what he effected was little: see note 60.

57. The Adriatic and Tuscan seas enclose Italy, which Julian was in danger of losing after the insurrection at Aquileia (Amm. Marc. 21.11.2–12.2). The Mareotic Lake is not far from Alexandria in Lower Egypt; Mamertinus' purpose in mentioning it seems to be to include the eastern Mediterranean under Julian's protective custody, although Constantius still controlled the Asian and African provinces (Amm. Marc. 21.7.2–5). Maeotic would make somewhat better sense geographically, but not as propaganda. (Arntzen says: "omnes editores in Maeotidem conspirant." He prints Jaeger's suggestion *Epiroticum* and cites Serv. ad *Aen.* 3.211, but he confesses: "de lectionis veritate diffido.") Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede,* ad loc., agrees, however, that Mareotic best serves the rhetorical purpose.

58. No mention in Ammianus of Dalmatia, Epirus, or the cities in sections 2–3. But he says that while Julian was at Naissus he heard the complaints of private persons, especially of the municipal senators (Amm. Marc. 21.12.23). Cf. Zosimus 3.10.4: Julian gave proofs of his goodwill to the cities that he had so quickly passed by. Libanius *Or.* 13.42 says that Julian ended the abuse of animals in the post. See note 59.

59. Galletier, 3: 23 n. 4, observes that Epirus was noted for horses and may have received the same treatment as Dalmatia. After he became sole Augustus (and after the date of this oration) Julian undertook a reform of the overworked public post by denying free use or overuse of it to many (including Christian bishops) who had enjoyed "free passes" under Constantius (Amm. Marc. 21.16.18). See *Cod. Theod.* 8.5.12–16 (all but 8.5.15 addressed to

intolerable tribute,[60] have by your forethought, Emperor, not only cast off their miseries, but have even grown strong in rich and abundant
2 prosperity. The city of Nicopolis, which the divine Augustus had built like a trophy as a monument to the victory of Actium,[61] had fallen almost totally into lamentable ruins: the houses of the nobles were torn apart, marketplaces were without roofs, everything was full of dirt and dust since
3 the aqueducts had long since been destroyed. The unseemly cessation of business[62] during that sorrowful time had allowed the public games customarily observed at every *lustrum* to lapse.[63] Athens itself, the inventor

Mamertinus); *ELF* 67 (a) and 36; *ILS* 755 (*CIL* 5.8987); Libanius *Or.* 18.143–45. Pack, *Städte und Steuern* 103–5, 109–12, observes that Constantius' need for additional resources for the coming civil war may well have included horses.

60. Lieu, *Emperor Julian*, cites for tax reduction Libanius *Or.* 16.19, 18.163; Ambros. *De ob. Val.* 21, *Patrologia Latina* 16.1426A; Gregory Naz. *Or.* 4.75.1–5; *ELF* 72. See also *ELF* 24. Pack, *Städte und Steuern*, 109–15, addresses the problem of conflicting evidence on the condition of the Balkan provinces. Amm. Marc. 19.11.2–3 had praised Anatolius' tenure as PPO, especially in relief of the *res vehicularia* and other tax burdens. His term ended in 360, one year before Mamertinus claims that the same provinces were being taxed to destitution. The best explanation is that Constantius' recent superindiction (Amm. Marc. 21.6.6), imposed because he was faced with external and internal wars simultaneously, represents the excessive tax burden. Julian canceled the additional levies in a move to gain favor with those whom he hoped to make his new allies in the coming civil war. Cf. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc.

61. Suet. *Aug.* 18. Nicopolis was near Actium in Epirus; it was the capital city of Epirus (F. Schober, "Nikopolis 2," *RE* 17 [1937] 516–17). Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, 144, and Barabino, *Il panegirico dell' imperatore Giuliano*, 57, citing Sen. *Q. nat.* 6.26.4, and Pack, *Städte und Steuern*, 108, blame an earthquake for Nicopolis' condition (cf. Amm. Marc. 17.7.1: earthquakes in Asia, Macedonia, and Pontus, with an especially devastating one at Nicomedia on 24 August 358, which is the date only for the specific earthquake; several others occurred around the same time period, within a year or so).

62. *Iustitium* is a time when there is a cessation of public business, often for a period of mourning. Mamertinus evidently wants to include the full range of meanings here and to apply them all to Constantius' reign. When in the next sentence Mamertinus speaks of Athens and Eleusis he probably means that the pagan cults, and their places of practice, had suffered neglect: see 9.4 (resumption of ancient holidays) and Libanius *Or.* 18.114–16. In 364 Praetextatus (see note 67) persuaded Valentinian to allow the celebration of the mysteries to continue (Zosimus 4.3.3).

63. See Suet. *Aug.* 18 for the institution of games held every five years.

and teacher of the liberal arts,[64] had lost every trace of public or private elegance.[65] Eleusis had fallen into pitiable ruin. But it would take too long 4
to enumerate all the cities restored by the Emperor's power.[66] It is enough to know that after one or two letters of the greatest of Emperors all the towns of Macedonia, Illyricum, and the Peloponnesus[67] suddenly assumed a youthful appearance with their walls built anew, that water flows plentifully in every location, places which not long ago appeared parched and panting in thirst are now washed off, inundated, drenched; markets, promenades, gymnasia are crowded with happy, rejoicing people; ancient holidays are celebrated and new ones consecrated in our leader's honor.

If any mortal had been raised up by a cloud to some heavenly **10**
watchtower[68] and had seen everything in lamentable condition not long ago,[69] towns half fallen down, walls abandoned, places deserted by their inhabitants, the crowd of exiles,[70] and if he were now to be placed back on that same height and were to look down upon everything happy, sown fields, crowded cities, water flowing into towns, not private dwellings but public buildings rising up with magnificent ornamentation, crops at the harvests rich in proportion to the lands' qualities, vintages surpassing the

64. Cf. Cic. *De or.* 1.13: *omnium doctrinarum inventrices Athenas.*

65. Lieu, *Emperor Julian*, ad loc., notes that Athens was still a flourishing university town; Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc., that Athens was yet physically sound, although many intellectuals will have moved to Constantinople during and after the reign of Constantine. Libanius *Or.* 18.115 says that Julian reconciled two priestly factions at Athens and thereby helped restore the rituals.

66. Commonplace: cf. *Pan.* 9.18.1–3, 6.22.3–7, 4.38.4, and *Pan.* 5 passim.

67. The level of exaggeration is high; still, cf. Zosimus 3.11.1: ὄντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ Σίρμιον ἐξ ἁπάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐστέλλοντο πρέσβεις, οἷς ἀποκρινόμενος τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ ὅσα ἦν δίκαια φιλοτιμησάμενος. Julian met Aurelius Victor the historian at Sirmium and made him governor of Second Pannonia in 361 (Amm. Marc. 21.10.6: see C. E. V. Nixon, "Aurelius Victor and Julian," *CP* 86 [1991] 113–25), and he appointed Vettius Agorius Praetextatus governor of Achaea (Amm. Marc. 22.7.6). Cf. *ELF* 20–23 for what other details there are. At 22.7.7 Ammianus says that Julian, after his arrival in Constantinople, repaired the cities and forts of Thrace and saw to the needs of the soldiers stationed along the Danube.

68. Gazing from clouds: to locations cited in Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc. add Cic. *Rep.* 6.11ff.

69. Cf. Libanius *Or.* 18.90 (on Gaul).

70. Non-Arian Christians (and other Christian sects without benefit of official sanction) figured in this number (cf. Amm. Marc. 22.5.3–4).

farmers' prayers,[71] steep hills and deep valleys and broad fields resounding to bleating, neighing, and lowing,[72] he will be[73] truly amazed that in such a short time everything has been transformed, he will leap down from the clouds and gladly leave behind heaven's neighborhood to enjoy your
2 lands, Emperor. But what sort of miracle is it, that amid such enormous requisition no one felt any expense, the money for everything is drawn from the Emperor's account and in a reversal of conditions something like tribute is paid to the provinces, riches flow out to everyone from that place into which they used to flow together from every direction![74]—so that where you get the money, Emperor, is a great question, since you
3 bestow it so lavishly upon everyone. But he who knows the principles of your life-style[75] will easily discover the source of this wealth. Your frugality, Augustus, affords you your greatest source of income,[76] for whatever others used to squander on their own desires is now all reserved for public uses.[77]

11 Hitherto the sole fruit of Empire was thought to be that the Emperor was distinguished from the rest of the citizens not by valiant deeds nor
2 splendid fame but by the magnitude of his expenses. Hence unnecessarily massive foundations in buildings,[78] and enormous bands of courtiers easily

71. The commonplace of the Golden Age, the good fortune (and harvests) that accompanies a good ruler; cf. *Pan.* 11.15.1–4, 9.18.4–5, 5.13.1–3, 4.38.4.

72. Cf. Virg. *G.* 3.554–55. The whole passage is replete with poetic vocabulary and diction (e.g., *lata camporum*).

73. Note the change in mood to the future indicative, to indicate a change in the speaker's point of view; given something not likely to happen (*reponatur*) or impossible (*si . . . vidisset*), the result is assured.

74. Ambros. *De ob. Val.* 21; Eutr. 10.16.3; Amm. Marc. 25.4.15; even Gregory Naz. *Or.* 4.75 states that Julian's taxes were moderate. On generosity to subjects, see Julian's letter to the Thracians (*ELF* 73); Amm. Marc. 25.4.15; Libanius *Or.* 18.163, 193–94; 16.19; *Cod. Theod.* 12.31.1.

75. Cf. Cic. *Cael.* 40: *qui hanc sectam rationemque vitae . . . secuti sumus.*

76. Cf. Cic. *Parad.* 6.3: *non intellegunt homines quam magnum vectigal sit parsimonia.*

77. See Amm. Marc. 22.4.1–10 for removal of most palace attendants (at 3.11.2 Mamertinus mentions bands of courtiers) and reforms of the soldiers' life-styles (cf. Libanius *Or.* 18.130). Julian limited the numbers of the household guards as well (*Cod. Theod.* 6.24.1). See below for more expansion on the topic of Julian's distaste for luxury and lavish spending, and Julian *Mis.* 340B–C, 341C–D; Gregory Naz. *Or.* 4.71.

78. An echo of Cic. *Mil.* 53 (*insanas illas substructiones*) and 85 (*arae, . . . quas ille . . . substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat*). Cicero is speaking of Clodius' estate on the Alban hill.

surpassed the cost of the legions. No, the State felt even the elaborate size 3
of luncheons and dinners, since the most special banquets were valued not by taste but by the difficulties of presenting them: strange fowl, fish of a distant sea, fruits out of season, snow in summer, roses in winter.[79]
The spirit victorious over all pleasures discarded all these things. Neither 4
must people provide variegated marble inlays and paneled ceilings of solid gold for one who sleeps the greater part of the year on bare ground and is covered only by the sky; nor must people ready crowds of servants appointed for the delights of one for whom so few things must be served; nor is there time for feasts for one who more often takes a meal standing for the needs of his human body, enjoying the food of the camps with the chance servant and whatever cup comes to hand.[80]

But in the midst of this I cannot be sufficiently amazed that being 12
so strictly frugal toward himself he is so generous and indulgent toward his citizens, taking upon himself the harshest of labors that we might spend our time in quiet pursuits, when we observe that those who follow a life divorced from pleasures are unpleasant and peevish, and since they are not very pleasing to themselves and are more disagreeable to others
they make even private houses anxious and sad. But the most venerable 2
Emperor earnestly strives that we have a dwelling in keeping with our worth, that we have an abundance of advantages, that we lead a life which is chaste, of course, but cheerful, when labor renders other rulers hard, inactivity makes them soft, and amiability has ever been lacking in serious Emperors, industry in affable ones. And no one who is so hard on himself has ever shown himself so easygoing to the rest that he does
not hold others to his own example.[81] Our Emperor, while bestowing 3

79. Mamertinus seems not the least embarrassed by these commonplaces, possibly because they had been neglected long enough to seem novel. In this collection one does not find such praise of the Tetrarchs or of Constantine, whatever their other merits may have been. Julian was conspicuously frugal in his diet and other personal habits (Amm. Marc. 16.5.1–3); his predecessor, however, was not one who overindulged his appetites (Amm. Marc. 21.16.5–6). Frugality remained an imperial virtue after Julian's reign: Pacatus *Pan.* 2.13.2–14.4 echoes this and what follows.

80. Cf. Amm. Marc. 21.9.2; Gregory Naz. *Or.* 4.71.

81. Cf. Amm. Marc. 16.5.1–3. Mamertinus may be thinking of sumptuary legislation, already a feature of the Roman Republic, and a sore point with various rulers from Augustus on. But cf. Julian to the Antiochenes (*Mis.* 740B): τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἄγρυπνοι νύκτες ἐν στιβάδι, καὶ τροφὴ παντὸς ἥττων κόρου

no mercy upon himself and no trouble and labor upon the rest of men, preserves leisure for all by his own pains, a liberal dispenser of wealth and a hoarder of cares, who prefers to perform the most laborious business himself rather than to command others to do it.[82]

13 Since the expulsion of the kings many men have desired to rule the entire State by themselves. Those who remember know the names of those men, namely, the ones who indulged in violence against what was
2 their own and paid the penalty for aspiring to a kingdom. I omit the men of an earlier time who were flung headlong from the Tarpeian Rock, whose property was confiscated, whose houses were razed, whose names were forbidden for use to their descendants;[83] our age as well has borne not a few men mad with this kind of rage, who, driven by a blind lust
3 to rule, rushed to their deaths. Suppose they were temporarily restored to life, and god should address them:[84] "Ho, Nepotianus,"[85] for example,

πικρὸν ἦθος ποιεῖ καὶ τρυφώσῃ πόλει πολέμιον. οὐ μὴν ὑμῶν γ' ἕνεκα τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύεται παρ' ἐμοῦ.

82. Cf. Libanius *Or.* 18.174–81, 276; 13.44; 12.94–95; 17.27; Amm. Marc. 15.8.10, 16.5.1–5, 21.9.2, 24.4.27, 25.2.2; Julian *Mis.* 340B–342A, 343C–D, 354B–C; *Or.* 1.11A–B, 2.87D–88A; *Ep. ad Them.* 259B–D.

83. The description best fits M. Manlius Capitolinus, one of Rome's saviors during the Gallic occupation, who was said to have courted the plebs with revolutionary designs. He was flung from the Tarpeian Rock, his house was confiscated, and no one was allowed to be called M. Manlius afterward. See Livy 6.11.2–20.14, where there occur more than once (e.g., 6.17.2, 6.18.9) the names of Sp. Cassius and Sp. Maelius, earlier "pretenders" in a well-worn tradition. Mamertinus' source may be *De viris illustribus* 24.6–7.

84. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.29–31 (*fictiones personarum, quae* προσωποποιίαι *dicuntur* . . . *quin deducere deos in hoc genere dicendi et inferos excitare concessum est*: as Cicero does, for example, at *Cael.* 33 when he says *aliquis mihi ab inferis excitandus est*, introducing Appius Claudius Caecus).

85. Nepotianus was the son of Constantine's sister Eutropia. After Magnentius' coup in 350, Nepotianus seized power in Rome and held it for four weeks, until Magnentius' generals defeated and killed him (Eutr. 10.11.2; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 42.6–8; *Epit.* 42.3; Zosimus 2.43.2–4). Aurelius Victor says that the brief reign and its aftermath were marked by great bloodshed. It is interesting that Mamertinus chooses Nepotianus over Magnentius as an example, but, in view of Julian's forgiveness of Magnentius' supporters, not surprising (Libanius *Or.* 18.104 says that they support Julian) (see note 38 for Magnentius' role in Libanius' *Funeral Oration*).

"and Silvanus,"[86] you sought imperial power through hostile swords and imminent death. But now the power to rule is given you spontaneously on the condition that you rule on Julian's terms: you stay awake day and night so everyone else can rest, and, although you be called lords you be slaves to the citizens' freedom, you take up arms more often than you take dinner, you take nothing away from anyone and on your own give lavishly to everyone, favor no one, vent your anger upon no one, destroy the reputation of no young woman in the entire world, see that your bed, free even from permissible and legitimate pleasures, is purer than the Vestals' couches,[87] endure Alamannic dust in summer and Thracian frost in winter with heads uncovered," their delicate ears would naturally be unable to sustain the hardship even of the description: terrified by such great pains and detesting not only empire but life as well they would race to return to some lower ranks in the netherworld. They will[88] see that a lawful principate is disturbed by labors, cares, sleepless nights, while

86. Silvanus was the son of Bonitus, a Frank in Constantine's service (Amm. Marc. 15.5.33), and in 355 he was *magister peditum* in Gaul (Amm. Marc. 15.5.2). Amm. Marc. 15.5 narrates in detail the plot to accuse Silvanus of aiming at imperial power. This conspiracy was not discovered until it was too late: Silvanus had himself declared Augustus because he believed that he would be condemned without a hearing. His reign also lasted four weeks (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 42.16; *Epit.* 42.10; Eutr. 10.3). Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 7: 165–69, has written a sympathetic assessment of this "precursor" of the Frankish kings. Mamertinus might also have chosen better, as Silvanus was more victim than usurper (although he did gain Constantius' favor by deserting Magnentius: Amm. Marc. 15.5.33), but since he resorts to recent history, there is no one else except Magnentius, and his reasons for ignoring him in this context may be personal, or political. See Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 56–57. Gallus is obviously unsuitable not only because he was Julian's brother but because he was not a usurper. The passage on usurpers is a charming novelty in a speech delivered to a successful usurper; it implies by contrast Julian's legitimacy (see below on 27.4).

87. Julian was a widower; his sexual continence is well attested (Amm. Marc. 25.4.2; Libanius *Or.* 18.179; Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 3.1). The praise of an emperor's chastity may well be commonplace (cf. *Pan.* 7.4.1, 12.7.5, 4.34.1; Auson. *Grat. act.* 14.66; Pacatus *Pan.* 2.37.4); it is not standard in extant orations addressed to the Tetrarchs, although one finds it said of Constantine (*Pan.* 7.4.1–2, 12.7.6), and presumably Diocletian and Constantius were fairly well behaved (cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.46 on Maximian).

88. Same switch to the future indicative as in the case of the hypothetical observer in 10 (cf. note 73).

when they were contemplating its charming and lovely appearance[89] they did not see the troubles attached to its labors.

14 As I was saying, when amid such excellent occupations his journey was completed and he had arrived at the borders of Thrace,[90] he quickly made arrangements for the army's provisions and turned his mind to the
2 city of Rome and its lack of a grain supply.[91] The severe hunger and the State's dangerously unhappy situation would have frightened off anyone else in the world. But with the tribute from the provinces and income from his own property he bought up grain from everywhere and filled the starving city to the point of opulence and abundance. Someone will
3 ask, and rightly: "How did he do so much in so short a time?" But our Emperor adds to time what he subtracts from his own leisure. He allots nothing to sleep, nothing to banquets, nothing to leisure; he cheats himself even of the use of what is natural and necessary; he is entirely free for

89. Cf. *Pan.* 10.3.1–4 for another comparison of the *species* of empire with the reality.

90. Julian advanced from Bononia (see note 48) to Sirmium, where he anticipated any action by the opposing commander Lucillianus, whom he sent on his way (Amm. Marc. 21.9.4–8) before occupying the city, which gave him a warm welcome (Amm. Marc. 21.10.1). Julian stayed at Sirmium long enough to give chariot races, then marched to occupy the pass of Succi between Serdica and Philippopolis (Amm. Marc. 21.10.2–3). He retraced his steps as far as Naissus, where he settled for the time being and whence he sent his letter to the Roman Senate, whose members received it with disfavor (Amm. Marc. 21.10.5–7). W. E. Kaegi, Jr., "The Emperor Julian at Naissus," *AC* 44 (1975) 161–71, proposes a theory that Julian's choice of Naissus came about not only by strategic considerations but because of the city's associations with the house of Constantine (who was born there: Anon.Val. 2.2; and there in 350 Constantius II orated Vetranio out of imperial office: Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 42.1; Julian *Or.* 1.31C–D), and that the city, in turn, may have had some effect upon Julian. In any event, Mamertinus describes Julian's journey and the breaking of it as deliberate choices; he would have faced extreme difficulty going any farther: see Thompson, "Julian in 361 A.D.," 88–93.

91. Since Constantius controlled Africa (Amm. Marc. 21.7.2–5; cf. 3.14.5 below), Julian faced a problem keeping the Romans fed. Ammianus does not say how he solved it, but remarks (although he did not approve of Julian's choice, at Naissus, of prefect for the city) that while Maximus was *praefectus urbi* there was neither problem with the food supply nor complaints by the people (Amm. Marc. 21.12.24). Thompson, "Julian in 361 A.D.," 80, believes that Ammianus' judgment is clouded by his desire to please Symmachus; cf. note 102.

public needs.[92] Thus his reign will seem to be of long duration already to 4
those who count Julian's time not by calculation of days or months but by the number of his works and the measure of things effected. When food 5
for the Roman people and provisions for the army[93] were occupying his attention, in the midst of the confusion of arranging for the grain supply a message came that many ships heavy with African wheat[94] had sailed past the coast of Achaea and were making for Constantinople. All of us were upset, and in anger at those who watched over the seacoast we approached our leader; every one of us was eager to complain that so much grain had been lost because of the spies' incompetence.[95] But the 6
greatest of Emperors smiling serenely replied: nothing was done amiss, grain which arrived at that city was not lost for him.[96] We thought that that response was prompted by his well-known love for the city of his birth, since the ambiguity of his words concealed the discovery of future events; for even then his spirit which shares in divine knowledge[97] foresaw the issue of coming felicity.[98]

92. Cf. Amm. Marc. 16.5.4–8.

93. See Amm. Marc. 21.12.21. Mamertinus does not mention Julian's other concern, that Constantius' forces in Thrace were advancing upon the pass of Succi (Amm. Marc. 21.12.22). Constantius was informed that Julian was trying to gather auxiliaries (*accita undique . . . auxilia*) to increase his strength before he invaded Thrace (Amm. Marc. 21.13.6).

94. Gaudentius held Africa for Constantius (see note 20), thus cutting off the primary source of grain for the city of Rome.

95. Here at last is an indication that there existed a state of (civil) war. Manuscript M reads *iudicum*, not *indicum*, which Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc., explains as meaning especially the *praefectus annonae*. *Indicum* makes easier sense, although if Julian had no navy operating in the Mediterranean, there would be little point in blaming the spies.

96. There is a similar story in Hdt. 7.147.2–3: when Xerxes was at Abydos on his way to Greece he was informed that ships were sighted carrying grain to Aegina and the Peloponnesus. He told his men not to interfere with those who were carrying grain for them. Julian, and the audience, would doubtless have been quick to see the allusion. It is equally possible that Mamertinus has invented the episode, for that very reason.

97. Julian's ability to know what the deity knows is a commonplace imperial attribute, praised in many modes: see, for example, *Pan.* 12.3.3; also section 15.2 below; *Pan.* 4.17.1, 12.2.5 and 4.1, 2.6.3; Themistius *Or.* 11.142D.

98. For the collocution *venturae felicitatis* cf. *Pan.* 5.8.3. Amm. Marc. 21.1.6, 21.2.2, and Zosimus 3.9.5–6 say that Julian had dreams, one of them quite

15 Within a very few days[99] the State had been restored to a new and flourishing condition and the sacred mind turned its attention to the
2 most exalted ranks of office and the ornaments of the magistracies.[100] In the voting place of his sacred breast the consulship was at issue. What authority he followed, he himself knows, and whatever divinity rejoices in fashioning his plans.[101] Out of all the men in the Roman Empire I was chosen first, while my illustrious colleague increased my honor with
3 military renown.[102] I give you thanks, Emperor, thanks if you believed that I deserved it, and more thanks, Emperor, if you loved me so much

specific, prophesying Constantius' death. Cf. Amm. Marc. 22.1.1–3; Libanius *Or.* 18.105; Zonar. 13.11. Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.8 reports that prophecies he received while still in Gaul encouraged him to rebel. Reports of prophecies would, incidentally, serve as apology for temerity.

99. Constantius died in early November (or October): *PLRE* I. After some discussion his advisers sent Theolaifus and Aligildus to report the death and offer the submission of Constantius' territories to Julian (Amm. Marc. 21.15.4, 22.2.1). There is also a report, which Ammianus cannot confirm (although he makes Theolaifus and Aligildus repeat it), that Constantius named Julian his successor (Amm. Marc. 21.15.2 and 5, 22.2.1). Zosimus 3.11.2, Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 2.47.1, 3.1, and Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.1 say that the legions elected him.

100. Amm. Marc. 21.12.25 says that Julian named the consuls for 362 while he was still at Naissus, before he learnt of Constantius' death, *ut et securitatem trepidis rebus afferret, et obedientium nutriret fiduciam.* Mamertinus pretends that by the time Julian made the selection of consuls he was an emperor of unquestioned legitimacy.

101. Mamertinus is careful not to offend the mostly Christian inhabitants of Constantinople; Julian could reveal his god's identity later; meanwhile, divine guidance was a safe and traditional claim.

102. Ammianus twice criticizes the choice of Nevitta (21.10.8, 21.12.5) and twice observes that Julian had blamed Constantine for making barbarians consuls. O. Seeck, "Zur Chronologie und Quellenkritik des Ammianus Marcellinus," *Hermes* 41 (1906) 533–34, followed by E. A. Thompson, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (Cambridge, 1947) 80, suggests that Ammianus' criticism of Julian's inconsistency on this point was prompted by his friendship for (or desire to please) Symmachus, whose family, he believes, was only recently senatorial. Seeck argues only on the basis of the family names: not only is Symmachus not Latin (he compares Silvanus and Serapio), but the name may indicate the military connection that originally won the family its place in the Roman Empire. Further, the *gens* name Aurelius is the same as Maximian's and may mark that of the Roman sponsor of recent citizenship. While speculation on the point is interesting, it is excessive to conclude on that basis that Julian's criticism of

that you made me consul even if I did not. I am not unaware that the 4
greatest honors commonly fall to men little worthy of them for the lack of someone better, but I do not fear that some ill-wisher will assert that this has happened in the case of my consulship. If some spiteful person says this aloud, he is refuted by the times themselves, and against him it is enough to have said: "Even then Rome was obeying our leader."[103]
What about the fact that when I was expecting nothing by way of an 5
advance in my station (and the modesty of my prayers did not extend beyond the prefecture)[104] a message was brought me that I was made consul without any expense, which for a long time now has happened to few men; without exertion, which has never happened; and without asking, which has happened to no one?[105]

Who does not know that then too, when offices used to be entrusted 16
to the votes of the Roman people, the candidates' labors were many? One had to memorize everyone's names, one had to greet men by tribe and even individually, one had to shake the hands of those one met, one had to smile at everyone, one had to feign the pretense of friendship not only with the lowly but even with total strangers, one had to do many other things on account of the office which it was not fitting for a man worthy of office to do otherwise.[106] This is the source of Crassus'[107] famous saying.[108] 2

Constantine would have touched upon the Symmachus (no. 6 in *PLRE* I, perhaps the grandfather of the orator) who was *consul ordinarius* in 330.

103. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc., finishes the thought as the audience would: "Also hätte Julian unter der römischen Nobilität zahlreiche würdige Konsulatsanwärter finden können."

104. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc., notes the contradiction between the modesty of this assertion and the revelation of ambition at 17.2. There is, however (to be, perhaps unnecessarily, fair to the speaker), a distinction between what one desires and what one expects to get. *Spero*, incidentally, does not mean "wish for."

105. Auson. *Grat. act.* 3.15 has a like passage, but longer. On certain expenses of office seeking, see below note 131.

106. The themes are from Q. Cicero (or whoever wrote it) *Commentariolum petitionis* 7.25, 8.30–31, 11.41. Condemning Republican elections is a popular late fourth-century theme in panegyric; cf. 19 below; Symmachus *Or.* 1.9, 3.4, 4.7; Auson. *Grat. act.* 3.13, 9.44.

107. L. Licinius Crassus the orator: *RE*, s.v. "Licinius 55."

108. In Cic. *De or.* 1.112, Crassus says: *Equidem cum peterem magistratum, solebam in prensando dimittere a me Scaevolam, cum ita ei dicerem, me velle esse ineptum, id erat, petere blandius, quod, nisi inepte fieret, bene non posset fieri; —hunc autem esse unum hominem ex omnibus, quo praesente ego ineptum esse me minime vellem.* Lieu, *Emperor Julian*, probably

When he was running for consul and happened to be walking through
the streets of the City with Scaevola[109] his father-in-law and did not dare
in the presence of this serious and austere man to flatter the people, to
wheedle the passersby and to employ the artifices of an office seeker, he
said: "I beg you, Mucius, go off a little way, and do not think that I am
honored by your company. You are an impediment to my being elected: I
3 cannot play the fool with you looking on." But I earned no one's favor by
servile flattery, I did nothing foolish, I did nothing which I should not want
4 Mucius to see. Not only have I solicited none of my countrymen, but I
have not even approached you yourself, Emperor, with a single word,
although it is an honor to entreat you, and a thoroughly dignified act to
address prayers to you. You freely imparted this divine gift to my family.[110]

17 I shall make an admission to you, greatest of Emperors, and I shall
unlock safely in your presence all the secrets of my heart. I have never
desired power over the citizens' lives, never desired provinces; but, because
the State seemed to need help even from me to the utmost of my ability,
when I was called to serve, to avoid a reputation for laziness I did not run
2 away. I have neither sought public office as a candidate nor have I refused
it through cowardice or sloth, but from my tender years, from boyhood,
right up to this gray old age, I have burned with desire for the consulship.
3 I owe you yet a second level of confession. When the republic was in
other rulers' power, I long cherished a vain desire without the comfort
of expectation. What was the source of my madness in aspiring to this
4 title, since I lacked both wealth and experience in soliciting favor? For
the first time, when you were Caesar,[111] you rekindled what was by then
the flickering embers of my desire with a breath of good hope. But when I
saw you, Augustus, to be a wonderful observer of integrity and virtue,

rightly, prefers Valerius Maximus' version (4.5.4) as the source here: *consulatum petens L. Crassus, cum omnium candidatorum more circum forum supplex populo ire cogeretur, numquam adduci potuit ut id praesente Q. Scaevola, gravissimo et sapientissimo viro, socero suo, faceret. Itaque rogabat eum ut a se, dum ineptae rei inserviret, discederet, maiorem verecundiam dignitatis eius quam candidae togae suae respectum agens.*

109. Q. Mucius Scaevola (the Augur): *RE*, s.v. "Mucius 21."

110. Mamertinus (like his colleague) is a *novus homo*.

111. That there is a great difference between an Augustus, who can create consuls, and a Caesar, who cannot, Mamertinus makes clear by his use of both titles and his reaction to Julian in either position. While Julian was Caesar, Mamertinus must pray not only to gain favorable notice but that the Caesar become Augustus.

then I said to myself: "Claudius Mamertinus, you have not lived this long
for nothing: you have a discerning judge of good faith and industry. Take
note that this is a crucial time in your affairs. It will be known that you
have not deserved the consulship, if this Emperor does not give it to you."

You have, Augustus, the disclosure of my secret, a thing which I have **18**
concealed with the silence of no brief a lifetime. I have, nevertheless, not
yet revealed everything. From here on I wish to keep no secret to myself
any longer; I shall empty all the hidden places in my breast. Had you kept 2
your kindness in suspense and had you, against your nature, added some
artifice[112] to your generosity toward me: perhaps I would have asked.[113]
Do you think, moreover, Emperor, that it is a small favor that you relieved 3
me from the peril of asking? I repeat, the peril, most venerable Emperor.
If you had hesitated to give it, if you had put it off until later, what would
become of me after a rejection? Friendship is destroyed in the refusal 4
of even the slightest requests, for the love by which friendship is held
together is dishonored in the eyes of both. One man thinks he is not
loved because he has not given, the other thinks that he is hated because
he has not received. Nor would it seem to me that I had been made 5
consul absolutely without cost, if I had purchased the office by entreaties;
I would have undergone a pitiable and laborious apprenticeship in the
art of entreaty when the better part of my life has already passed. I do not 6
in fact consider it more burdensome to squander money than entreaties.
In short, we see that in making a purchase all men in confidence of giving
fair payment bring out their gold and silver with bravery and pride,[114] but
those who offer humble and lowly prayers can scarcely produce hesitant
and faltering words, and they not only abase their speech but with their
entire body they sink to their knees. In a word, to speak to the best of
my belief, he who receives prayers sells a favor for the highest price.[115]

Or indeed, had I been made consul at the *comitia centuriata*,[116] would it **19**
seem more glorious to me that I had been elected by the votes of the whole

112. Cf. *Pan.* 5.10.3: *nimium te scilicet facile ea quae sis tributurus aperire, et sine ullo artificio cito promere quae sperari diu debeant. . . . praestandi celeritate occupas tempus optandi;* Auson. *Grat. act.* 1.5; Pacatus *Pan.* 2.19.1: *nam cuius est animi nec vota hominum fatigare nec adhibere muneribus artem difficultatis, sed denuntiare praestanda.*

113. What follows owes much in general and in particular to Sen. *Ben.*

114. Cf. Cic. *Fin.* 5.71: *magno animo erectoque; Deiot.* 36: *magno animo et erecto.*

115. Echoes Sen. *Ben.* 2.1.4: *nulla res carius constat, quam quae precibus empta est.*

116. The *comitia centuriata* was the assembly of Roman citizens drawn up according to military classification, usually held in the Campus Martius. This

people? Not at all, since even in those ancient times the Field of Mars was
notorious for widespread corruption. The crimes of men who distributed
bribes were well known, tricks with the ballot boxes were known as well,
2 and then bands of thugs were hired for violence and sedition.[117] And
of course nothing can be examined carefully in a confused crowd of
inexperienced men. Since good men are rare and the mass of bad men is
immense, and in the Field of Mars, moreover, numbers and the multitude
prevail, one cannot doubt that he who gained a magistracy by the people's
votes was he whom the greater number, that is, he whom the worse men,
approved; for which reason our ancestors saw men like Gabinius elected
3 and Catos denied office.[118] But this is ancient history; let us recall how
an office was sought quite recently. Scarcely a few men existed upon
whom one was conferred for their virtues, although indeed even for these
4 very men the rewards of industry and honesty came late.[119] But the rest
frequently resorted to all the worst of the courtiers. When anyone seemed
really acceptable to the Emperor for unseemly behavior, they used to earn

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assembly, established with a plutocratic bias, elected consuls, praetors, and censors. See L. R. Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies* (Ann Arbor, 1966) 85ff.

117. *Divisores* distributed gifts from leading men to other members of their tribe. Later they handed out bribe money to all the tribes. Ballots were counted by *custodes* and placed in *loculi*, which could then be stuffed. The *operae* were gangs hired by rival politicians. Clodius and Milo were perhaps best known for their use of violence in politics, but they were not the only ones. See L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961) chap. 3; A. W. Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford, 1968), esp. chaps. 6 and 12.

118. A. Gabinius (cos. 58 B.C.E.) was a supporter of Pompey and later of Caesar. P. Clodius bribed him by the offer of a lucrative province (Syria) not to support Cicero. M. Porcius Cato (the suicide) was not elected consul when he stood in 51 B.C.E. He seems to have been incapable of making himself congenial to anyone.

In Arntzen's edition one reads, "Puto *Vatinios*. Lipsius." There follows a discussion by Livineius, who cites Sen. *Constant.* 1.3 and *Prov.* 3.14. Many, though by no means all, commentators believe that Mamertinus appears to have confused Gabinius and P. Vatinius (cos. 47), elected praetor (against Cato) in 55 with the help of Crassus and Pompey (and the use of bribery and force): Plut. *Cato* 42.2–5, *Pomp.* 52.3. The office in question, however, is the consulship.

119. Cf. Amm. Marc. 21.16.3: *sub eum nemo celsum aliquid acturus, in regia repentinus adhibitus est vel incognitus, sed qui post decennium officiorum magisterium vel largitiones vel simile quicquam esset recturus, apertissime noscebatur.* In another prince such judicious caution might have been found praiseworthy.

his favor by unremitting services and to chase after him with gifts.[120] They used to solicit not only men but women; not only women but eunuchs as well,[121] whom either their nature at birth or an injury to their bodies has set apart from either sex, banished, as it were, from fellowship in the human race. Thus the noble names of ancient houses fawned upon all the foulest and most infamous men of the imperial court. When these men had been let loose upon the provinces they plundered what was sacred and what was profane as they built a road for themselves to the consulship with money.[122]

Thus there was no pursuit of the liberal and scientific arts.[123] The labor **20**
of military service was despised by all the nobles as nasty and vulgar.[124] The
science of civil law, which had raised Manilii, Scaevolae, Servii[125] to the
most exalted rank, was said to be a freedman's occupation.[126] Our leading 2
men spurned an orator's power of speech as a business entailing much

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120. Cf. Libanius *Or.* 15.67.

121. Cf. Amm. Marc. 21.16.16: *Vxoribus et spadonum gracilentis vocibus et palatinis quibusdam nimium quantum addictus* (and Eutr. 10.15.2: *nimium amicis et familiaribus credens, mox etiam uxoribus deditior*); 18.4.3 (the courtiers attack Ursicinus): *hac autem assentandi nimia foeditate, mercari complures nitebantur Eusebi favorem, cubiculi tunc praepositi, apud quem (si vere dici debeat) multa Constantius potuit* [or *posuit*].

122. Mamertinus is so intent on praising his own success with the new emperor that he does nothing to help the distinguished members of his audience feel individually immune from these wholesale accusations of the senatorial class.

123. Cf. Symmachus *Or.* 2.29–30.

124. Amm. Marc. 21.16.3: *Valdeque raro contigerat, ut militarium aliquis ad civilia regenda transiret.* Ammianus lists Constantius' rigid separation of civil and military offices among his good qualities.

125. Pompon. *Digest* 1.2.2.39 mentions M'. Manilius (cos. 149 B.C.E.); see *Digest* 1.2.2.42–43 and Cic. *Phil.* 9.10–11 for Servius Sulpicius Rufus (cos. 51 B.C.E.). Many Scaevolae were renowned as jurists: P. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 133 B.C.E.) (*Digest* 1.2.2.37, 1.2.2.39), his father (cos. 175 B.C.E.), and especially Q. Mucius Scaevola Pontifex (cos. 95 B.C.E.) (*Digest* 1.2.2.41); Q. Servidius Scaevola (*RE*, s.v. "Servidius 1"), of the second century C.E., was a jurist but never consul.

126. What Mamertinus says of the legal profession was actually true, although it went uncorrected in Julian's and subsequent reigns, despite a constitution from 363 displaying Julian's concern for the status of legal studies and practice: see B. Bischoff and D. Nörr, *Eine unbekannte Konstitution Kaiser Julians (c. Iuliani de postulando)* (Munich, 1963). Legal learning was neglected, however, in favor of rhetoric: see, for example, A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1952) 110–11.

effort but little use,[127] while men wished to seem not to desire what they could not attain. And in fact to undertake so much labor and to lose so much sleep to obtain a thing when its use did not support the ornaments of
3 one's life-style was considered madness. Thus every exertion was directed at amassing wealth; the richer a man was the better he was regarded.
4 Then there was a pitiful submission to servitude, an amazing talent for flattery.[128] The thresholds of ministers' courts were worn down daily. You would see men of patrician family bowing at the doors of those who ministered to the royal desires, deterred from a shameless action of this sort not by rain, not by cold, not by the bitterness of the insult itself.[129] Humble and prostrate they scarcely raised their heads above the knees of those whom they entreated. Finally, offices were obtained not by the judgment or the kindness of the arrogant but by their pity.[130]

21 But now, whoever longs for provinces, tribuneships, prefectures, consulships, need not seek money by lawful or unlawful means and like a cheap courtier subvert his own freedom.[131] The more prepared someone
2 is for servitude, the more unworthy of office will he be judged. And then, our leader's friends belong to some other class of men, rough (as it seems

127. While Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 42.23 praised Constantius' oratorical ability, Amm. Marc. 21.16.4 (echoed by *Epit.* 42.18) says that his intellect was not equal to the eloquence that he desired. Compare what Symmachus says of Valentinian I (note 142).

128. Note Amm. Marc. 18.4.3: *assentandi nimia foeditate.*

129. An echo of Herodotus' description of Persian couriers (8.98.1), and of Cicero (*Phil.* 9.2), who uses it in a good sense to describe devotion to duty.

130. Thus ends the exaggerated and rhetorically embellished description of Constantius' court, which Ammianus' account of various intrigues does little to contradict. See also Libanius *Or.* 18.131–41 on corruption and blackmail rampant among all levels of civil servants under Constantius.

131. Amm. Marc. 20.5.7 has Julian tell his soldiers that he will not tolerate intrigue for promotions. The practice, however, did not suffer any setback during Julian's reign. On Julian's toleration of *suffragium* (influence peddling) see *Cod. Theod.* 2.29.1 and discussion thereof by W. Goffart, "Did Julian Combat Venal *Suffragium*? A Note on *CTh* 2.29.1," *CP* 65 (1970) 145–51; R. Andreotti, "Problemi del 'suffragium' nell' imperatore Giuliano," *Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana* (Perugia, 1975) 3–25, who observes that Julian's ire was directed mainly against those who tried to do the buying; and T. D. Barnes, "A Law of Julian," *CP* 69 (1974) 288–91. Although the purchased influence would have no effect in winning office for a man if the aspirant were unworthy, he still had to pay his obligation for obtaining an interview.

to these city people), not very courteous, a little coarse;[132] they resist the flatteries of fawners, in fact they shun the touch of other men's money as if it were a noxious substance, they consider their greatest wealth to be the health of the State and the glorious praise of their Emperor. Now he 3
himself has been fortified by his great and divine good sense against all the attractions and deceptions of yes-men.[133] In fact, what danger is there from the tainted potions of flatterers to him who offers his ears grudgingly even to true praises? But now office seeking is much, much easier. Whoever 4
of you, I say, wants to obtain a magistracy, forget about gold and silver, do not go door to door visiting powerful men's houses, kiss no one's feet, clasp no one's knees. Merely summon those free and most easily provided of companions: justice, courage, moderation, and wisdom;[134] the greatest of Emperors will approach you on his own and demand that you take the State in hand.[135] While you are disengaged from public affairs and 5
occupied with other things, provinces, prefectures, fasces, the curule chair, and all the insignia of magistracies will be conferred upon you. For what faithful assurance of public office should a man of real and perfect virtue not give himself, when he sees me for the mere attribute of integrity placed thrice in one year in a position of honor?

Has any god in one year given multiple harvests to one meadow?[136] 22
Has anyone reaped more than once in one summer from the same newly

132. Nevitta is one possibility: Amm. Marc. 21.10.8 characterizes him as *inconsummatus et subagrestis* (also *crudelis*). Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc., refers to Gauls and Germans in general, whose manners were very different from Easterners'; he cites Julian *Mis.* 359B–C. Blockley, "The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus," 443, believes that Claudius Mamertinus here means Julian himself (cf. *Mis.* 360B: ἐγὼ δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἐνθάδε γελοῖος ὑμῖν ἅπασι τὰ πάντα φαίνομαι). The passage is one of rare concession, coming from a rhetorician, that there was value to be found outside the old senatorial class: see Alföldi, *Conflict of Ideas*, 103–6.

133. Amm. Marc. 21.16.16 says that Constantius was surrounded and influenced by such people, *quid ille aiat aut neget (ut assentiri possint) observantibus.*

134. The four cardinal virtues again; cf. note 36.

135. There is a letter of Julian addressed to one Leontius (*ELF* 152, 389B), whom he enrolled in his *protectores domestici* on the strength of a good report from a reliable source. See W. E. Kaegi, "Domestic Military Problems of Julian the Apostate," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 247–64 (reprinted in *Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium* [London, 1982]), on the army.

136. There follows an excursus on the speaker's triple blessings, which eventually becomes a more general encomium on life under Julian.

plowed field? Has anyone ever had a triple vintage flow in one autumn and from one vineyard? Surely there is one olive crop for each winter. But in our leader's favors manifold fecundity has nothing astonishing about
2 it. Not to mention other excellent men who from the last autumn to this one have reaped the fruits of more than one season,[137] certainly for me the consulship is the third abundance in one year. First the care of all the treasuries was committed to me, and the distribution of largesse. The prefecture holds second place among the fruits of my offices. Added to these was that which even alone would satisfy any man's greed, the
3 third of my successes, the consulship.[138] Next, although a field wastes away and becomes barren by continuous sowing and reaping, each new act of our Emperor's generosity surpasses the earlier: it does not become exhausted by its production but its fertility is enhanced by the succession of crops. What is more, the accumulation of offices conferred was new and
4 unexpected. The courses of the stars had not yet changed their positions: already our leader set the course of another dignity in motion. The sun still shone from the region of the same constellation: already the Augustus
5 crossed over the third sign of my magistracy.[139] I ask you, would it not

137. Nevitta was one (see note 5).

138. See notes 5 and 10 for Mamertinus' offices.

139. Note the astrological simile. Mamertinus exaggerates; several months passed between appointments. For a discussion of dates and times involved in Julian's march from Gaul in 361, see J. Szidat, "Zur Ankunft Julians in Sirmium 361 n. Chr. auf seinem Zug gegen Constantius II," *Historia* 24 (1975) 375–78 (cf. his *Historischer Kommentar zu Ammianus Marcellinus* [Stuttgart, 1977] 93–95), who argues against the traditional date (based on the harvest and the setting of the Pleiades in Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.4–5) of Julian's arrival at Sirmium (October 361). He calculates that Julian reached Sirmium by the middle of May, Succi by the middle of June. Paschoud, *Zosime*, 2.1: 92–94, follows Szidat's arguments and conclusions in general, although he sees no reason to distrust Zosimus' figure of eleven days for the voyage (cf. Szidat, "Zur Ankunft Julians in Sirmium," 378). Sozomen's evidence is rejected as an omen made up after the event; this may be the case. It is harder to dismiss Zosimus. Opponents of the theory should study Ammianus and Szidat's calculations of the dates, times, and distances involved and allow for different speeds in the case of an army and of an imperial messenger. Better yet, if present conditions allowed, it would be useful actually to traverse the distances by various means. I note three passages in this panegyric (6.3, 10.1, and 14.2) that suggest that Julian's time in Illyricum was very brief. *Brevitas* (like *celeritas*) is always subject to rhetorical exaggeration (or rather, the opposite); on the other hand, Julian slept little and seemed to have been engaged

seem to you that a man was covetous of empty glory and burning with an extraordinary ambition, if he hoped to attain as much as the Augustus has heaped upon me at one time?

They say that just men inhabit lands in the Ocean which they call the 23
Isles of the Blest,[140] because throughout them grain grows from unplowed soil, mountain ridges are covered with vines growing by chance, of their own trees are laden with fruits, instead of grass there are vegetables
all over. How paltry these gifts are, if you consider that god is their 2
author! Surely, although we do not cultivate our field with our own
hands, these things grow without labor for us as well. How much happier 3
is our condition! How much more outstanding is our prosperity! Not spikes of wheat, not trifling clusters of grapes, but power and riches are heaped upon men who labor at nothing; provinces, prefectures, fasces
come forth spontaneously. You, you I say, greatest of Emperors, have 4
restored exiled and banished virtues to their former privileges,[141] you have rekindled the already extinguished study of letters, you have not only freed Philosophy[142] from condemnation, which not long ago was suspect and

in some activity at most times. I do not think that the argument of how much he accomplished (however much or little that was) at Naissus can be used to argue the length of his stay there. For a critique of Szidat, see now Nixon, "Aurelius Victor and Julian," who argues on the basis of Ammianus' detailed account that Julian arrived in Sirmium ca. July.

140. See Hes. *Op.* 171; Pind. *Ol.* 2.71; Pl. *Grg.* 523B; Hor. *Epod.* 16.41; Pliny *HN* 6.32.37.202 and 4.22.36.119.

141. *Postliminium* is a return home and recovery of one's former privileges and/or rank. Pacatus *Pan.* 2.2.4 copies the idea for the reinstatement of freedom of speech (and silence): *libet igitur redditam postliminio securitatem loquendo experiri.*

142. In the following passage Mamertinus constructs an apology not for philosophy per se but for pagan culture, a hint of Julian's intended reforms (cf. Amm. Marc. 22.5.1–2). Libanius *Or.* 18.126 says that Julian brought back the exile εὐσέβεια; he speaks (but after Julian's death) directly of pagan religion. In *Or.* 12.33 of 363, Libanius is even more direct when he connects philosophy and the distinction between the true gods and the false one. Cf. Themistius *Or.* 5.63C (praise of Jovian for bringing philosophy back to the βασιλεία: it is very similar to this passage in Mamertinus, and, as Alföldi, *Conflict of Ideas*, 117, says, "very strange . . . and all this after that great reaction in favour of culture which he himself has been extolling under Constantius and Julian!"); also Claud. 22.121–31, esp. 125–27. Other orators employed similar themes to a different end. Symmachus *Or.* 2.29 praises Valentinian I for restoring oratory (and even the quality of courts of law) by conquering the Alamanni. Pacatus 2.16.2, imitating

not only despoiled of honors but accused and arraigned, but you have clothed it in purple and placed it, crowned with gold and gems, on the
5 royal throne. Now we are permitted to look up to heaven and gaze upon the stars with untroubled eyes,[143] we who not long ago fixed our trembling sights upon the ground in the manner of stooping, four-legged beasts.[144] For who dared to watch a constellation's rising, who dared to watch its setting? Not even farmers, whose works must be managed in accordance with the movement of heavenly signs, were examining presages of the seasons. Even sailors, who regulate their nocturnal courses[145] by the constellations, refrained from naming the stars. In short, people lived on land and at sea not in accordance with heavenly science but haphazardly and at random.

24 It is no wonder, then, Emperor, that the people are inflamed with so much genuine love for you; and I do not think that anyone since the birth of the human race has been regarded by mankind with such
2 ardent admiration. Affection for the rest of the kings and Emperors has been rather rare and never long-lived. It abided on the surface of men's feelings and was called forth by a benevolence which was sudden and produced by chance, not bound by admiration for

the language of this passage, says that Theodosius has brought Friendship to the throne.

143. Mamertinus equates heavenly observations, and the penalties attached thereto, with astrology, the practice of which was prohibited. See *Cod. Theod.* 9.16.4 (prohibits consultation of *haruspices, mathematici, harioli*) and 9.16.6 (punishments to be inflicted upon astrologers and worse miscreants found in the court of Constantius or Julian). Mamertinus skirts the hazardous ground of astrology's political and religious implications by staying within the practical territory of farming and navigation, thereby treating the previous legislation to a reductio ad absurdum. On the prohibition see also Libanius *Or.* 14.41: βλέπων εἰς γῆν, τὸ γὰρ εἰς οὐρανὸν σφαλερόν; Zosimus 4.33.4 writes similarly of the time of Theodosius and Gratian. Himer. *Or.* 7.9 prefaces his announcement of the restoration of pagan religion with ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸς τὸν κωλύοντα ζόφον ἀνατείνειν χεῖρας εἰς ἥλιον ἀρετῇ καθήρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπέμπειν, οἷον ἐκ ταρτάρου τινὸς καὶ ἀλαμποῦς βίου δεδώρηται.

144. Closest to the sentiment expressed here is Ov. *Met.* 1.84–86: *pronaque cum spectent animalia celera terram, / os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre / iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus*; see also Cic. *Leg.* 1.26; Sall. *Cat.* 1.1.

145. The OCT has *nocturnos casus*, Galletier and Paladini and Fedeli *cursus*, none with a note in the app. crit. I have translated *cursus*, for which *casus* seems to be a misprint in the OCT.

their virtue.[146] But our affection is one of a true and certain judgment 3
attached to the deepest abodes of our minds, intermingled and united with our spirit and life, which will live with our undying mind even when our bodies have been dissolved in death. Therefore the weapons and the 4
young men with swords and pikes are not guardians of your body, but a kind of solemn adornment of your imperial majesty.[147] What need is there for these, when you are surrounded by the firmest of walls, the citizens' love?[148] Or must you fear the Senate house, when you have not only 5
restored the Senate's ancient dignity but added even more new honors?[149] Or must the people be dreaded by the overseer of its food supply, the defender of its life, the author of its freedom?[150] Why should I speak of the soldiers? Ancient accounts cite two or at most three pairs of friends.[151] I say that no one was more loved by one friend than you are loved, 6
Emperor, not only by your counts and tribunes but by all the legions,

146. As an example, see Suet. *Tit.* 1, 6–7. Suetonius says that Titus became loved only after his accession, and that people had feared the worst of him. When he did not fulfill their expectations, their opinion suddenly changed.

147. Mamertinus trots out the usual commonplaces attendant on the topic of imperial benevolence. See Sen. *Clem.* 1.13.5: *Princeps suo beneficio tutus nihil praesidiis eget; arma ornamenti causa habet.* Cf. *Pan.* 6.11.5 (Constantine's forts decorate rather than protect the Rhine).

148. Cic. *Phil.* 2.112: *caritate et benevolentia civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis; Cat.* 4.23 (a somewhat different context): *tutissimo me muro saeptum esse arbitror*; Sen. *Clem.* 1.19.6: *Vnum est inexpugnabile munimentum, amor civium.* Cf. *Pan.* 1.49.3, 2.47.3; Claud. 8.281–82, 24.221–22.

149. One of them was frequent attendance at its meetings (Amm. Marc. 22.7.3; Libanius *Or.* 18.154; Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 3.1.54). W. Enßlin, "Kaiser Julians Gesetzgebungswerk und Reichsverwaltung," *Klio* 18 (1923) 125, notes that Julian made Marcus Aurelius his model. Julian ruled early in his reign that senators accused of crimes should not be molested or restrained unless and until they were proven guilty (*Cod. Theod.* 9.2.1). Constantius had made senators liable only for collection of taxes for recruits, and Julian decided that even this service was beneath senatorial dignity (*Cod. Theod.* 11.23.1–2). For the pro-senatorial sentiment cf. *Pan.* 12.20.1.

150. See note 91 on provisions for Rome; the rest of the sentence refers to the "liberation" of the Empire from Constantius.

151. Cf. Cic. *Amic.* 15. Pacatus *Pan.* 2.17.1 names Theseus' friend Pirithous, the Phocian youth (Pylades, who stood by Orestes), Pinthias (who offered to stand in for Damon).

7 cavalry and foot, even by the common soldiers.[152] Thus, if it were left to you, you would take all the weapons away from your guards; but when will you be able to persuade the soldiers of this?[153] The care of faithful men is an anxious one; the greatest fear is attached to the greatest love. It is not enough for us that you have succeeded in having no one wish to harm you, unless we take care that no one can.

25 Several other rulers have had a fond and devoted court, but in a different way: first because the inexperienced and unskillful ones chose all the most ignorant men for their council,[154] naturally so that their own intelligence might stand out a little from the crowd of their advisers.
2 Thus when all the most worthless people gained control of offices and riches, they loved their own advantages and their rulers' faults. All the best people were driven far away by these men, since honesty was suspect and hated,[155] and the more honorable a man was, the more he was avoided as an inconvenient witness to their shameful behavior.
3 But you, Augustus, having rid yourself of all the fools, seek out all the best and most learned men. If someone distinguishes himself in martial prowess and military renown, he is counted among your friends; he who excels in oratorical ability, or in the knowledge of civil law, is
4 invited to be a friend without his asking.[156] Whoever has shown himself blameless and energetic at any time in state administration is admitted
5 to participation in your duties. For governing provinces you choose not

152. Cf. Amm. Marc. 25.4.12, also 20.4.13–14; Libanius *Or.* 18.95–99; Julian *Ep. ad Ath.* 285B–C. The support of the Senate, people, and army is the traditional guarantee that the emperor rules with his subjects' consent, although the army was still the essential element (as at *Pan.* 6.16.2 and 17.4; 4.19.4 and 20.2).

153. See Kaegi, "Military Problems of Julian the Apostate," 255, on this passage, with its reminder of the military presence.

154. These vague accusations are not aimed specifically at Constantius, although that is the immediate effect; Alföldi, *Conflict of Ideas*, 103 (with 142 n. 48), cites the passage as "scoffs . . . uttered at the unpolished entourage of the Illyrian Emperors." The council, or consistory, as one usually calls it for this period, was comprised of various high officials, ex-officials, and others; its functions were those of a council of state as well as a court of law. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 333–41. The claim that excellence determines the prince's friendship is a commonplace (e.g., *Pan.* 2.17.4).

155. One might compare Symmachus *Or.* 4.9.

156. Julian states the same priority (military first, civil affairs second) at *Cod. Theod.* 6.26.1.

your closest acquaintances but the most upright men.[15… …12 heaped upon them by you, they are enriched with w… offices.

Further, you maintain friendships with the fa… person but an Emperor's opulence. What is the princip… perpetual and unwavering benevolence, the surest of virtues and … a leader's, [is] sincerity. I have never heard that [you] had in mind (w… I would mistrust.[158] No one has been deceived by insincere flattery, no one … by a false promise. Who does not know of the jovial cruelty and cackling violence of other Emperors,[159] who masked their natural harshness with a charade of good humor? In our leader there is a marvelous harmony of 3 mind and tongue. He knows that a lie is not only the mark of a mean and petty spirit, but a servile vice. And truly, since either need or fear makes men liars, an Emperor who lies does not recognize the greatness of his own station. Who, I ask you, has offered more proofs of faithfulness and 4 of constancy? As Emperor he maintains in the same affection all whom he accepted in friendship as a private citizen; no one has been thrust from his position, no one debarred from access to him,[160] the doors of the palace are closed to no one; he considers them all good men. In accepting friends 5 he is an excellent judge; if some are not up to standard, he remains an unchangeable friend in tolerating his friends' faults.[161]

157. Gregory Naz. *Or.* 5.19 alleges that cruelty and apostasy were deciding factors in Julian's choice of administrators; but cf. the admission at *Or.* 4.75.

158. There is a textual problem here. Mynors adds *quod* ("dubitanter"); Galletier and Paladini and Fedeli print E. Baehrens's emendation *suspicacem te* (thus putting the shoe on the other foot) for *suspicarer; alius aliud*.

159. Gaius comes instantly to mind, and others (e.g., Domitian) with whom he is rhetorically linked. Ammianus frequently (e.g., 14.5.1ff., 14.9.2, 21.16.8ff. [in company with Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus]) accuses Constantius of excessive cruelty.

160. A commonplace, for those rulers of whom one dares to say it; cf. *Pan.* 4.34.4; Pacatus *Pan.* 2.21.2; Auson. *Grat. act.* 15.71.

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27 But good fortune changes characters.[162] If it has not yet changed our
2 leader, when will it? Who ever had more divine felicity? A little while
ago, left[163] in the afflicted provinces of Gaul, he was the object of the open
violence and hidden conspiracies of mortal enemies;[164] within a very few
months by divine favor he is ruler of Libya, Europe, and Asia.[165] What
greater rewards from god shall we await, what richer gifts of Fortune?
3 See whether, elated by good fortune, he has swerved a whit from the
mildness and moderation of his former life. He has changed, clearly
he has changed; by having become more kindly he has diminished the
4 envy attached to prosperity. Who was not convinced of his moderate
spirit, at that time, for example, when the State had been freed from fear
5 of dreadful[166] war and we were all transported with passionate joy? But
although the Emperor saw that the welfare of the State had been preserved

162. Cf. Amm. Marc. 14.11.29 (on Gallus), affirming the notion, and Pacatus *Pan.* 2.12.5, praising Theodosius for not having changed.

163. It is difficult to translate the OCT *lapsus* literally; to treat the participle as if it read *delapsus* (cf. *Pan.* 8.19.1) would require *in* plus the accusative, not the ablative. Fedeli put daggers around the word; Galletier wrote *saeptus* (hedged in), E. Baehrens *lassus* (fatigued, exhausted). The notion should be something like "isolated," "confined to."

164. See notes 24 (the condition of Gaul) and 20 (slander and accusations). After Gallus' execution Julian was accused on slight grounds but was saved by Eusebia (Amm. Marc. 15.2.7–8). The open violence, if it refers to anything specific, must be the affair of Vadomarius (note 38). Cf. Julian's letter to Maximus (*ELF* 26) 415B–C. Libanius *Or.* 18.37, Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 3.1.30–31, and Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 5.2.22–23 report that Constantius was said to have sent Julian to Gaul to die in battle (Libanius makes it a fact; the others, a rumor). Socrates and Sozomen argue against it, although Sozomen says that Constantius was favorably disposed at first but after Julian was proclaimed Augustus he was either afraid because of guilt (for crimes against Julian's family) or, more likely, jealous and plotted against him through the barbarians on the Rhine.

165. Another point in Mamertinus' argument (although he wants not to appear to be arguing) for Julian's legitimacy. He is not only a better ruler than Constantius (3.9.1–10.3, 3.15.1); he acquired his territories by divine favor (cf. *caelesti ope* below, *divinior felicitas* above). In the following year, Libanius asserted (*Or.* 12.59) that there had been no insubordination at Paris: the soldiers were divinely inspired.

166. I.e., civil war (as everyone knew), which only Constantius' death prevented: its avoidance was not one of Julian's accomplishments, although Mamertinus makes it seem to be.

by heavenly assistance,[167] he both lamented the human condition and in
forgiving his injuries assumed the part of a brother;[168] he honored in death
and afterward personally paid his last respects to a man whose weapons,
he knew, had assailed his own life.[169] Admirable both for memory and
forgetfulness, forgetting that he was his enemy he remembered that he
was his heir.[170]
But why should I continue to summon up proofs of his mild and gentle 28
disposition? This very day, I repeat, this very day has offered clear enough
proofs of his courteous spirit.[171] My colleague and I were afraid that the 2
greatest of Emperors would be inclined to do something out of his passion
for politeness, so we sought the palace at the crack of dawn. Our arrival is 3
announced to our leader, who happened to be giving his attention at that
moment to well-wishers at his court. He leapt straightway from the throne

167. Mamertinus says that the gods preserved the Empire by killing Constantius. The enunciation of the notion is distasteful; here Constantius is cast as the usurper and Julian as the legitimate emperor. Cf. Julian's letters to his uncle Julian (*ELF* 28) and to Eutherius (*ELF* 29), written before he left Naissus, in which he says that the gods have saved him. He tells his uncle that he did not want Constantius to die (382B). Such a disavowal would soften the present passage. Cf. Libanius *Or.* 12.65 (*Or.* 18.117 is harsher).

168. Cf. 3.1: *imperatoris fratris* (and note ad loc.).

169. A revelation of the true situation, although Mamertinus adheres to the line that Constantius was the aggressor. Cf. Libanius *Or.* 18.120 and Julian *Mis.* 357B–C, which echo the feelings described here. Cf. Gregory Naz. *Or.* 5.17. Julian's mourning for his cousin was meant both to indicate his own legitimacy (Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien,* 209) and to reassure Constantius' soldiers. See Browning, *Emperor Julian,* 123–24; Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate,* 65. Cf. Libanius *Or.* 18.119–20; Zonar. 13.12.2–5; Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 3.1.50; Kaegi, "Military Problems of Julian the Apostate," 250–51.

170. See note 99 for the report that Constantius had named Julian his successor.

171. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede,* ad loc., followed by Lieu, *Emperor Julian,* observes that what Mamertinus is about to describe happened a mere few hours before the oration, unless Mamertinus added this section later for publication. It is not, of course, impossible that the orator had advance notice of Julian's spontaneous greeting and subsequent actions (implied in the next sentence). With a detailed discussion of the various issues involved, Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede,* ad loc., argues that Mamertinus had this section (in its basic form) already written and memorized before the events therein described took place. He may have added certain details afterward.

as if he had been anticipated, wearing an anxious and troubled expression
4 such as my own would be, if I were late meeting the ruler. With difficulty
the hosts of people who had come before us were moved back, and he
struggled to advance as far as possible to meet us.[172] Everyone there was
delighted when, in the name of sacred divinity! with what an expression,
what a voice, he said: "Be well, distinguished consul." He considered
me worthy to kiss that mouth consecrated by divine utterances, and he
gave me his right hand, that right hand, the immortal pledge of valor and
of faith.[173]

5 Poets[174] say that that highest god who holds everything in his power,
who in universal authority governs divine and human affairs, alters the
changing weather by the expression on his face when he gazes down upon
the earth; and at his nod the world shakes, when he is merry windstorms
are driven away, clouds are put to flight, shining calm is spread throughout
29 the globe.[175] A little while ago one may have experienced the truth of this
with one's own eyes. How much rejoicing did the people give vent
2 to when you smiled upon your consuls! We saw the astonished faces
of men in wonder, the diverse postures of men delighted, the various
movements of their bodies. An extravagant freedom of praise poured
forth in confused cries. The crowd capered and leapt about. Excessive
pleasures are heedless of decorum and dignified behavior. That flurry of
togas, those leaping bodies were put in motion by men almost unaware of
3 what they were doing. Unbridled joy overcame all the people's modesty,
all reverence for you. "Be well, distinguished consul!"[176] I clearly am
well, Emperor, and I shall be. And the outcome of this wish cannot be
in doubt, when he who has assured my well-being bids me to fare well.
"Distinguished consul." I clearly am both consul and a distinguished

172. Cf. Julian's reception (during a Senate meeting) of Maximus (Amm. Marc. 22.7.3; Libanius *Or.* 18.155–56) and his reaction to Libanius' oratory (Libanius *Or.* 1.129); Ammianus himself disapproved of the first incident, others not named of the second.

173. Julian does not have the consuls perform *adulatio*, but greets them in the "Republican" (or early Principate) manner.

174. Mamertinus avoids responsibility for stating his own belief.

175. Mamertinus describes the functions of Zeus/Jupiter. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc., adduces Ennius *Ann.* 456–57: *Iuppiter hic risit tempestatesque serenae riserunt omnes risu Iovis omnipotentis.* Cf. *Pan.* 7.12.8.

176. To what follows compare Auson. *Grat. act.* 9.43–10.50, analysis and praise, at much greater length, of Gratian's words.

consul, for what consul has been more distinguished than I, whom the
consulship which you bestowed, the distinction which you bestow, uplift
and make famous? After the auspicious words of the first salutation, he 4
inquires what, in accordance with consular right, it pleased us to do, as he
was intending to fulfill his duty as a senator. Did it please us to direct our
steps to the tribunal, to summon a public meeting, to ascend the rostrum?
But the solemn decrees of the Senate on this day were taking us to the
Senate house. So he instantly offers himself as companion and walks along 5
protected on either side by consuls clothed in the *toga praetexta*, in the kind
and color of his own dress not much different from his magistrates.[177]

Perhaps it may seem unnecessary to repeat what you yourselves have **30**
seen, and ears do not long for what the eyes have already taken in;[178] but
wonders scarcely to be believed must be committed to writing, attached
to monuments, passed on to our offspring in future generations. He 2
ordered consular litters to be carried almost within the very doors of the
palace. When we gave way to a feeling of respect and veneration for him
and declined that seat of distinguished authority, he put us in, practically
with his own hands, and began to walk ahead on foot, mixed with the
crowd of citizens in togas, regulating his step, almost, to the lictor's nod
and the summoner's command. Will anyone believe this who not long 3
ago observed the haughtiness of those who wore the purple?[179]—who
conferred honors upon their friends only that they not be despised as
dishonored. Will anyone believe that the ancient freedom of former ages
has been given back to the republic after such a long time?[180] I do not

177. Amm. Marc. 22.7.1 remarks that this action was not universally well received. For various of the ancients' opinions about Julian's seeking of popularity in his public behavior, see Amm. Marc. 22.7.3–4 and 25.4.18; John of Antioch, frag. 180; Eutr. 10.16; *Epit.* 43.7; Zonar. 13.13.

178. Cf. *Pan.* 9.20.2: *quo manifestius oculis discerentur quae difficilius percipiuntur auditu*, and note ad loc.

179. He means Constantius; other orators mean other princes (cf. Pliny *Pan.* 1.24.5; Pacatus *Pan.* 2.21.4–5; also Nazarius *Pan.* 4.5.2–4, without mention of Constantine's method of transportation). See Amm. Marc. 16.10.9–12 on Constantius' visit to Rome in 357.

180. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahrsrede*, ad loc., has an interesting note on the implications of "restored freedom": that both a relaxation of the worst excesses of the veneration of the emperor's person and religious freedom are meant. In the latter connection he cites *ILS* 752 (*d.n. Flv. Claudio Iuliano . . . pollenti virtutum, invicto principi, restitutori libertatis et Romanae religionis ac triumfatori orbis*) and compares Libanius *Or.* 13.39 and Himer. *Or.* 7.4.

think that the consulship of Lucius Brutus and Publius Valerius,[181] who were the first to preside over the citizens with annual power after the
4 kings were expelled, is to be preferred to ours. Each of the two was beneficial to the public good, each beneficial to the Roman State, each remarkable for marking the beginnings of better conditions; but each one has something special. They accepted their consular power through the people, we received it through Julian. In their year freedom came into being, in ours it was restored.

31 But the things which you do justly, kindly, and with moderation, most venerable Emperor, may be a source of wonder to others; to me they cannot be, since I know that you are innocent and free of every human fault and burn only with love for immortality,[182] that you direct all your powers and thoughts to the eternal memory of later generations, and respect most of all those who will pass judgment upon your accomplishments, without
2 hatred or favor,[183] in ages to come. He who knows that he will always be talked about cannot contemplate anything base or ignoble.

3 Now, Emperor, if I seem to have made an oration which is wanting in grandeur and does not correspond to your deserts, I beg and implore you to think that it should not be attributed to my ability rather than
4 to the magnitude of your favors.[184] No one, no one anywhere since the origin of mankind has obtained more distinguished rewards from kings
5 and Emperors, and upon no one has a greater burden been imposed. I shall not deny that prefectures and consulships have been offered to many,

181. Pacatus (2.20.5) also employs Brutus (without his colleague) to approve of Theodosius' behavior. Brutus is a favorite with Claudian (18.438ff., 20.141, 8.401, 22.377ff., 24.191–92). P. Valerius was not one of the original consuls for 509 B.C.E.; see Livy 2.2.3–11.

182. Cicero had said as much of Caesar (*Marc.* 27: *quamquam iste tuus animus numquam his angustiis quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit contentus fuit, semper immortalitatis amore flagravit*). See in this connection Libanius *Or.* 18.306; Amm. Marc. 25.4.18; *Epit.* 43.7.

183. An echo that goes beyond Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.1.6) or Sallust (*Cat.* 4.2) to Cicero *Marc.* 29: *servi igitur eis iudicibus qui multis post saeculis de te iudicabunt et quidem haud scio an incorruptius quam nos; nam et sine amore et sine cupiditate et rursus sine odio et sine invidia iudicabunt.* Julian had to wait many centuries for a dispassionate judgment; for over a millennium his name provoked various responses, all of them emotional. Sometimes it still does. See Browning, *Emperor Julian*, 219–35.

184. Cf. Libanius *Or.* 18.4, Amm. Marc. 16.1.2–4, and Zosimus 3.2.4, all of whom find that words are unequal to Julian's praises. Mamertinus borrows the phrasing from Cic. *Red. Sen.* 1.

but to these men the honor has been returned as if it were owed them after their labors; but although I have already attained the office, I must now at last labor to deserve it.[185] Time's reckoning has been overturned, the succession of services has been transformed, and I must strive only to be considered worthy of the reward, since I have already received it. O 6
the burdensome weight of your hasty benevolence! I fear that I might not have the power to express clearly the series of difficulties which face me. It is easier, Emperor, to deserve by good conduct to be made consul than by industry and labor to effect an appearance of deserving it, when you have been made one.

Away with that omen, Emperor, and may sacred divinity avert it, that 32
you await a return from any mortal man for your kindness! Nevertheless (and it is this alone which either your fate can accept or we can add to your power) I shall cherish the undying fame of your gifts with never-ending services.[186] All of my free time, all of my official time will be 2
spent in commending and celebrating your deeds; and not only will the goodwill of a grateful spirit be manifest while I am alive and well, but even when breath has forsaken me the remembrance of your kindness to me will endure. In returning thanks, however, most venerable Emperor, I 3
promise you this and I shall always keep the promise, that truthfulness will never fail me in offering advice, nor courage in undergoing dangers if need be, nor good faith in giving my straightforward opinion, nor freedom in denying men's desires in favor of the State or of you, nor industry in accomplishing work, nor the goodwill of a grateful spirit in augmenting

185. Mamertinus was engaged already in the trials at Chalcedon, of which he says not a word. In December 361 Julian established a court to try those accused of serious misbehavior under Constantius (Julian says in a letter to Hermogenes that he was unwilling to establish the court but did so in the face of the many accusers who came forward: *ELF* 33 [390A]). The condemnation of Ursulus was shocking and unfortunate, however much or little the others deserved their fates. See Amm. Marc. 22.3.1–12; Libanius *Or.* 18.152; Gregory Naz. *Or.* 4.64; Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, 209–12; Thompson, *Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus*, 73–79 (who believes that the trials were aimed by the military against the civil service); Browning, *Emperor Julian*, 124–25; Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 66–69. See also R. Andreotti, "L'opera legislativa ed amministrativa dell' imperatore Giuliano," *NRS* 14 (1930) 342–83 (the baggage and hindrances of the previous reign); and Kaegi, "Military Problems of Julian the Apostate," 251ff., on Julian's severe troubles with the army and debts to various elements: Gauls, Magnentius' supporters, the Eastern army for accepting him.

186. This and what follows are modeled on Cic. *Red. Quir.* 24.

the benefits of your rule, and at every time of my life I shall strive and endeavor to my utmost to prove that your honors appear not to have been offered to just anybody because it was necessary to offer them to someone, but, because it was the proper thing, to have rightly been placed and settled upon me.[187]

187. From Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.37: *ut haec ipsa aedilitas, non quia necesse fuerit, sed quia sic oportuerit, recte conlocata et indici populi in loco esse posita videatur.* For good measure Mamertinus adds the *esse videatur* clausula, almost *ipsissimis verbis.*

II

LATINUS PACATUS DREPANIUS, PANEGYRIC OF THEODOSIUS

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

Latinus (or Latinius) Pacatus Drepanius was born in the territory of the Nitiobriges,[1] the chief town of whom, Aginium (Agen), lay on the Garonne southeast of Bordeaux. Such is the inescapable implication of a passage in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris.[2] Pacatus tells us (2.1) that he "hastened [to Rome] from the furthest recesses of Gaul, where Ocean's shore receives the setting sun, and where the land gives out and is united with its companion element." This description fits Bordeaux, and it seems highly likely that he had made that city his home, and that he was a professor of rhetoric in the schools at Bordeaux. As E. Galletier has observed, his failure to appear in Ausonius' *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium* is to be explained by the fact that it is a commemorative

1. The genitive *Latini* in the manuscript title would seem to admit of either *Latinus* or *Latinius*.

2. *Ep.* 8.11.1–2, dated 477–478 by A. Loyen in his Budé edition, *Sidoine Apollinaire* (Paris, 1970) 3: 200 n. 40. Galletier, 3: 48, suggests, on the basis of Pacatus' own words at 2.1 (*ab ultimo Galliarum recessu,* etc.) and his association with Ausonius, that he was born at Bordeaux. But the passage in question refers to the starting point of his journey to Rome, not to his birthplace.

work, and that Pacatus was still alive when it was composed.[3] Ausonius dedicated several works to his friend—the *Eclogues*, *Technopaegnion*, and *Ludus septem sapientum*—and professed to regard his poetry, which does not survive, as inferior only to that of Virgil.[4]

But if Pacatus was a colleague of Ausonius, he was a much younger one—Ausonius addressed him as *filius*—and it is impossible to demonstrate an acquaintance between the two until late in Ausonius' lifetime and difficult to find a period at which they might have been teaching together at Bordeaux.[5] Perhaps, after all, the relationship was between poet and poet. Of Pacatus' life in Bordeaux we hear nothing.

What were the circumstances of Pacatus' long journey to Rome? He left in the aftermath of a political revolution: the previous year (388) Theodosius had at last met the armies of the usurper Magnus Maximus in the field—in Illyricum and in Italy—and the latter's five years of rule in Gaul had come to an end; he and his son had been killed, and his supporters and officials in Gaul presumably dismissed or cowed. Pacatus sought the victorious emperor in Italy, "through admiration of [his] virtues" (2.1). It was a "pious duty," he tells us, "in fulfillment of the vow I once took" (3.2). Despite these protestations of personal involvement and initiative, it has usually been assumed that Pacatus was on an official mission as an ambassador from the Gauls—or some of them.[6] There was certainly no shortage of official bodies who might have chosen a leading rhetor to make representations on their behalf to the senior emperor on the occasion of his victory over their late master, or "tyrant." Congratulations were in order, and perhaps explanations of recent conduct. Compulsion had been exercised, one might claim (2.2–4), and Maximus had misrepresented Theodosius' attitude to him, and indeed their very relationship (24.1, 43.6). But anyone prominent in public life in Gaul, whether at diocesan, provincial, or municipal level, might well feel nervous and

3. Galletier, 3: 49.

4. *Eclogues, praef*. 12.

5. After teaching in Bordeaux for thirty years Ausonius was called to the court of Trier, ca. 365–367, to become tutor to Gratian, and subsequently to enjoy a distinguished career in imperial service; presumably he did not return for any length of time until after his consulship in 379, when he retired to the estate *in Novaro pago* that his father had left him (*Domestica* 1; *Ep*. 27.90ff). And the coup of Maximus found him again—or still?—in Trier in 383 (*Ep*. 20 lemma).

6. Galletier, 3: 50; S. MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," in *Empire and Aftermath*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London, 1975) 174; A. Lippold, *Theodosius der Grosse*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1980) 39.

wish to send an emissary to assure Theodosius of his Western subjects' goodwill. But Pacatus does not give us details of his mission, if any (unlike some of his predecessors; e.g., *Pan*. 4.21.1). He simply speaks as a Gaul (23.1) on the subject of the misfortunes of the Gauls (24.4). While it is possible that he was speaking before the emperor as an individual, it seems far more likely that he was acting in some official capacity or other.[7] He certainly had it in mind to return to Gaul after his speech was delivered (47.5–6), although we cannot prove that he did so. In the event, our speaker did his job well; Theodosius cannot have been displeased with his speech, for Pacatus turns up a few months afterward as proconsul of Africa (*Cod. Theod*. 9.2.4; 4 Feb. 390). Nor did his career end there, for he was *comes rei privatae* in 393.[8]

Pacatus tells us very little about himself in his speech, although it is possible to make intelligent guesses about the interests he was serving (see below). He spoke before an intensely religious emperor, and there are passages in the panegyric that have excited speculation as to Pacatus' own religious views. Galletier (3: 50–51) argues on the basis of several of these (4.5, 6.3–4, 10.1, 22.5, 29) that he cannot have been a Christian. None of these passages is conclusive (see notes ad loc.). Certainly it can be conceded that he took over material and modes of speech that stem from a non-Christian thought world, but that was simply appropriate to the genre and says nothing about his personal beliefs, which he deliberately masks. Not for him the creation of a new genre, the Christian panegyric,

7. But it is not legitimate to argue, as Galletier does (3: 50), in the context of Pacatus' friendship with Ausonius and Symmachus, that he was chosen, inter alia, as a man who was "en relations avec des hommes qui étaient bien en cour" (i.e., the Italian court). First, the letters that Symmachus addresses to Pacatus are dated after his appointment as proconsul (8.12, 9.61, 9.64; Alan Cameron has questioned whether they are addressed to our Pacatus at all: "Polyonomy in the Late Roman Aristocracy," *JRS* 75 [1985] 175). Second, while Pacatus was presumably on friendly terms with Ausonius earlier than this, one must ask whether Ausonius was "bien en cour" in the late 380s. He was now in retirement in Gaul, and remote from public affairs (above, n. 5).

8. *Cod. Theod*. 9.42.13 (12 Jan. 393). The identification of this Drepanius with the panegyrist has been questioned by A. Lippold, "Herrscherideal und Traditionsverbundenheit im Panegyricus des Pacatus," *Historia* 18 (1968) 228, but it has been made all the more plausible by a comparison with other careers influenced by Theodosius' stay in the West; see J. F. Matthews, "Gallic Supporters of Theodosius," *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1079ff.

which would praise an emperor not for his military exploits but for his faith and humility.[9]

A sensitive commentator, René Pichon, detected more than conventional diatribe in Pacatus' onslaught on Maximus and hypothesized that he was giving vent to personal rancor, that he was writing as a representative of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy whose interests had suffered, as well as a Gallic patriot.[10] This may well be so. He certainly puts forward an upper-class point of view. When making great play of Maximus' "avarice," his confiscation of property (25–28), Pacatus singles out as victims "men who had performed the highest offices," "noble fugitives," and "ex-consuls stripped of their ceremonial robes" (25.1–2). Similarly, when he comes to praise Theodosius' clemency (45.6), he emphasizes that "the property of none was confiscated, . . . no one's previous rank diminished." Passages such as these must have touched a sympathetic chord among his senatorial audience. Sulpicius Severus, who gave his property away and followed St. Martin, had a rather more detached view of Maximus' fiscal policies (see commentary, note 87).

Another passage that may reflect a personal reaction is that relating to the condemnation of the Priscillianists (29). Galletier (3: 51, 58–59), following Pichon (*Écrivains profanes*, 149), is inclined to view it as the response of humanitarian indignation at religious intolerance, but there may be further reason for its inclusion. Maximus' court at Trier was far from Bordeaux, but the persecution of the Priscillianists touched prominent people from Pacatus' native district, in particular the widow Euchrotia, whose husband, the poet and rhetor Attius Tiro Delphidius, was one of the professors of Bordeaux (note 96). The family estate, to which Euchrotia had invited Priscillian after he had been ejected from Bordeaux, lay near Elusa, only 40 miles to the southwest of Aginium (Agen), Pacatus' hometown, and according to Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* 2.48) Priscillian had infected many in the district. This is the explanation of the presence of the bishops of Bordeaux and Agen, Delphinus and Phoebadius, at the Council of Saragossa, which condemned the doctrines of Priscillian and his followers in 380.[11] Whatever the broader implications of the persecution, it seems to have made a deep impression on Pacatus,[12] and he writes with bitter irony on the subject (29.1–3 and notes 96–97).

9. See MacCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," 169–72, on Ambrose and Paulinus.

10. *Les derniers écrivains profanes* (Paris, 1906) 139–41.

11. See J. F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364–425* (Oxford, 1975) 161. Only twelve bishops were signatories of the council; the others whose sees can be identified were all from Spain.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

For much of the fourth century the Roman Empire was ruled by more than one emperor, the task of ruling the whole being too great for most men, as threats to its integrity were more or less continuous. Harmony and trust between emperors was of crucial importance to Rome's welfare; political and religious differences were potentially disastrous.

Valentinian I's death in 375 left his youthful son Gratian Emperor of the Western Empire, but Valentinian's advisers contrived to have Valentinian II, Gratian's four-year-old half brother, proclaimed Augustus as well (Amm. Marc. 30.10) and given rule over Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. This might have made Gratian's task easier in Gaul, for he was no military man, and Gaul was under constant threat, but it gave Valentinian I's widow, Justina, a staunch Arian, access to power and influence that was to hinder unified policy-making.

Barbarians continued to press upon the whole length of Rome's northern frontier, and the emperor in the East, Valentinian I's brother Valens, had been forced to admit Goths into the Empire in 376. Mistreated, they rose in revolt and at the battle of Adrianople in Thrace, 9 August 378, inflicted a terrible defeat on the Romans, a veritable Cannae (Amm. Marc. 31.13.19). Valens himself was killed. Illyricum was in turmoil, and Goths, Huns, and Alani roamed over Roman soil from Constantinople to the Julian Alps (see note 8). In this crisis Theodosius was summoned by Gratian to fight the Visigoths and their allies. The former was in Spain, where he had been living after the execution of his father (9); he had been appointed *magister militum* in 378, then Augustus in 379. Theodosius failed to expel the barbarians from the Empire, however, and in 382 assigned them lands in Thrace by treaty.

In 383, Magnus Maximus, who had almost certainly been in command of troops in Britain (note 78), crossed into Gaul, and Gratian was killed. Maximus set himself up as emperor at Trier and immediately began to negotiate with the court in Italy, and with Theodosius. Maximus had connections with Theodosius (see 24.1, 31.3, 43.6, and accompanying notes), and Theodosius, a pious man and strenuous adherent to the Nicene

12. See, too, Galletier, 3: 58 n. 4; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 169. For a more general treatment of the Priscillianist movement, see below, pp. 442–43.

Creed, was troubled by the Arian complexion of a court dominated by Justina. The existing tension between Eastern and Western courts could only be compounded by the problem of how best to deal with the usurper Maximus.

It is difficult to gauge the amount of support that Maximus enjoyed in Gaul. Gratian, a cultured young man, was averse to the responsibilities of government and was held to favor barbarians over Romans (*Epit.* 47.4–6; Zosimus 4.35.2–3). Gaul had often chosen to act independently of the central government when it felt its interests were not being properly served, notably in the third century, but also more recently, and it may have welcomed a ruler who gave promise of more vigorous resistance to barbarian invaders. Certainly there is little sign of a threat to Maximus' government from within; he came to grief on a battlefield far from Gaul.

By the mid-fourth century Christianity was firmly entrenched in the towns of Gaul, as the career of Hilary of Poitiers demonstrates, but the countryside was comparatively untouched until the belligerent expeditions of Martin of Tours, described so vividly by Sulpicius Severus in his *Life of St. Martin*, resulted in the destruction of numerous pagan temples and shrines, and their replacement by Christian churches.[13] Gradually the Gallic landowning nobility became involved in the Church, and by the fifth century, with the breakdown of central government in the West, it was in the guise of bishops that members of this class assumed the leadership of their society. Thus late fourth-century Gaul was in a state of religious ferment, and it is not altogether surprising that Maximus should have to deal with a crisis in the Church. In the event, however, this crisis was precipitated by an issue that had been imported into Gaul from Spain.

In the 370s Priscillian, a Spanish layman of noble birth and good education, preached a mystical and ascetic form of Christianity owing much to Gnosticism. His following numbered two bishops among it, but in 380 a church council at Saragossa (Caesaraugusta), which included two bishops from Aquitania, suggesting that the issue already affected Gaul, condemned his doctrines, although it did not mention him by name. Subsequently Priscillian was consecrated bishop of Avila—which incidentally lay scarcely 40 miles south of Cauca, where Theodosius

13. E. Mâle, *La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes* (Paris, 1950) 33–38, in discussing this aspect of Martin's activities, notes that coin series from excavated pagan temples frequently end with issues of Valentinian I (364–375), and in one case, with those of Magnus Maximus. While this period is a turning point, there are of course pagan survivals well beyond this date; for Trier, for example, see E. M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London, 1970) 237ff.

had been living in virtual retirement on his family estates only two or three years before.[14] But Priscillian's opponents succeeded in driving him and his supporters out of Spain, whereupon they sought refuge with sympathizers in Aquitania. A journey to Italy to plead their case led to rebuffs from Pope Damasus in Rome and Bishop Ambrose in Milan, but they obtained a rescript from one of Gratian's officials authorizing them to resume possession of their sees. By now, however, there was a new ruler in the West, Magnus Maximus, recently baptized as a Catholic (presumably by the bishop of Trier, no friend of the Priscillianists),[15] and he was besieged by indignant bishops. In response Maximus convened a new council at Bordeaux, in 384. Priscillian refused to recognize its authority and appealed to Maximus. He was tried at Maximus' court at Trier, probably in 386, and executed on a charge of sorcery, along with several of his followers (see further, notes 96ff.).

Shortly after these events, probably in the summer of 387, Maximus invaded Italy, and, in the following year, Illyricum. After years of inaction Theodosius finally marched west against the usurper. It is Pacatus who with Zosimus provides us with our fullest account of Maximus' last campaign.

DATE, CIRCUMSTANCES, AND OCCASION OF THE SPEECH

Pacatus' speech was delivered in Rome, in the presence of the emperor Theodosius, his *consilium* (or "consistory"), and the Senate (1, 47), a year or so after the death of Maximus, whose suppression by Theodosius is its major theme. Maximus was put to death on 28 July or 28 August 388 (note 151). Theodosius' first visit to Rome lasted from 13 June to 30 August or 1 September 389,[16] and so the speech was delivered at some point during this period, but at what point is not entirely clear. One of Theodosius' purposes in visiting Rome was to celebrate, somewhat belatedly, a triumph for his victory over the usurper.[17] This may have been timed to coincide with the first anniversary of Maximus' final defeat.[18] Pacatus' language

14. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 170; A. R. Birley, "Magnus Maximus and the Persecution of Heresy," *BRL* 66 (1983) 21–22.

15. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 164–65.

16. Entry: *Chron. min.* 1.245, 298; 2.62; departure: 1.298 (30 Aug.); 2.62 (1 Sept.), confirmed by eight laws in the *Cod. Theod.*

17. Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.14; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 7.14.7; Rufin. *Hist. eccl.* 2.17.

18. So M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* (Cambridge, 1986) 85 (cf. pp. 44, 83).

suggests that his speech was delivered shortly after Theodosius' entry into Rome (47.3–4) and that the actual triumphal celebration had not yet taken place (46.4).

The speech was delivered in the Senate house, with its intimidating ghosts (1.3–4). It was followed by others from Roman senators, whether on the same day or (more probably) later (47.3–4). There was a division of labor: Pacatus will discourse upon Theodosius' achievements "in barbarous lands and in distant provinces" (47.2); he leaves to others the emperor's subsequent deeds in Rome and implies that they will have no dearth of material. He speaks by license of both emperor and Senate (47.2), but despite its venue, very little in Pacatus' speech is directed toward the Senate: it is a speech in praise of Theodosius. Nothing less would have brought him all the way from Gaul.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE

"The imperial oration is an encomium of the emperor. It will thus embrace a generally agreed amplification of things attaching to the emperor, but allows no ambivalent or disputed features, because of the extreme splendour of the person concerned."[19]

St. Augustine, when rhetor of the city of Milan, was called upon to pronounce a panegyric in praise of the emperor. His intention, he confesses, was to fill it with a great many lies, and he avers that they would certainly be applauded by an audience that knew them to be such (*Confessions* 6.6). Making allowance for the harshness of St. Augustine's self-judgment, we have no reason to think that Pacatus' intentions and accomplishment were a whit different. This may disconcert the reader who approaches our speech to glean historical information. But such is our ignorance of the period that we welcome the incidental intelligence that the panegyrist proffers, and even his "lies" and exaggerations can be revealing in themselves. And paradoxically, in this particular case, to have a panegyrical account of the achievements of Theodosius, the victor, adds a dimension to our understanding of the period. Zosimus, our main narrative source, is virulently anti-Theodosian. Sulpicius Severus, biographer of St. Martin and chronicler, is surprisingly sympathetic to Maximus (note 87). Ambrose, while opposed to Maximus, writes as a representative of the court in Italy. Theodosius is in want of a spokesman.

19. Menander Rhetor *Second Treatise*, "On Epideictic Oratory," 368 (trans. Russell and Wilson).

This said, it must be admitted that the first half of Pacatus' panegyric, in particular, contains much verbose and platitudinous vaporing, and all too little of historical substance, although there are some items of interest, such as a catalogue of the exploits of "Count" Theodosius, the emperor's father (5), and snippets of information about Theodosius' early career. But the second half of the speech, on the "tyranny" of Maximus and its suppression (23ff.), is an important source in its own right, containing, for example, the most detailed narrative we possess of Theodosius' final campaign against the usurper (30ff.). Among other things, Pacatus also touches on the fate of Merobaudes (28.4) and the trial of Priscillian and his followers (29) and furnishes intriguing information about Maximus' claims, and his relationship with Theodosius (24.1, 30.1–2, 43.6). He speaks plainly of resentment at Theodosius' neglect of Gaul (23.1) and his failure to put a speedy end to the tyranny of Maximus (see 30.1 and note 103). Pacatus does not gloss over the delay, but he does gloss over the prior relationships between Maximus, Theodosius, and Valentinian II. While it suits his purposes admirably to brand Maximus as a treaty breaker, it would not serve to emphasize that the usurper was accorded any kind of formal recognition. As it happens, our knowledge of the relations between the three emperors is imperfect, and Theodosius in particular had good reasons for drawing a veil over his ambivalent conduct. Maximus' *imperium* lasted from mid-383 to mid-388, so that it is clear that, for whatever reason, Gratian's assassination was not swiftly avenged.

According to Zosimus (4.37), after Gratian's death Maximus sent an embassy to Constantinople that proposed a treaty (σπονδάς), peace, and an alliance, and Theodosius actually recognized him as emperor, while secretly preparing for war. No other source contains a word of these negotiations, and it is possible that Zosimus is referring to an extended period of time in describing Theodosius' response. The first specific item he mentions, the sending of Cynegius, the praetorian prefect, to Egypt to close pagan temples, to display Maximus' image in public, and to announce that Theodosius was sharing rule with him may date as late as 386.[20]

What of Zosimus' claim that Theodosius secretly prepared for war? O. Seeck takes this seriously and, arguing on the basis of *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.107, postulates a meeting between Theodosius and Valentinian II at

20. See J. F. Matthews, review of *PLRE* (I), *CR* 24 (1974) 101; F. Paschoud, *Zosime: Histoire nouvelle*, livre 4 (Paris, 1979) 425, suggests ca. 385–386; D. Vera, "I rapporti fra Magno Massimo, Teodosio e Valentiniano II nel 383–384," *Athenaeum* 53 (1975) 279–82, argues for 384.

Verona in late summer 384.[21] This has been convincingly rebutted by D. Vera:[22] Theodosius would have had to travel 90 Roman miles a day for fifteen days. Nevertheless, it is clear from Themistius *Orations* 18.220D–221A (384) that an expedition "to the Rhine" was organized to avenge Gratian and save Valentinian II, and perhaps it was set in motion. If so, we do not know how far it progressed. We hear nothing more of it. Theodosius certainly made no further move westward until 388. Furthermore, certain facts suggest that indeed there was an accord between him and Maximus. Not only is there Cynegius' mission, but in 386 the consulship of Maximus' praetorian prefect, Euodius, was recognized in the East,[23] and coins were issued at Constantinople in Maximus' name.[24] Maximus reciprocated with coins in Theodosius' name (including a CONCORDIA AVGGG reverse that imitates an issue of Theodosius from 379–383; *RIC* 9.25, no. 55a). On the surface, at least, relations seem cordial. It must be admitted that Theodosius was preoccupied with problems in the East—negotiations with Persia over Armenia continued, and in 386 the Greuthungi invaded Thrace. The avenging of Gratian does not appear to have been high on his list of priorities. Furthermore it must be remembered that the Eastern army had scarcely had time to recover from the disaster at Adrianople. Theodosius would not have been enthusiastic about confronting an unscathed Western army.[25] When he did move, it was only after the enrollment of numerous barbarian contingents (see 32, 33.4, and notes 117 and 121). After his victory he hastened to incorporate the best of Maximus' troops into his own army (Zosimus 4.57.2). Therefore one does not have to entertain suspicions that Theodosius secretly sympathized with Maximus, either because they were related, or companions in arms, or fellow Catholics, or because the usurper had killed the man responsible for Theodosius' father's death, much less to argue that he was privy to Maximus' coup. And of course there were some advantages for him in having a ruler in the West who could hold the Rhine frontier.

The colorful description of the plight of Gaul under the usurper (24.3ff.) can be variously interpreted. There is some evidence to suggest that indeed life was not easy for men of property under Maximus (note

21. *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart, 1920) 5: 197; 513, 18.

22. "I rapporti fra Magno Massimo, Teodosio e Valentiniano II nel 383–384," 267ff.

23. *Cod. Theod.* 2.33.2f., 3.4.1, 8.5.48, 9.44.1, 12.6.21.

24. Rev. VIRTUS EXERCITI; cf. *RIC* 9.233, no. 83d.

25. See J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* (Oxford, 1990) 30.

87), but in more dispassionate accounts the latter earns his measure of praise (note 87), and it is not cynical to suggest that one of Pacatus' chief purposes is to justify or extenuate any apparent collaboration with the tyrant (see 24.1, 43.6, and note 81). How closely Pacatus was touched by events we can only guess. It is by no means inconceivable that some of his friends and acquaintances were closely associated with the regime, but if he were selected to perform some official mission on behalf of the Gauls (see above), one would scarcely expect him to have been tainted by any close dealings with the "purple-clad butcher" (24.1).

But while one may concede that Pacatus is concerned to put the behavior of his fellow Gauls in the best possible light, he is also serving the interests of the emperor Theodosius. Pichon has sought to qualify this judgment by suggesting that Pacatus' personal feelings have led him to go farther than Theodosius would have wished, that in depicting so vividly the tribulations of the Gauls he was embarrassing the emperor (see 24.2), indeed, was being "maladroit" (*Écrivains profanes*, 139–40). But I think he is inclined to underestimate the effect upon us of our own ignorance. I very much doubt that Pacatus was letting any cats out of the bag before his Roman audience. While it may be news to us that Maximus claimed both kinship with Theodosius and his support (24.1), it must have been common knowledge at the time, and Pacatus' very mention of the claims indicates that they were still widely believed and needed firm denial. In making Maximus' confession that his claims were false a highlight of the speech (43.6) Pacatus must have been reasonably confident of Theodosius' approval.

Another controversial question was Theodosius' policy toward barbarians, in particular, the Goths (notes 67, 117). The amount of space that Pacatus devotes to praise of the barbarians in Theodosius' army is striking (32.3ff.). Obviously he seeks to mute criticism of the emperor, which must have been strident in the West, as well as the East, in recent years, for one of the chief objections to Gratian was the favor he showed to his Alani, and Maximus had no doubt capitalized upon this (note 76).

Nonetheless, there is a school of thought that maintains that lofty silence is the best way to deal with criticism. That was not Pacatus' way.*

* An earlier version of this translation of Pacatus, with commentary, appeared in 1987 as vol. 2 in the series Translated Texts for Historians published by Liverpool University Press, with whose kind permission this version is here included.

II. LATINUS PACATUS DREPANIUS, PANEGYRIC OF THEODOSIUS

1 If ever there was anyone, Emperor Augustus, who was justifiably in fear and trembling when about to speak in your presence, it is assuredly I, and I both feel it myself, and see that this is how I must seem to those
2 who share in your counsel.[1] For while it was always fitting to praise you beyond all previous Emperors, now and for the future it is appropriate that you be acclaimed in speech, beyond the measure of praise accorded you elsewhere, in that city[2] whose liberty you defended while in arms, and whose dignity you increased while clad in the toga. How then can I possibly do justice in my speech to the majesty of you both, especially at a time, when both of you in turn have grown so great that you, O Emperor, have never yet been so majestic, nor the city more fortunate?
3 An additional challenge is that my audience is the Senate. Not only is it difficult to satisfy it with regard to you because of the love it has for you, it is even more difficult, because of its inborn and hereditary gift of eloquence, not to induce in it a feeling of distaste for the crude and uncultivated roughness of this, my Transalpine mode of speech—all the more so since it may seem an absurd and perverse arrogance to make a display of rhetoric before these men when they are the very font from which it flows and only a recent side channel has made it available for
4 use among us as well.[3] With thoughts like these in mind I am so disturbed that I think that not only those whom I am looking at are present today,

1. A reference to the emperor's *consistorium*, which will have accompanied him on his journey to Rome; see Amm. Marc. 15.5 for its operation under Constantius II, and A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford, 1964) 333ff. The phrase is taken over from the exordium of Mamertinus' speech to Julian (*Pan.* 3.1), the first of many such borrowings from other speeches in the corpus.

2. Rome; see the Introduction. Note Pacatus' failure to mention the absent Valentinian II, who is rightly regarded as a cipher.

3. The speaker's profession of inadequacy is a convention; here Pacatus elaborates upon the sentiments expressed by the orator of 313 (*Pan.* 12.1.2). In fact Gallic oratory was celebrated; Symmachus sought a Gallic rhetor to instruct his son Memmius (*Ep.* 6.34). He himself had imbibed rhetoric from a teacher from Bordeaux (*Ep.* 9.88, which is a noteworthy tribute to Gallic eloquence). But Pacatus' trepidation may not be entirely artifice; as we shall see below, he was to touch on some delicate matters.

but I imagine in attendance and appearing before me as I am about to speak Cato himself, and Cicero and Hortensius and a host of orators such as these listening to me in the person of their descendants. Thus I am 5
beset by manifold fears and as if it were not enough to be afraid of what I see, I see additional things which I am bound to fear.

What then? Does a new terror and unexpected fright seize me in 2
the very moment of speaking? But all these billows on which I am tossed this way and that I had thought about long ago and had seen from afar; but when through admiration of your virtues I had hastened from the farthest recesses of Gaul, where Ocean's shore receives the setting sun and where the land gives out and is united with its companion element, to contemplate and venerate you,[4] so that I might take in also with my eyes the marvels of which I had heard, I was afraid, I must confess, to ruin by disrespectful silence the performance of a pious duty. Thus while I 2
pass off my effrontery as deference, while I cannot imagine joy and silence coexisting in the same person, I have united two most disparate things, fear and brashness. And indeed what has impelled me to speak is that no one was coercing me to do so. For panegyric is not extorted any more, nor do utterances wrung by fear redeem one from the perils of silence. Let it be a thing of the past, now done away with, that dire compulsion 3
of a servile rhetoric, when false flattery gratified a harsh tyrant courting every breath of public approbation by empty popularity, when victims would give thanks, and not to have praised the tyrant was considered an accusation of tyranny. Now there is equal freedom to speak or keep silent 4
and it is as safe to have said nothing about the leader as it is easy to praise him. And so it is a pleasure to experience in speaking a security which has been restored from exile, as it were; it is a pleasure, I say, because no Emperor deserves to be praised more than he who does not have to be.[5]

4. His starting point appears to have been Bordeaux; see the Introduction. The formal ceremony of *adoratio* entailed prostration at the feet of the emperor. An amusing passage in *Pan.* 11.11.1 describes the confusion caused when privileged subjects were admitted into the presence of joint emperors and did not know in which direction to make obeisance.

5. The hackneyed sentiments and familiar tags ("united disparate things," "equal freedom"—cf. Pliny *Pan.* 1.24.1; Tac. *Agr.* 3) may distract the reader. One is entitled to wonder whether Pacatus, like Symmachus, had praised Maximus in panegyric. (For Symmachus' panegyric to Maximus [Milan, 388] and his embarrassment and subsequent pardon by Theodosius, see Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.14.6.) Symmachus will have been in the audience, and Pacatus' insistence

3 Then let the beginning of this speech of mine be that auspicious day
2 of public felicity which first inaugurated your reign.[6] For just as in the performance of divine rites we direct our faces to that quarter of the sky in which the light first appears,[7] so in the fulfillment of the vow I once took to deliver an oration, let me regard in my speech that time from which the
3 light began to shine at Rome. The State was lying grievously afflicted, or I should say, rendered lifeless, by innumerable ills, and barbarian peoples
4 had flowed over Roman territory like a kind of flood.[8] But I shall refrain from going over the causes and irritating a sore that has been assuaged.

on the element of compulsion will have warmed the senator to him (see the Introduction).

6. A variation on a formula—panegyrics were regularly delivered at the celebration of an imperial anniversary—which derives its inspiration from *Pan.* 4.2.2. This was not such an anniversary; Pacatus commences, appropriately, with Theodosius' accession on 19 January 379 (*Chron. min.* 1.243) in the aftermath of the battle of Adrianople.

7. This has been cited as evidence that Pacatus was Christian, on the ground that pagans would face the cult image (J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* [Oxford, 1979] 301). Others find it inconclusive (e.g., Pichon, *Écrivains profanes*, 147–48). The use of the first person certainly implies personal identification with the practice of orientation, and in the presence of Theodosius Pacatus might well be referring to contemporary Christian practice (cf. Tert. *Apol.* 16 and *Ad nat.* 1.13 for such practice leading pagans to believe that Christians worshipped the sun, and Lactant. *Div. inst.* 2.9 for the symbolic value of the East for Christians). But Pacatus' words are both public and politically charged, and even were it granted that he has Christians exclusively in mind there could be no safe inference from them as to his private beliefs, only that he was familiar with Christian ritual and with Theodosius' convictions (see the Introduction).

8. After the battle of Adrianople (9 August 378), for which see Amm. Marc. 31.12.10–13.19. After the battle the Goths made a vain attempt to take the city of Adrianople (Amm. Marc. 31.15); then, joined by the Huns and Alani, they advanced on Constantinople but were checked by a troop of Saracens in front of the city (Amm. Marc. 31.16). "They then dispersed throughout the northern provinces, over which they roamed at will as far as the foot of the Julian Alps" (Amm. Marc. 31.16.7). For Rufinus, writing a generation later, "this battle was the beginning of evil for the Roman Empire, then and thereafter" (*Hist. eccl.* 2.13). He was not alone in his judgment; see J. A. Straub, "Die Wirkung der Niederlage bei Adrianopel auf die Diskussion über das Germanenproblem in der spätrömischen Literatur," *Philologus* 95 (1943) 255–86. For the battle itself, see T. S. Burns, "The Battle of Adrianople," *Historia* 22 (1973) 336–45; for the

For not only is the recollection of calamities vivid in itself, but in addition I am afraid of darkening the brightness of this present joy by recalling sad events. I shall therefore do what I have often seen done by doctors 5
eminent in their profession:[9] I shall touch with a light hand the scars of deep wounds after they have drawn the skin together to heal them. I shall be content to have sought out opinions, enquiring of each and everybody, when it was clear to all that the crisis had to be remedied by putting at the public helm the kind of man who was capable of watching over the youth of one Emperor and of assisting the labors of another, whether we could even wish for a leader of this sort.[10] Let us therefore reopen the whole matter anew, and let us imagine that we are enquiring in some kind of world assembly which man it should be who should shoulder such a burden and take charge of the destiny of the Roman state as it faltered. Would not he be chosen by all the votes of all men in tribes and centuries,[11] 6
whose native land was blessed, whose house illustrious, whose appearance divine, who was in the prime of life, and who was experienced in military and civil affairs?

Let me therefore treat everything from the beginning in the order 4
I have proposed: now it will readily be agreed that he who had been declared leader is the one who would have been chosen both by everybody and from everybody. For in the first place his motherland is Spain,[12] a 2

campaign in its wider context, see Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 84–134. Pacatus is a little more specific about the aftermath at 11.4.

9. Pacatus borrows a phrase from *Pan.* 5.5.3, and an idea from *Pan.* 6.14.3, where the speaker is reluctant to describe Maximian's rebellion against Constantine in 310.

10. Valentinian II was only four at the death of his father in 375 (Amm. Marc. 30.10.4; *Epit.* 45.10). Theodosius' appointment meant that Gratian could return to the West to deal with invasions there (see Zosimus 4.24.4).

11. The anachronism is gratuitous; but Mamertinus, whose panegyric Pacatus frequently pillages and may have drawn upon here, makes a pointed, if lengthy, contrast between Republican canvassing for the consulship and Julian's appointment of the worthiest men, himself at the forefront (*Pan.* 3.16ff.). Ausonius, too, in his *Gratiarum actio* (9), elaborates an effective conceit involving the *comitia tributa* and *centuriata* in regard to the consular "elections" in Sirmium, 378. See Lippold, "Herrscherideal und Traditionsverbundenheit im Panegyricus des Pacatus," 228–50, for further comments on "Republican" coloring in Pacatus.

12. Theodosius came from Cauca in Gallaecia (Zosimus 4.24.4; Hydatius *Chron.* 379 = *Chron. min.* 2.14). Spain is praised on Menander's principle that if the

land blessed above all other lands, which that supreme maker of things[13] was pleased to adorn and enrich more lavishly than the rest of mankind.
3 Neither exposed to the heat of the south nor subject to arctic cold, it enjoys the moderate temperature of each climate. Enclosed on one side by the mountains of the Pyrenees, on another by the billows of the Ocean, on a third by the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea, it is shut off by the genius of
4 cunning Nature like another world. Add the large number of splendid cities; add, too, all the fields, cultivated and fallow, full of crops and herds. Add the wealth of its gold-bearing rivers, its mines of gleaming jewels. I know that in the tales of poets, devised to give delight to the ear, there are marvels attributed to several peoples; conceding that they are true, they each have a single one—but I am not at the moment investigating the truth of them. Let it be the case, as one reads, that Gargara has a bumper wheat harvest, that Mevania is famous for its herds of cattle, that Campania is renowned because of Mt. Gaurus, that Lydia is celebrated for the river Pactolus, provided that whatever is praised everywhere else
5 yields to Spain alone.[14] It is she that spawns the toughest soldiers, the most experienced generals, the most eloquent orators, the most famous poets;[15] she is the mother of judges—and the mother of Emperors. She gave the Empire the great Trajan, and then Hadrian; to her the Empire is indebted for you. Let the land of Crete, famous as the cradle of the child Jupiter, and Delos, where the divine twins[16] learnt to crawl, and Thebes, illustrious as the nursemaid of Hercules, yield to this land. We do not

honorand's native city is undistinguished, the orator will do better to praise his native land; Menander *Second Treatise*, 368–69.

13. A safely ambiguous expression of monotheism; cf. *Pan.* 12.26.1: *summe rerum sator*, "O almighty creator of things," in the presence of Constantine in 313. Pacatus addressed a Christian emperor but a Senate that was probably still predominantly pagan despite Ambrose's claim to the contrary (*Ep.* 17.9: 384); such is the view of A. Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1960) 454f.

14. Gargara, a mountain in the Mt. Ida range in Mysia, and a town at its foot (Virg. *G.* 1.102–3; Columella 3.8.4; Pliny *HN* 5.122); Mevania in Umbria (Columella 3.8.3; Sil. 4.543–46, 6.647); Mt. Gaurus (Monte Barbaro) famed for its wine, in Campania (Pliny *HN* 3.60, 14.64; Sil. 12.159–60; Juv. 9.57); the Pactolus was rich in alluvial gold.

15. Orators such as the elder Seneca and Quintilian; poets such as Lucan and Martial.

16. Apollo and Artemis.

know whether to credit the stories we have heard, but Spain has given us a god whom we can actually see.[17]

It were time, by way of just compensation, since I have spoken briefly 5
in praise of your native land, for me to linger at rather greater length in praising the virtues at least of your father.[18] But what shall I do? I have exposed myself to a new difficulty, as it were, because of their

17. Pichon dismisses this as "purely a formula of official politesse" (*Écrivains profanes*, 148 n. 3), while Galletier, citing 6.4, believes there is more to the remark (3: 50–51). Whatever the case, it is noteworthy that Pacatus seems to revive the expression of the personal divinity of the emperor after a considerable interval, as R. Seager observes, "Some Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrics," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983) 158. Deciding to what extent Pacatus' language reflects his personal beliefs or those of his audience is rendered more difficult by the license of the genre: he frequently reproduces the sentiments and even the phraseology of his forerunners; see B. Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*," *Historia* 35 (1986) 69–104, 92ff.; *Pan.* 10.2.5, 11.10.5, and below, 6.3–4 with notes 24–26.

18. "Count" (*comes*) Theodosius, whose distinguished military career, depicted in glowing terms by Ammianus (bks. 27–29), came to a sudden end when he was executed in Africa in 375–376 in mysterious circumstances. Ammianus is strangely silent about his death, which has suggested to some (e.g., E. A. Thompson, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* [Cambridge, 1947] 92ff.) that Theodosius was involved in treason, and that the historian, writing when his son was emperor, shrank from recounting the episode. Jerome (*Chron.* 376) claims that very many nobles died with Theodosius; a gloss adds that he died at the hands of a faction of men who were soon to be killed themselves, and names *Maximinus ex praefecto*. Orthodox opinion is that Gratian gave the orders for the execution (see A. Hoepffner, *REL* 14 [1936] 119–29), even though he may have been little more than a puppet in the hands of powerful intriguers (see A. Demandt, "Der Tod des älteren Theodosius," *Historia* 17 [1969] 598–626).

If Gratian were responsible, it might help explain the emperor Theodosius' failure to act swiftly to avenge Gratian's death at the hands of Maximus; but there are other ways to account for this (see below, note 104). In any case there is much we do not know: glosses on Oros. 7.33.6–7, for instance, allege that Valens ordered Count Theodosius' death, and Jordanes follows suit (*Rom.* 312). This hint has been taken up by N. Gasperini, "La morte di Teodosio padre," *CISA* 1 (1972) 180–97, who makes much of Valens' superstitious fear after the Theodorus affair (pp. 193ff.; Amm. Marc. 29.1.6–8, 29–32, et al.); see Birley, "Magnus Maximus and the Persecution of Heresy," 22 n. 62. If Valens were responsible, the appointment of Theodosius as emperor after his death is more easily explicable.

2 number. What, I repeat, shall I do? Shall I begin[19] with the events
that the Rhine and Waal witnessed? Immediately the Danube, bloody
with the slaughter of Sarmatians, confronts me. Shall I recall Batavia,
trampled by infantry battles? Then the vision of the Saxon, annihilated
in naval warfare, presents itself. Or shall I speak of the Scot, driven
back into his own swamps? Then spring to mind all the Alamanni,
and the people of both Mauretanias, forced to retreat into their pathless
3 wilderness. And so, since this host impedes my choice, and since in
addition it is better to sum up the exploits of such a great man than to
diminish them by enumerating them, let it suffice for me to say that the
gods gave us this unique man, in whom flourish simultaneously all the
4 virtues which are praised when found singly in others. Now if that custom
had survived into his age, whereby Roman commanders assumed titles
such as Macedonicus, Creticus or Numantinus, adopted from the names
of peoples they had subdued, would there not be fewer cognomina to be
read today in the historical archives than in the titles in your house?[20]
For he himself would be called Saxonicus, Sarmaticus and Alamannicus,
and the one family would boast as many triumphs as the whole State has
enemies.

6 But why is it necessary to direct a meticulous curiosity toward the past?
Emperor, let us judge your father by yourself. Nor is the comparison
a difficult one. For there are two things which produce outstanding

19. This is a difficult passage that has led to much discussion. Various attempts have been made to reconcile the statements of Pacatus with what else we know of Count Theodosius' career, and indeed to use them to build upon. See the Appendix for detailed treatment.

20. By the word "commanders" (*duces*) Pacatus means *privati*, as distinct from emperors. The last *privati* to have received victory cognomina for their achievements appear to have been Cossus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, for his victory in 6 C.E. (P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser*, Hypomnemata 23 [Göttingen, 1969] 24; cf. pp. 32–33), and P. Gabinius Secundus Chaucius (or Cauchius), 41 C.E. (Suet. *Claud.* 24.3). After this victory titles were reserved for members of the imperial family. Ironically, as far as we know, Theodosius himself did not assume multiple victory titles when emperor. The practice of taking them lasted at least till 369–370; see *ILS* 771, where the title Gothicus, assumed by Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian, results from Valens' campaigns of 367–369. The practice was revived under Justinian (*CIL* 3.13673). Either Theodosius preferred not to advertise himself as a military victor (but cf. 8.3–5, 10.2–4, 22.1–5 below) or he had little to advertise.

commanders, supreme courage and supreme good luck.[21] It is easy to
know with what good luck he was endowed: he fathered you! O nobility 2
worthy of an Emperor, for a ruler to be the son of a man who should have
been a prince himself,[22] and who would have been equal to this very peak
of power at Rome not only because of his bravery and wisdom, but also
because of the beauty of his body and his dignified bearing—just like this
venerable beauty of yours,[23] which is equal to its good fortune, and which,
conspicuous far and wide, so graces imperial power that, to put it plainly
it is a moot point whether it is rather your courage which insinuates itself
into our minds, or your countenance into our eyes! Clearly not without 3
reason is the view of the philosophers who have made subtle enquiries
into the significance of natural causes, and nobly applied their attention to
the secrets of the heavens, when they opine that the more splendid the
external appearance of anything, the more it is believed to derive from
heaven. Whether that divine soul, before entering a body, first marks out
a home worthy of it, or whether, when it has entered a body, it molds its
habitation according to its image, or whether one develops from the other,
and when they have joined together as equals both are made greater, this
celestial mystery I forbear from scrutinizing.[24] To you alone, Emperor, 4
let that secret be disclosed, along with the god who is your consort;[25] I
shall say what is permitted for a man to have comprehended and uttered:

21. A conventional observation; cf. Cic. *Man.* 28 (adding *scientia rei militaris* and *auctoritas*). But as Seager comments ("Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrics," 159), Pacatus goes on to give *felicitas* "a highly unexpected sense" (contrast Cic. *Man.* 47ff.).

22. And perhaps he made a bid to become one; see note 18.

23. For other tributes to Theodosius' handsome appearance see Themistius *Or.* 14.180D; 15.188C. *Epit.* 48.8 has a more balanced appraisal, comparing him with Trajan on the basis of "ancient writings and paintings." While perhaps not matching Trajan in physical appearance ("I am not sure whether he had his grace and blooming complexion, or his dignified gait"), Theodosius' mind was equal to the comparison.

24. The idea, and some of the phraseology, is adapted from *Pan.* 6.17.3 on Constantine.

25. Pacatus is here indebted to *Pan.* 12.2.4–5. For the phrase *deus consors* cf. *ILS* 583: *Herculi Aug. consorti d.n. Aureliani invicti August.* *Consors* would seem to be analogous to *comes*, but rarer; for the latter, see A. D. Nock, "The Emperor's Divine Comes," *JRS* 37 (1947) 102–16 (= *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart [Cambridge, Mass., 1972] 2: 653–75). The term is particularly common on coins of the Tetrarchic period. Later on (18.4) Pacatus refers to

such ought he to be who is adored by the nations, to whom private and public prayers are addressed over the entire world, from whom a man about to make a voyage seeks a calm sea, a man about to travel a safe return, a man about to enter battle a happy omen.[26]

7 For some time, I see, you have been regarding this glorification with disdain.[27] But I have decided to disclose as part of your merits what in the case of others is usually the sole reason for praise. Your virtue earned

"that god which shares [*particeps*] in your majesty," again, hardly conventional phraseology for a Christian god.

26. This is a startling passage on at least two counts. First, it might seem an extraordinary way to compliment such an ardent Christian emperor as Theodosius, and second, it claims for ruler cult what is often denied it, viz. some kind of parity with the traditional public cults of Rome, with people praying directly to the emperor to avert danger, as they would do to Neptune, Fortuna, or Mars. If not the figment of an adulatory mind, this passage confirms that there was real belief in the supernatural powers of the emperor.

On the first point, one should note that ruler cult continued to flourish under Christian emperors; Constantine and his sons authorized the cult of themselves and the *gens Flavia* (*ILS* 705, Hispellum in Umbria; trans. Lewis and Reinhold, pp. 608–9), with restrictions that presumably prohibited sacrifice; see S. R. F. Price, "Between Man and God," *JRS* 70 (1980) 40; G. W. Bowersock, "The Imperial Cult," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, ed. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (London, 1982) 3: 176ff. Lippold, "Herrscherideal und Traditionsverbundenheit im Panegyricus des Pacatus," 244–45, comments upon some of the earlier discussions.

On the second, Nock argued that there was a change in the fourth century under Christian influence, that pagans might now address prayers to a dead ruler as Christians invoked the help of saints ("Deification and Julian," *JRS* 47 [1957] 115–23 = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart [Cambridge, Mass., 1972] 2: 833–46). Bowersock has suggested that pagans were responding not so much to Christian attitudes toward saints in general as to the management of the imperial cult itself by the Christians (p. 181). Price objects to the analogy of saints, who were intercessors and not objects of prayer themselves, like the emperors, and argues "that personal prayers were indeed made to the emperor both living and dead, and that prayers had a prominent place in the ideology of the imperial cult" in the period before Constantine ("Gods and Emperors," *JHS* 104 [1984] 79–95, 91–93). In his book, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1984), he seeks to challenge the prevailing view of the imperial cult as a system of political honors devoid of any real religious meaning.

27. If Pacatus were conscious that he was overdoing things, the realization did not check him. But the fact that he chose to retain the observation in the

you the Empire, but beauty has added its vote to virtue; the former ensured that it was right for you to be made leader, the latter that it was becoming. Do we think that anything was neglected in your proclamation 2
as Emperor, when we see that even the computation of your very years has been taken in account?[28] Indeed this matter was of such concern to our ancestors that not only in elections for the highest magistrates, but also in the quest for praetorships and aedileships, the age of the candidates was considered, nor was anyone so influential because of his nobility, his favors or his money that he could anticipate the ages laid down by electoral law and occupy offices prematurely.[29] And there was no injustice in that. For 3
even those who in time to come will be embraced by Virtue herself have to watch their balance on the slippery path of adolescence so as not to fall. Did not Self-Indulgence claim for a while the most distinguished names 4
among the Romans? (I speak of men like Sulla, Catulus and Scipio.)[30] For even if the breezes changed for the better and carried them back into the harbor, for a long time, however, they were lashed by a hurricane of vices, and it was with difficulty that age rescued them shipwrecked and cast adrift, from those errors by which they were engulfed. And so 5
everything was well shaped, and to the other virtues which combined in you in abundance your years also added their vote, years at which

published version of his speech suggests that it is a conventional formula of transition.

28. According to *Epit.* 47.3 he was in his thirty-third year at his succession (19 January 379) (*Cons. Const.*, *Chron. min.* 1.243); *Epit.* 48.19 states he was in his fiftieth year at his death (17 January 395) (Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.26.6; 6.1; *Chron. Pasch.* a.394; *Chron. min.* 1.245). Assuming the latter to be a round figure, he was born on 11 January (Polemius Silvius, *CIL* 1.1^2, p. 257) 347. This accords somewhat better with Ammianus' comment (29.6.15) that as *dux Moesiae* in 374 he was a young man (*iuvenis*) with the first down on his cheeks (see Ambros. *Ob. Theod.* 53) than with the claim of Socrates (*Hist. eccl.* 5.26.6) and Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.* 8.1.1.) that he was in his sixtieth year when he died.

29. The *Lex Villia Annalis* of 180 B.C.E. regulated the ages of candidates (cf. Livy 40.44.1). Pacatus exaggerates: many evaded its provisions; e.g., Scipio Aemilianus.

30. Valerius Maximus (6.9) gives these examples, and it is not unlikely that Pacatus consulted him (see below, notes 143, 154, and 164). It was perhaps around the time of Pacatus that Julius Paris compressed the ten books of Valerius Maximus *ad unum volumen* to provide exempla for *disputantes* and *declamantes*; see H. Peter, *Geschichtliche Literatur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius II* (Leipzig, 1897) 47; cf. *PLRE* I, Paris.

alone man is perfected, for they possess the advantages of both ages, the
6 courage of the young and the maturity of the old.[31] Perhaps you should
have acquired the Empire earlier in order that you might rule longer; but
it will be seen to, without the danger of setting a precedent, that you will
lose nothing. What you have lost from the past must be compensated
for by a longer life. It little matters when something which will not have
an end began.

8 Up till now, Emperor, I have praised in you what has been bestowed
by the Fates; now let us proceed to those things for which you yourself are
responsible. For that past military reputation of yours, which you acquired
2 through so many trials and labors, is not to be ascribed to Fortune. One
might even be angry with her on this score, namely that she never showed
favor to the man whom she had destined for scepter and throne, but just
as stern fathers are stricter with those sons whom they love most, so she
harassed you with innumerable wars and the most critical times for the
3 State while she prepared you for imperial power. And before I come to
those things which you accomplished at a mature age, let me touch briefly
upon that partnership of yours with your divine father in the camps, the
winters spent under canvas, the summers sweated through in the midst
of battle, days and nights expended in fighting and keeping watch, the
4 fiercest of fights fought on land and sea.[32] Africanus did not endure so
patiently his first military apprenticeship under his father Paulus, nor did
Hannibal as a boy follow the tents in Spain with an equal talent, nor
did Alexander—not yet the Great—fill the camps of Philip with a surer

31. Following *Pan.* 7.13.5, which made the point with respect to the combined advantages of Maximian and Constantine; cf. too, *Pan.* 11.7.6–7.

32. Zosimus 4.35.3 corroborates this by claiming that Maximus campaigned in Britain with Theodosius βασιλεύς, which can only be when Theodosius' father fought there before his son's accession (see W. Enßlin, "Maximus," *RE* 14 [1930] 2546). An expedition against the Sarmatians may be another in which both fought (see 5.2 and the Appendix). Zosimus 4.24.4, Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.2.2, and Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 7.2.2 refer to Theodosius' military experience before his accession in general terms. It is intriguing that Pacatus makes nothing of Theodosius' victory over the free Sarmatians as *dux Moesiae* in 374, which Ammianus describes in such glowing terms (29.6.15). Ammianus' raptures can perhaps be explained by the fact that he is writing under Theodosius himself (*princeps postea perspectissimus*), although Zosimus' account, which rests on that of the usually hostile Eunapius, is essentially the same (4.16). Zosimus claims that Theodosius won great renown for the victory, and seems to link this with his later acquisition of the βασιλεία. All in all, Pacatus' silence is a little surprising.

hope of future valor.[33] Although antiquity, which exaggerates the truth, 5
has heaped innumerable praises on these men, its flattery extended no
farther than showing them following the camps of kings or generals at
an age when you had accomplished many things so valiantly that not only
would Alexander or Africanus or Hannibal have wished to see them while
they were learning, but their fathers and mentors would have wished to
have been responsible for them while they were teaching.

How veiled always the plans of Fortune! Who, I ask you, would not **9**
have then thought that retreat of yours from a military post to private
life inimical to the public weal?[34] But she, in fashioning a future Emperor, 2
wanted him to be a private citizen for a while, in order, since you already
had a full mastery of the martial arts, that by taking part in civil life during
a period of leisure you should be restored. And I prefer this leisure of yours 3
to the activity of others; for pleasant shores did not hold you, nor retreats
arranged according to the change of seasons, but no matter whether you
spent your time in the countryside or the towns, you increased equally
your prosperity and your reputation. And indeed in the cities you won
over men of every age and rank by one kindness or another, and aided
the interests of friends absent, and the affairs of friends present, by your
constant attentions, advice and means. And then if it pleased you to 4
change the city for the country, how you played the farmer, forgetting city
life! I hear also, Emperor, and I believe it, that often you imposed some
task upon yourself, and, so as not to succumb to torpor and lassitude,
that you always rubbed off the rust of insidious leisure with work of this
kind. So the rustic Curii, so the Coruncanii of old, and the Fabricii— 5
names to be revered—when armistices had brought war to a halt, would
live among their plowshares, and, so that their vigor not become feeble
through inactivity, these men who had won triumphs would deposit their
laurels in the lap of Capitoline Jove and devote themselves to the life of a

33. Scipio Aemilianus served at Pydna in 168 at the age of sixteen (Livy 44.44.1–3); Hannibal accompanied his father to Spain at the age of nine (Livy 21.1.4); Alexander campaigned at the age of sixteen and fought at Chaeronea in 338 at eighteen (Plut. *Alex.* 9).

34. After his father's death, when according to Ambros. *Ob. Theod.* 53, his life, too, was threatened by his father's enemies. Theodoret, too, reports that prior to his accession he was living in Spain, where he had been born and grown up, laid low by the envy of his rivals (5.5.1). Pacatus is the only source for what follows, and perhaps was briefed on the subject (9.4).

6 farmer.[35] Hence the stories handed down to us of fasces given to men
as they sowed their seed, of palm-leaf embroidered tunics sent through
the countryside with their curule chairs, of farmers who had been consuls,
of shepherds with the purple *trabea*, and of men vested as dictators in the
7 midst of their herds.[36] But for them, indeed, it was the modesty of their
family means that condemned them to such labor, so that they themselves
had to till with plow or mattock suburban gardens, precipitous Janiculum
and acres confined by the *pomerium*, nor was it an indignity that the work
should revert to the masters, in the absence of those to whom they might
give their orders. Poverty detracts from praise for endurance; a better
exemplar is hard work without necessity.

10 Divine beings surely enjoy perpetual motion, and eternity maintains
its energy by continuous activity, and whatever we mortals call work is
your nature. Just as a tireless revolution makes the sky go round, just
as the seas are stirred up by the waves, and the sun does not know how
to keep still, so you, Emperor, are constantly kept engaged in ceaseless
2 activity which recurs as if in a cycle.[37] Scarcely had you reached your
Spanish dwelling when you were sheltered by tents in Sarmatia; scarcely
had you seen a campaign to its end and hung up your weapons when
you were rearmed and pressing upon the enemy; scarcely had you seen
3 your Ebro when you were camped on the Danube.[38] Not even when you

35. Abidingly popular exempla, which might be drawn from anywhere. Valerius Maximus, who seems to have been much used for this purpose, does not mention Coruncanius.

36. Palm-leaf embroidered tunics were worn by *triumphatores* (see, for example, Livy 10.7.9; Suet. *Claud*. 17.3); the *trabea*, or purple robe, was associated in the late Empire especially with the consulship (e.g., Amm. Marc. 23.1.1.), and not, as earlier, with the equestrian order.

37. Cf. *Pan*. 11.3.2 and 12.22.1–2.

38. Pacatus exaggerates the speed of events, contradicting himself in the process (cf. 9.2ff.), but he is clear about the chronological sequence. It was more than two years after his retreat to Spain (early 376) that Gratian summoned Theodosius to the Danube to defend the Empire from the barbarians in the wake of Adrianople and promoted him "to a higher post" (10.3), but not yet to the *imperium* (10.4); so, broadly, Zonar. 13.17 and Theodoret 5.5–6. Zosimus 4.24.4 and *Epit*. 47.3, among others, telescope summons and proclamation as emperor. For the war against the Sarmatians see also Themistius *Or*. 14.182C (379) and 15.198A, where Seeck (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 479, note to p. 124, line 33) concludes on the basis of ἱππάρχων that the promotion was to the post of *magister equitum*, which seems plausible (*PLRE* I, Theodosius 4: *magister*

have advanced to a higher post and only had to give the orders and could
divide your time between leisure and work and enjoy the reputation you
had already won and laid up, did you relax from the work because of
your honorable position. No, you would be the first, or among the first,
to meet all your military obligations—to stand in the front line, to keep
watch according to the lot, to hammer in the stakes, to choose in advance
a place to give battle, to go out to scout, to measure out the camp, to
be first to advance into battle and last to retreat from it, to be a general in
counsel and a soldier by example. And so even then one could understand
that while others fought for their Emperor, you fought for yourself. But 4
the most remarkable thing of all was that while you did everything that
merited your appointment as Emperor, yet you did nothing to obtain it.

A proof of this is that day, the origin of our common good, on which, **11**
when called upon to take up the reins of government, you declined the
Empire offered you. Nor did you do this for the sake of appearances,
and merely so that you might seem to bow to compulsion, but you
resisted stubbornly and long, and like one determined to have his request
granted.[39] Indeed you had no motive for feigning; for the Emperor did 2
not solicit you alone and in private and as if to test you, but publicly, and
in an assembly, and in such a way that he could not then withdraw his
offer, so that if you had not been sincere in declining imperial power, you
could have expressed a willingness to take it in complete safety.[40] At this 3
point one must remonstrate with you on behalf of the republic, which
in the midst of its hopes relapsed into the extremities of fear because of

militum). Seeck (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 479, note to p. 124, line 24) suggests that Theodosius' uncle, Flavius Eucherius, who was probably Gratian's *comes sacrarum largitionum* at the time, and Syagrius, his brother-in-law, probably *magister officiorum*, recommended Theodosius to Gratian.

Note that Pacatus does not actually claim a victory for Theodosius over the Sarmatians, but clearly he must have had some success to be promoted. Auson. *Grat. act*. 2 naturally credits Gratian with the achievement.

39. *Recusatio imperii*, the inveterate hollowness of which the speaker concedes, is, of course, a topos. But it is important to contrast the attitude and behavior of Theodosius with those of the usurper Maximus, so he insists upon it here; Claud. *IV. cons. Hon*. 47ff. echoes Pacatus.

40. Theodosius was elected at Sirmium (*Epit*. 48.1; Oros. 7.34.2; *Cons. Const*. a.379; *Chron. min*. 1.243). No other source gives details of the circumstances, but we learn from 31.2 that the assembly was a military one; see Auson. *Grat. act*. 9, speaking of the consular "elections" in Sirmium in 378, for the likely context, an assembly in full battle array ready to meet any inroad of the enemy.

your hesitation, and which addressed you in some such words as these, no
4 doubt, although you alone heard them: "Have the Fates kept me waiting
too little time up to now, Theodosius, that on top of this you are trying to
prolong the delays they have caused? Do you not know that your property
is being consumed with each passing moment? Do you not know that
I am dwindling to your cost and that of your descendants? Whatever
the Goth reduces, the Hun pillages and the Alan carries off, that one day
Arcadius will feel the want of. Unfortunate that I am, I have lost the
Pannonias; I grieve the destruction of Illyria; I witness the ruin of the
5 Gauls.[41] The elder of the princes, with so many wars in progress, is not
equal to the task. The other, although he may be a most valiant man
one day, is, however, still a child.[42] And yet you hesitate to prop up what
has collapsed, and, even if you delay no further, will take a long time to set
6 right? Are these the thanks you give me for longing for you even when
I was in a flourishing state, for thinking, when gentle Nerva, Titus, the
darling of the human race, and Antoninus, memorable for his piety, were
in charge of me, when Augustus was adorning me with walls, Hadrian
instructing me in the law, and Trajan extending my frontiers, that my
7 happiness was less than complete because I was not yours?[43] What would

41. Prosopopoeia, the introduction of an imaginary or absent speaker, was a favorite rhetorical device of the panegyrists; see *Pan.* 7.11.1–4 for another example, where Rome is made to expostulate with Maximian.

For further details of the aftermath of Adrianople see Amm. Marc. 31.15–16 (31.16 for the union of Goths, Huns, and Alani); Zosimus 4.20–24; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London, 1974) 339ff. Arcadius (born ca. 377: *PLRE* I; Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 6.23.7) alone is mentioned, for Honorius was not born until 384 (*Cons. Const.* a.384; *Chron. min.* 1.243). It was the Alamanni who invaded Gaul (Amm. Marc. 31.10; cf. Zosimus 4.24.4).

42. Valentinian II, seven years old in January 379 (born 2 July 371; Polemius Silvius, *CIL* 1.1^2, p. 269).

43. A conventional selection of "good" emperors. Victor (*Caes.* 10.6) also repeats the Suetonian description of Titus (Suet. *Tit.* 1.1). The sources are uncertain as to the reason for Antoninus' cognomen (see SHA, *Ant. Pius* 2.3ff.; Dio 70.1–2). Augustus is not known to have built new walls for Rome, so some wish to read *moribus* (morals) for *moenibus*—e.g., Mynors, Galletier. But Pacatus may have thought he did. Hadrian commissioned Salvius Iulianus to codify the *ius honorarium*, the edict of the praetors, which could thereafter be altered only by the princeps, as well as effecting other legal reforms such as giving the unanimous opinions of authorized jurisprudents the force of law (Gai. *Inst.* 1.7). Trajan added five provinces to the Empire, some of them ephemeral.

you do for me if you were your own master? See, my master begs you;
see, he who is still your master begs you; he who could compel you prefers
to seek your consent. You have no right to refuse the Empire now that it is
offered to you by the Emperor, just as you had no right to covet it before."

You alone then, Augustus, you alone, I repeat, of all those who **12**
have reigned up till now took it upon yourself to be Emperor. Some were
imposed upon the State by the purchased votes of the legions, others by an
empty palace, others by their imperial connections; you, neither bribery,
nor chance opportunity, nor family relationship, created Emperor, for you
were both from a family unrelated to the Emperor, and were the third to
be summoned, and were compelled against your will. Against your will, I 2
say. Hear this, you parricides of your country, who have seized scepters
stained by the slaughter of your masters, and, risking a danger no less
than the crime, have bargained for power with your life, and bought the
name of sovereign at the price of blood:[44] the Principate suffers a rebuff,
and it is the one aim of the candidate not to be elected. Will posterity 3
believe this in time to come, and will it extend to us as much favor and
trust as to allow that our generation has finally produced a deed which
over such a great span of time before and since has not found a rival or
had a precedent? But he who knows your philosophy and principles of life
will believe it without hesitation, nor will he doubt that the command was
refused by one who was to rule in such a fashion. Let those eagerly covet 4
dominion who delight in living a life free of the laws, whose cruelty in
killing men uncondemned, whose greed in pillaging private property and
whose lust in befouling the pure demand the right of impunity. What did 5
it matter to you to become Emperor, who were to be a private citizen
in the person of an Emperor, unless, perhaps, your respect for chastity
today is not so intense, your dread of human blood diminished, or your
appetite for the property of others enlarged?[45] You are the same man you

44. The outburst against usurpers heralds the main theme of the second half of the speech.

45. Theodosius' respect for chastity was enhanced, one presumes, by his Christian principles, but it is difficult to argue that his legislation (for example) reflects greater sensitivity upon the subject than that of his Christian predecessors: see *Epit.* 48.10 for his prohibition of marriage between cousins (see *Cod. Theod.* 9.7.8). Praise of Theodosius' "dread of human blood" is ironical, given the unfortunate consequences of his sudden bursts of anger, but the most notorious of these lay in the future, and *Epit.* 48.13 agrees with Ambrose (*Ep.* 51.16) that he was swiftly mollified.

always were and you permit yourself only what the laws allowed. You have made trial of supreme power to have the opportunity and means
6 to assist people, not to have the security to commit crimes. The one thing that the Principate has furnished you is that we all know for certain that even under other Emperors you lived in accordance with your laws. For he who commits no act of licentiousness when he can has never wanted to do so.

13 Indeed when you first took command of the State, you were not content that you yourself were far removed from vice: in addition you took pains to correct the vices of others, and that moderately, so that you might seem to be encouraging rather than compelling honorable
2 behavior.[46] And because either through long experience of the East or through the laxity of many of your imperial predecessors some men were so given up to the extravagant living that it seemed by no means an easy task to restrain their inveterate practice of self-indulgence by any remedy, you wished the moral reform to begin with yourself, lest anyone consider that he was suffering an injustice; and by reducing palace expenditures, not only by doing away with superfluous expenses, but also by subjecting necessaries to a strict budget, you corrected men with their consent, which
3 is in the nature of things a very difficult task. For who could take it ill that he was being confined to the limits of a ruler, or be grieved that something was being subtracted from his private luxury, when he saw his Emperor, ruler of the world, master of lands and men, living frugally
4 and contentedly, relieving long fasts with the simple meals of a soldier, or, in addition to this, the whole court, sterner than the Spartan gymnasia, abounding in examples of toil, endurance and frugality; or that not one man could be found to dare to demand at the palace table fish from remote shores, fowl from foreign climes, a flower that was out of season?

14 For those foppish and effeminate fellows such as the State has often put up with, did not consider themselves à la mode unless their extravagance had turned the year topsy-turvy, and roses floated in their bowls in winter, and their Falernian melted the ice in their capacious crystal goblets in
2 summer. Our world was too small for the gullets of men such as these; for they judged a feast set before them not by its taste but by its cost, and were satisfied only by those foods which the farthest Orient had sent,

46. What follows owes much to *Pan.* 3.11.3–4, but characteristically Pacatus expands it to two whole chapters. For a very different judgment, see Eunap. frag. 46 Blockley = 48–49 *FGH;* and Zosimus 4.28.1; 33.1. Catholic writers, of course, extol Theodosius' moral qualities: e.g., Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 7.22.

or Colchis, situated beyond the Roman Empire, or seas notorious for shipwrecks, which men had seized at their peril against the resistance of a somehow unwilling Nature. And not to mention the fowlers frequently 3
conscripted in shameful levies in the provinces, and squads of hunters enrolled in the ranks, and then sent soldiering for banquets, have we not learned of a certain ruler in days gone by who paid 100 million sesterces not for a meal, but often for a single course, and thus squandered the value of equestrian patrimonies?[47] Your feasts, Emperor, more frugal 4
than common tables, consist of fruits that are local and in season. Hence everyone is thoroughly ashamed of luxury, and has come to cultivate thrift; and with the threats of the laws lying dormant, repentance of his ways steals into each man privately. That is the way of the world, that is the way it is: men are irritated when commanded to reform; the most persuasive form of direction is by example.

But while certainly these and other reforms of a similar kind have **15**
molded men's manners and conduct, nothing, I feel, has been more instrumental in the dispelling of vices and the adoption of virtue than the fact that you have always devoted yourself to the kind of men whom the people ought to aspire to imitate; just as they were obedient and tractable pupils of yours, so they were excellent masters for the rest of mankind. Not to mention those whom that first day of inchoate rule offered you, 2
endowed with such outstanding abilities that they did not seem to be taken on for the sake of numbers, but rather to be the pick of the supply, what men, and of what quality, were those whom you chose afterward, to whom you entrusted the guardianship of provinces, the key commands in the army, the secrets of your counsels![48] And so, since there was this double 3
selection, one chosen by your judgment and the other by chance, it is uncertain whether your wisdom or your good fortune provided you with better men, since such were the qualities of the men whom you inherited or discovered that the one group deserved to be retained and the other deserved to be co-opted.

47. Presumably Vitellius; see Suet. *Vit.* 13 (and 16); Pliny *HN* 35.163; Tac. *Hist.* 1.62, 2.62, 2.95; Dio 65.2–3. Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 5.324–25 claims that five million were condemned to the depths of Vitellius' belly, and adduces him elsewhere as the archetypal *sumptuosus* and glutton (*Ep.* 5.7.6; *Carm.* 7.108).

48. See Zosimus 4.27–28 for criticism of the spate of appointments under Theodosius, and for the claim that he sold offices. (But at 4.45 he commends him for some specific appointments.) *Epit.* 48.9 comments favorably upon his generous but judicious bestowal of honors.

16 Has any Emperor ever thought that the cultivation of friendship
should be counted among the imperial virtues? This was a humble
virtue—indeed it is doubtful whether it was adjudged a virtue—and it
was held to be worthy, not of a palace, but of a cottage. Hence you
would more readily find an Emperor who would fetch money from his
treasury than loyalty from the heart. That "best" of princes would give
you a fortune, but he would not give you his esteem as well; he knew how
2 to further your prospects; he did not know how to love.[49] Friendship, a
term once used of private citizens, you not only summoned to the palace,
but clothed in purple, wreathed in gold and gems and installed on the
throne.[50] By your deeds, and not merely by words, you have affirmed
that the feelings of a prince ought to be all the more benevolent toward
his subjects the greater his fortune is, for you act with equal loyalty and
generosity, and as Emperor you extend to your friends what you had
3 wished for them when a private citizen. But what prayers could obtain
for them what most of them have received from you as Emperor? Nor am
I now speaking of those offices which an Emperor is compelled to confer
upon some person or another. Someone is elevated to a generalship:
military discipline demands it. Another is promoted prefect: a head must
be imposed on the provinces. A consul is created: the year has to have a
name. So in the case of those supreme and very grand benefactions there
4 is some advantage to the bestower.[51] But with a novel kind of benevolence
you distributed to your friends honors which were intended to be exclusive
to them, so that no benefit might accrue to you from them unless it be the
pleasure of giving. Although you had sons at home, those twin hopes and
jewels of the State, you deferred their magistracies, and the consulship
5 adorned your friends.[52] If, by Hercules, that divine man and architect

49. An allusion to Trajan's title Optimus. Trajan is seldom criticized—*Epit.* 48.8ff. makes him the yardstick by which Theodosius is measured (see note 23 above). Ausonius (*Grat. act.* 17), does the same; it is Trajan's *comitas* (kindliness) to his friends and troops that Gratian eclipses.

50. Virtually word for word with *Pan.* 3.23.4, where, however, Mamertinus is commenting on Julian's elevation of philosophy. G. Sabbah, "De la rhétorique à la communication politique," *BAGB* 4 (1984) 366, notes Pliny *Pan.* 85 on *amicitia* as a model.

51. Cf. *Pan.* 3.1.3–2.2.

52. Yet Arcadius held a consulship in 385 (aged 8) and Honorius in 386 (aged 2). Theodosius himself held the consulship only three times, in 380, 388, and 393, the year after his accession and the years of his *decennalia* and fifteenth

of public felicity, your father, were alive, what other consideration would
he have expected from his son than being preferred to his grandsons?
You therefore have so treated your friends that you could not do more
for your father. O what a singularly clever scheme, this benefaction of
yours! You enhance by timing a dignity the grandeur of which there was
no possibility of increasing. Your friends are proclaimed consuls before
your sons, because they could not be more than consuls.
Away with you, now, vaunting Antiquity, and tout your exemplars 17
celebrated in innumerable works of literature. Go cry up the loyalty of
Pirithous and the devotion of the young man from Phocis which is sung to
death on every stage. Sing, too, of Pinthias, if you like, and Damon, one
of whom offered himself as a surety for his friend who was to die, while
the other hastened to meet his appointment with death.[53] If we believe 2
these stories to be true, which have been dressed up by the lies of the
poets to earn the applause of the theater, and owe their credibility to the
passage of time, can our belief be stretched farther than to suppose that
these men, who are esteemed by praise of their friendship, were more
devoted to their friends than to themselves? But since, guided by Nature,
we almost always love our sons more than ourselves, he surpasses every
exemplar who has preferred his friends to those whom he preferred to
himself. But, indeed, to salvage the self-respect of those in debt to you, 3
you do not wish what you confer on your friends to seem like a gift, but
rather their due return. Let us gratify you, and, judging the sum of your 4
benefaction in accordance with your wishes, let us regard whatever you
mete out to your friends, not as expenditure, but as repayment. Indeed,

anniversary (see Auson. *Grat. act.* 6: Theodosius cheats himself to lavish the consulship on others). He rewarded his generals Promotus and Timasius for their part in the victory over Maximus with the consulship for 389, the year of this speech. He had planned to hold the consulship in 383, his *quinquennalia*, but gave the office instead to Saturninus as a reward for his victory over the Goths (Themistius *Or.* 16.202Dff.; Themistius observed that he might have given the consulship to Arcadius). Note that Pacatus attributes the appointment of consuls to Theodosius; Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 184 and 507, note to p. 184, line 9, argued that this privilege was shared, at least for the years 385–387, with Valentinian (385) and Maximus (386). For Theodosius' policy on consular appointments, see now R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, and K. A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta, 1987) 5.

53. Auson. *Ep.* 27.34–45, too, mentions all these examples, as well as several others. This points to the use of such convenient collections of exempla as those of Valerius Maximus (cf. *De amicitia* 4.7). The young man from Phocis is Pylades.

since you enrich men you know only slightly, or even men whom you have seen but once,[54] with honors with which even friends could be content, do you not wish to demonstrate to everyone that whoever is a good man is
5 a friend of yours? To whomsoever any public office has been entrusted, recompense is pledged and duly paid. Let virtue, lying neglected, attribute its insignificance and obscurity to itself, if it has not offered itself up for approval. He who has been approved is honored, and that is enough for your conscience.

18 I would like you to explain, however, since you carry out your promises to so many people, how you know what you have promised to whom, and how you are confounded neither by cares of state nor by the very host of your benefactions into disappointing anyone by their being less generous
2 in their measure or too tardy in their timing. What debtor is so scrupulous about repaying his loan on the agreed day as you are about paying what you have promised? Nor should you think that you are imposing on those who take no notice. Each day we enquire about your benefactions and combine our memories, and lest forgetfulness ensnare individuals, each of
3 us compares notes with one another. We cannot find one man whose hope and expectation you have—I shall not say cheated, but, what is a more polite complaint—deferred. Do you think, Emperor, that I admire solely your benevolence? No, I also admire your memory. What Hortensius or Lucullus or Caesar ever had such a ready memory as your sacred mind, which recalls for you all that you have committed to it wherever and
4 whenever you bid it?[55] Do you, yourself, do the reminding, or, just as the Fates are said to sit with their writing tablets near that god who shares in your majesty, are you served by some force which writes down and recalls for you what you have said?[56] No promise leaves your lips without your immediately backing it up with a pledge and then confirming your words by deeds. No one, but no one, believes that the favors which you have bestowed upon him should be reckoned from the time when you

54. Prophetic, in Pacatus' case? (There seems no reason to believe that Pacatus had met Theodosius previously.)

55. Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 301; *Acad.* 2 (*Lucull.* 1) 2 for Lucullus and Hortensius; Pliny *HN* 7.91 for Caesar's ability to dictate several letters simultaneously.

56. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, 301, takes this as evidence of Pacatus' familiarity with Christian writings and the concept of the recording Angel. Surely not. The Fates suggest Jupiter (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.614), with whom, somewhat incongruously, Theodosius is ranked; see note 25 above. The image would not be out of place in Tetrarchic panegyric.

give them, because your pledges are so trustworthy that no sooner are they promised than they seem to have been fulfilled.

Now as to the fact that you make a promise in advance of a benefac- **19**
tion, does this not proceed from the utmost candor of the purest of minds? For what kind of spirit is it that neither makes men weary from praying nor is in the habit of causing difficulties in its gift giving, but announces what is to be provided, so that appreciation of the favor may be prolonged and sudden good fortune not dumbfound people and make them resemble ingrates? For our minds are incapable of dealing with sudden emotions, and we are driven out of our wits as much by joy, as by grief, if it comes
unexpectedly. Did not that Roman mother, renowned for her maternal 2
feelings, and terrified by the news of the disaster at Cannae, drop dead when the son she was mourning returned, being unable to bear her joy although she had survived the bereavement?[57] And so, being aware of the mysteries of heaven and the secrets of Nature,[58] you prefer that expected
favors come to men rather than have unexpected ones surprise them. Not 3
without reason, for pleasure at sudden successes is fleeting, and no sooner grips a man than it is gone; more lasting happiness comes from waiting for something with confidence. And so, since up to now it has been decreed by Nature that men remain unaware of their good fortune in advance, and first begin to rejoice in their happiness only when they actually begin to be happy, you, by promising what is going to be bestowed, have discovered time which Nature had deprived us of, so that those who previously took pleasure merely in the acquisition itself are now delighted in addition by the prospect of it.

Since with equal kindness you wished to confer honors on more **20**
people than the number of places allowed, and since your means were more limited than your desires, and your power, however extensive, could not match your intentions, you consoled with your esteem whomever you had not yet promoted to some rank or other (and perhaps some
have been satisfied with that consolation). One man was honored by an 2
address; another was gratified by a dinner invitation; a third was exalted by a kiss. And so all who in your Principate have justly had confidence in themselves have either advanced in rank or found compensation in your kindly regard, a kindliness, I might say, that is as remarkable in an

57. Pliny *HN* 7.180 and Gell. 3.15.4 give the story in this form; Livy 22.7–13, followed by Val. Max. 9.12.2, cites two women so afflicted after the battle of Lake Trasimene.

58. Cf. *Pan.* 3.14.6.

3 Emperor as it is rare. For since arrogance is the inseparable attendant of the successful you will scarcely find anyone at the pinnacle of fortune who is lacking in haughtiness. Our ancestors, indeed, had such an aversion to this trait that they always regarded it with greater contempt than slavery, and such was their intolerance of it that after the warrior Tullus, the religious Numa and Romulus the founder they were driven to hate
4 monarchy to the point of hating its very name. Finally they damned the notorious Tarquin, in an ultimate curse, with this malediction, and a man unbridled in his lust, blinded by greed, a monster of cruelty and insane in his ferocity, they called "the Arrogant," and considered that reproach
5 sufficient.[59] But if Nature permitted that champion of Roman liberty, Brutus, hater of the name of king, to be restored briefly to life, and to observe your age, imbued and overflowing with enthusiasm for virtue, thrift and humanity, with no trace anywhere in the world of arrogance, lust or cruelty, and to see you yourself, now, living both in public and in private with the austerity of leaders of old, the chastity of pontiffs,
6 the moderation of consuls and the affability of candidates for office,[60] he would surely change his mind after so long a time, and, when he found that Roman dignity and liberty were in a better condition with you as Emperor than they were in his consulship, he would of necessity confess that it was Tarquin who should have been removed, and not the monarchy.[61]

21 But just as we are accustomed to do when we have entered large cities—first visit the sacred shrines and sanctuaries dedicated to the supreme deity,[62] then admire the fora, the gymnasia and the promenades

59. There is little reference to regal Rome in the *Panegyrici Latini* (see the table of exempla in C. E. V. Nixon, "The Use of the Past by the Gallic Panegyrists," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke et al. [Potts Point, NSW, 1990] 30–33). Tarquin is not mentioned directly elsewhere (but cf. *Pan.* 3.30.3), and Romulus only at *Pan.* 10.13.1 and 12.18.1.

60. *Epit.* 48.9 and Zosimus 4.25.1 and 27.1 agree upon Theodosius' accessibility; cf. 47.3 below.

61. A similar conceit in Claud. *Cons. Mall. Theod.* 163–64, who imitates Pacatus elsewhere.

62. Studiously ambiguous; see the Introduction for discussion of Pacatus' religious position. F. Grinda, "Der Panegyrikus des Pacatus auf Kaiser Theodosius" (Diss., Strassburg, 1916) 50, argues that the plural *delubra* (shrines) shows that the Capitoline temple of Jupiter is not meant, so that *summum numen* must be understood as the Christian god, and Pacatus as a Christian. But such weight cannot be placed upon *delubra*; see, for instance, Amm. Marc. 16.10.14: when Constantius visited Rome in 357 he was impressed above all by *Iovis Tarpei delubra*

which extend in front of their porticoes—so in singing your praises, after honoring the sacred rites of your palace and the institutions worthy of comparison with the ceremonies of old, we move to those things which are conducted in the open and available for public use, and are of advantage to the whole community and not just a group, and are not limited by walls but by the world itself, not covered by a roof, but by the sky. And the 2
first of these (not to deal immediately with the most important) is that you frequently emerge and you show yourself to the waiting people, and being willing not only to let yourself be seen, but to be approached readily, you listen to the entreaties of your subjects at close quarters, so that no matter who consults you, even if he should have earned a refusal (which is rare), he goes away with the consciousness of having seen the divinity.[63]
But how different the custom of other Emperors (you know of whom 3
I speak) who considered their royal majesty diminished and cheapened unless they were shut up within some remote part of the palace, as if in some sanctuary of Vesta, to be consulted with reverence and in secret, and unless a carefully arranged solitude and widely imposed silence protected
them like a rampart as they lay buried in the shade of their abode.[64] And 4

(i.e., the Capitoline temple). It had been de rigueur for emperors to visit the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and other shrines upon entering Rome (see, for example, Herodian 1.7.6 [Commodus]), and their pagan subjects followed suit. In short, Pacatus' comment describes both pagan and Christian practice and thus appeals simultaneously to pagan senator and Christian emperor.

63. In his eclecticism Pacatus reproduces the terminology of the Tetrarchic panegyrics. For a more specific instance of Theodosius' *civilitas* see 47.3 and note 168.

64. Galletier ad loc. suggests Domitian, citing Pliny *Pan.* 24.2–3 and 48.5 for Trajan's accessibility and Domitian's reclusiveness. This is possible, though there are no verbal echoes, and an allusion to more recent times seems more plausible. Diocletian is credited by the sources with the introduction of new court ceremonial and protocol designed to enhance the status of the emperor by making him more remote (see, for example, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.2–5), and this was followed by nearly all his successors (Julian's accessibility was atypical). Usurpers, too, adopted such practices. Ambrose, seeking a private audience with Maximus in Trier, was confronted at the palace by the *praepositus cubiculi*, a "royal eunuch," who, after affirming his credentials as ambassador from the court of Valentinian in Milan, advised him that he could only be seen "in the consistory." And despite Ambrose's complaint that this was not how bishops were usually treated, the upshot was that he had to stand among the *consistoriani*, having only the satisfaction of refusing the proffered royal kiss (Ambros. *Ep.* 24.2–3).

on the occasions when they ventured into the light and could bear to face the day, they were carried in sedan chairs and carriages[65] and, covered on all sides and overhead by a very dense screen of men and weapons, they were moved along slowly and at a measured tread. At such times the people were driven far away, and the busy hand of the lictor repelled the plebs with a lash, so that they were isolated even in public. But our Emperor offers himself to the gaze of all, and one can see him as often as one can the daylight and sun. Furthermore, although when things are permitted one, disdain is never far away, admiring eyes never have their fill of him. People seek to see him more and more, and—a novel thing to relate—he is longed for even when he is present.

22 Should we wonder at your being viewed in your cities and by your peoples, you whom almost every foreign country has seen on its soil, and that so frequently that your countenance is almost as well known to the barbarians as it is to us?[66] Nor in vain, since in spending all your summers abroad and your winters at home, you have divided the year into equal

65. *Tensae*, carriages originally used to convey images of the gods to the Circensian games (Festus, p. 364 Müller; Livy 5.41.2; Val. Max. 1.1.16; Suet. *Iul.* 76.1, *Aug.* 43.5, *Vesp.* 5.7).

66. This is fantasy. As far as can be established Theodosius never left the boundaries of the Empire after his accession, the first emperor in recent times not to do so. Most of his campaigns as emperor were fought by his generals on his behalf; e.g., in the events leading up to the peace of 382 (note 67) Theodosius seems to have remained in Constantinople (apart from a brief sojourn in Heraclea, July 381, and Adrianople, Aug.?–Sept. 381, Theodosius was in Constantinople from 24 November 380 to the end of 382; see O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* [Stuttgart, 1919] 255–61).

Now a good panegyrist should not risk exposing either himself or his subject to ridicule. Clearly Pacatus had powerful political reasons for taking the chance: he had to explain why Theodosius took so long to confront Maximus with his crimes (see 23.1). Theodosius' military successes within the Empire before his proclamation (notes 32 and 38 above) and the remoteness of the East would perhaps help obscure the truth.

U. Asche, *Roms Weltherrschaftsidee und Aussenpolitik in der Spätantike im Spiegel der Panegyrici Latini* (Bonn, 1983), makes this chapter her starting point in examining how Roman panegyrists in late antiquity, while still asserting Rome's claim to universal dominion, adapted traditional formulae and topoi to changing circumstances. For instance, in this passage a distinction is made between "our world" (*orbis noster*) and foreign nations (*gentes*), just as in the *Expositio totius mundi*, while Constantius II is *dominus orbis terrarum* (28), the work is divided into

sections between your citizens and your enemies, and if perchance there are any barbarians who have not yet experienced the thunderbolt of your valor, they keep quiet, struck by the terror of your name, as if blasted. For 2
your leadership, Emperor, has made tremble not only those nations which are divided from our world by belts of forest or rivers or mountains, but those which Nature has marked off, rendered inaccessible by perpetual heat, or set apart by interminable winter, or detached by intervening seas. The Ocean does not make the Indian secure, nor the cold the man from Bosphorus, nor the equatorial sun the Arab. Your power penetrates places which the Roman name had scarcely reached before. Shall I speak of 3
the Goths admitted into service to supply soldiers for your camps, and farmers for our lands?[67] Shall I speak of the punishment exacted from

two, one part dealing with *nostram terram, hoc est Romanorum*, the other with the *gentes* lying outside the Empire.

67. For some time after Adrianople Theodosius was engaged in fighting the Goths in the Balkans, but after ill-recorded but clearly fluctuating fortunes peace was secured in 382 through the agency of Saturninus, the *magister militum*. By the terms of the peace treaty (3 Oct. 382; *Cons. Const.*, *Chron. min.* 1.243) the Goths were settled in the diocese of Thrace and given land on condition that they performed military service for Rome (L. Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen* [Munich, 1941; reprint, 1969]) 419ff.; H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, trans. T. J. Dunlap [Berkeley, 1987] 133–34). Traditionally it has been argued that the treaty of 382 marked an important innovation in that henceforth the Goths served as federates in separate units under their own chieftains, and Theodosius has been much blamed for this, both in antiquity and in recent times. Zosimus goes out of his way to detail the unfortunate consequences of Theodosius' friendly reception of the barbarians into the Empire, without mentioning specifically the treaty of 382: 4.30, 33, 40, 56 (cf. Synesius' inveighing against the "Scyths," *De regno*, esp. 14–15). On the other hand, the Gothic writer Jordanes describes Theodosius as "a lover of peace and the Gothic race" (*Getica* 29.146). A. Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien (325–395)* (Paris, 1947) 213–14, was caustic, but others have defended Theodosius, suggesting that he had little choice, and that he did obtain some respite for the Romans (see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 156–58; E. Stein and J.-R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* [Paris, 1959] 1: 193–94; Wolfram, p. 133; cf. p. 137). But Pacatus clearly states that the Goths in Theodosius' expeditionary army against Maximus in 388 served under Roman leaders and standards (32.4 below, with notes 117–19). P. J. Heather, *Goths and Romans, 332–489* (Oxford, 1991), has pointed out that not all the Goths within Rome's orbit after 382 will have been regulated by the treaty, which complicates the task of deducing its terms by examining the role Goths perform in the Roman army after that date. He also suggests that Gratian may have played a larger role in the formulation of Roman policy toward

the rebellious Saracens for the dishonoring of a treaty?[68] Shall I speak of the Tanais being interdicted to the Scythians, and the unwarlike bows
4 of the fleeing Albanian as well?[69] Whatever barbarian nation was ever a menace to us[70] because of its strength, ferocity or numbers either thinks it a good idea not to disturb the peace, or else if it is subservient, rejoices as if it were well disposed to us. Persia herself, once a rival to our State and notorious for the deaths of so many Roman leaders, makes amends by her obedience for whatever atrocities she has perpetrated upon our

the Goths than the current scholarly orthodoxy would indicate (pp. 171ff., 338; see E. Demougeot, "Modalités d'établissement des fédérés barbares de Gratien et de Théodose," in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston* [Paris, 1974] 143–60, who also seeks to minimize the differences between the policies of Gratian and Theodosius). The absence of Western sources to counterbalance the speeches of Themistius in praise of Theodosius is likely to have distorted the picture. In a speech delivered on 1 January 383 Themistius heartily endorses Theodosius' policy of peaceful accommodation with the Goths: " 'Is it better to fill Thrace with corpses or farmers?' he asked. 'Those who have come from there say that they are now converting the iron from their swords and cuirasses into mattocks and scythes' " (*Or.* 16.211; 1 January 383). Piganiol is contemptuous of Themistius' words, asserting that his only object was to flatter Theodosius' "inertia" and "defeatism" (p. 213). L. W. Daly, "The Mandarin and the Barbarian," *Historia* 21 (1972) 351–79, makes a brave case for Themistius' consistency and sincerity on the subject. Heather, however, regards Themistius as a propagandist for Theodosius and shows compellingly how Roman policy developed under the pressure of events from aggression to accommodation (pp. 165ff.). Cf. too, 32.3ff. and note 118.

For a radical treatment of the relationship between barbarians and Romans, see W. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418–584* (Princeton, 1980). Goffart's bold introductory chapter seeks to explode some influential myths.

68. Nothing is otherwise known of this episode.

69. Wild exaggeration. The only Roman involvement in "Scythia" at the time appears to have been the single-handed (!) massacre (386?) by Gerontius, Theodosius' general, of "barbarians" who had been installed by the emperor at Tomi, in Thrace, and who were acting threateningly. For this "liberation" of Scythia from danger, Gerontius was arrested by Theodosius and asked for an explanation, Zosimus reports indignantly (4.40). The fleeing Albanus is a complete mystery, unless he derives from Flor. 1.40.28, in which case the denying of the Tanais to the Scythian may be based on Flor. 1.39.6 (cf. Eutr. 6.10).

70. This passage (from "either thinks it a good idea") is almost identical with *Pan.* 7.8.5. But Pacatus has pointedly altered the "Germany" of the original to "whatever barbarian nation."

princes.[71] Finally her King himself, who once disdained to concede he 5
was a man, now confesses his fear and worships you in those very temples in which he is worshipped.[72] Then by sending an embassy, and offering gems and silks, and in addition by supplying triumphal animals for your chariots, although in name he is still your ally, in his veneration of you he is a tributary.[73]

Do not think, however, that everything I am about to say will be music 23
to your ears, O Emperor: we Gauls—you may well be astonished—are angry at your triumphs.[74] While you went off conquering to distant lands, while you extended the realms of the East beyond the limits of things and the boundaries of Nature, while you hastened toward those neighbors of the dawn[75] and the very resting place of the sun, if there is one, a tyrant

71. A long line of Roman leaders came to grief in Persia—Crassus, Valerian, and Julian among them.

72. For the clause "who once disdained ... a man," cf. *Pan.* 10.10.6–7. Much had happened since Herodotus wrote that the Persians had no images of the gods, temples, or altars (1.131–32). Clearly Greek influence modified Persian practice from Achaemenid times onward. Cult of rulers was important in the Hellenized court of the Parthian period (see *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3.2, ed. E. Yarshater [1983] 844) and under the Sassanians. SHA, *Tyr. Trig.* 30.13 alleges quite plausibly that Zenobia *more magis Persico adorata est.*

73. Shapur (Sapor) III sent an embassy to Constantinople on his accession in 384 (see *Cons. Const.*, *Chron. min.* 1.244; Marcellin. Comes, *Chron. min.* 2.61). Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.12.2 mentions gifts of gems, silks, and elephants, which suggests that this is the embassy Pacatus has in mind. (If the items were routine, one would not expect both to list them. *Pan.* 10.10.7 mentions gifts of "wild beasts of outstanding beauty.") For a later embassy (386–387) see note 115 on 32.2 below.

74. A diversionary ploy to disarm critics of Theodosius? Some influential Gauls, particularly those associated with Gratian's government, must have been angry at Theodosius' failure to avenge Gratian first (see the Introduction). But such mock anger is a risky and comparatively rare gambit (see *Pan.* 12.9.2 for another example). Theodosius did in fact hold a triumph in Constantinople on 12 Oct. 386 over the Greuthungi (*Cons. Const.*, *Chron. min.* 1.244; cf. Zosimus 4.38–39, and Paschoud's notes, *Zosime*, livre 4, ad loc.), but the actual campaigns were undertaken by his general Promotus (see above, note 66, and Zosimus).

75. Seeck (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 69 and 453, note to p. 69, line 4) concludes from Themistius *Or.* 16.213A (1 Jan. 383), *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.103, issued on 27 July 383 at Salamaria (on the route to Syria?), and this passage that Theodosius was indeed in the act of journeying east (to negotiate with Persia) when news of the usurpation of Maximus reached him. Thereupon he turned back and sent out Sporacius to negotiate in his stead (John of Lydia

2 discovered a hiding place for his crimes.[76] O what great evils come from small beginnings! Thus a troop of gladiators, breaking out of the school of Cn. Lentulus, dashed forth and very nearly wrought the final destruction of the Italian race; thus a Cilician pirate stirred up wars fought by our consuls which hung long in the balance; thus when runaway slaves took up arms Roman javelins gave way for a long time to swords forged in the
3 prisons.[77] Who did not laugh at the first report of this recent crime? For the affair seemed scarcely worth getting angry about when a few men—and islanders—were trying to kindle a fire against a whole continent,

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De mag. 3.53), this mission ultimately leading to the partition of Armenia, the status of which Themistius makes clear was one of the issues. These events were followed by the accession of Shapur III and the embassy of 384 (note 73).

76. Maximus' usurpation took place in Britain in spring or summer 383. Gratian was in Verona on 16 June (*Cod. Theod.* 1.3.1), then crossed the Alps into Raetia to campaign against invading Alamanni (Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.11.2; Sozom. *Hist eccl.* 7.13.1), which suggests that he had not yet heard of Maximus' coup. Pacatus gives no motive for the usurpation. Zosimus 4.35 alleges Maximus was jealous of Theodosius and exploited the resentment of Gratian's troops at the favored treatment of some Alan deserters by the emperor; *Epit.* 47.6 echoes the tale of the Alani, adding some details (e.g., that Gratian would sometimes go abroad in barbarian dress). Despite his error in placing the death of Gratian at Singidunum (Belgrade) instead of Lyon, Zosimus' account seems credible; see F. Paschoud, *Cinq études sur Zosime* (Paris, 1975) 80–93 (summary, *Zosime*, livre 4, n. 172 at 4.35), for a detailed discussion of the problems involved. Matthews suggests that Maximus aimed to set up, "in place of the rule of dilettante youth and child, a vigorous military regime after the style of the elder Valentinian" (*Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 175). Gratian had been absent from Gaul for over two years, and many of his Gallic subjects may have been chafing (see Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 497, note to p. 166, line 8).

77. For the revolt of Spartacus, 73–71 B.C.E., cf. App. *BCiv.* 1.116–20, who reports that it, too, was ridiculed at the outset. Certain phrases recur in the Latin sources: with Pacatus' *ecfracto Cn. Lentuli ludo* cf. Flor. 2.8.3 *effracto Lentuli ludo*, Eutr. 6.7 *effracto Capuae ludo;* Florus calls Spartacus a *myrmillo.* The owner of the gladiatorial school is named Lentulus Batiatus (corrupted from Vatia? see F. Münzer, "Cornelius 209," *RE* 4 [1901] 1377) in Plut. *Crass.* 8; the praenomen Gnaeus may be due to confusion with the defeated consul Cn. Lentulus, but as Orosius has it (5.24.1) it may be historical.

The Cilician pirate was Athenio, who fomented a slave rising in the vicinity of Segesta and Lilybaeum in Sicily, 104 B.C.E. (Diod. 36.5). The slaves managed to hold at bay both praetorian and consular armies for some years. Pacatus' *ferro ergastulorum* echoes Flor. 2.8.6.

and, themselves exiled from the world, were cloaking their own exile in imperial garb.[78] But to what great chaos was Fortune giving birth! How 4
great an evil did she lay up for the State in the growth of this pestilence, how much glory did she reserve for you in its extinction, especially when everything that had been armed for the protection of the State was turned against it by the treachery of its generals[79] and the defection of its legions![80]

78. Maximus is disparaged as an exile, and the outbreak trivialized, in order to excuse Theodosius' inaction, but at the time of his usurpation the usurper was probably in official command of troops, perhaps as *comes* (*PRLE* I, Maximus 39) or *dux Brittaniarum*, but there is no clear evidence; see S. Frere, *Britannia*, 3d ed. (London, 1987) 353; cf. A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1981) 350. The *Gallic Chronicle* of 452 (*Chron. min.* 1.646) records, after the notice of his elevation, that he had beaten off an incursion of Picts and Scots. It might seem more likely that this preceded, and was responsible for, his proclamation (so Birley, p. 351), but the sources do not permit certainty. This victory may account for his survival in Welsh heroic tradition, if indeed he is the Macsen Wledig of Mabinogion; see C. E. Stevens, "Magnus Maximus in British History," *EC* 3 (1938) 86ff. Maximus told St. Martin that he had not assumed power willingly, but that by divine command the soldiers had imposed it upon him (Sulp. Sev. *V. Mart.* 20.3), and this version appears also in Oros. 7.34.9. Analogies are not far to seek (Julian? see Amm. Marc. 20.4ff. and esp. 5.10). "Exile," either because the remoteness of Britain made command there tantamount to exile or perhaps, more pointedly, suggesting that Maximus had had to go into exile or retirement (like the younger Theodosius) after the fall of Count Theodosius, in which case he must have been rehabilitated later by Gratian (see Enßlin, "Maximus," 2546).

79. The fifth-century Gallic chronicler Prosper Tiro claims that Merobaudes, *magister militum* (Zosimus 4.17; he had evidently been *magister peditum* in 375; Amm. Marc. 30.5.13; but cf. A. Demandt, "Magister militum," *RE* Suppl. 12 [1970] 593), betrayed Gratian at Paris (*Chron. min.* 1.461 = *MGH* AA t.9); cf. accusations against him in 377; Amm. Marc. 31.7.4. An inscription from Rome (Rossi, *ICUR* 1.370 = n.s. II 5996) shows him as cos. III with Theodosius in 388. If this could be relied upon, it might point to his being honored by Maximus (so B. Rodgers, "Merobaudes and Maximus in Gaul," *Historia* 30 [1981] 82–105, esp. 93ff.; *PLRE* I, Merobaudes 2; but cf. note 94). Others prefer to reject the testimony both of Prosper and the inscription; e.g., T. D. Barnes, "Patricii under Valentinian III," *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 155–70, who believes (p. 160) that Prosper has confused Merobaudes with Andragathius (see below) and that the COS III of the inscription is an error for COS II (= 383, when Theodosius had intended to take the consulship; see too, Demandt, "Magister militum," 598; M. Waas, *Germanen im römischen Dienst im 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus* [Bonn, 1971] 54–56, 110–16; Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, 651–52). Andragathius,

24 Yet I am unwilling to aggravate in any way the deeds or the fate of the miserable people who, while putting a misguided trust[81] in this purple-clad[82] butcher who was boasting both of his kinship with you,

who captured and executed Gratian (Zosimus 4.35.6) and became Maximus' key general in the first campaign against Theodosius (Oros. 7.35.3–5; Zosimus 4.46), was a turncoat, for Ambrose compares him with Judas (*In Psa.* 61.24 = Migne, *PL* 14: 1177), and he seems to be a better candidate than Merobaudes. But the fact that at 28.4 Pacatus uses Merobaudes' death (enforced suicide) as an example of Maximus' cruelty does not in itself disqualify him as one of the treacherous generals. Pacatus, the skillful rhetor, is perfectly capable of using Merobaudes in a double role—unnamed, as one of those who betrayed Gratian, and, later on, named, as a distinguished victim of Maximus (there were not a great many at his disposal; see note 95). Nor can it be argued that it would be out of keeping with Merobaudes' policy to desert Gratian (and Valentinian II) for a usurper less amenable to his influence, for that depends on regarding Gratian as little more than Merobaudes' puppet, and it takes insufficient account of circumstances that may have encouraged the betrayal. Another general who may have betrayed Gratian is Nannienus, who after a long and distinguished military career under Valentinian (Amm. Marc. 28.5.1) and Gratian (Amm. Marc. 31.10.6) turns up as protector of Maximus' son Victor in Gaul when Maximus invaded Italy (Greg. Tours *HF* 2.9, citing Sulpicius Alexander; see note 137).

80. Zosimus 4.35.4–5 gives an account of the desertions from Gratian when Maximus crossed the Channel. While "the armies in Germany and beyond" rallied to Maximus, initially "a not inconsiderable part" (μέρος οὐ μικρόν) of Gratian's army remained loyal. The initial clash took place near Paris (Prosper Tiro, *Chron.* a.384; *Chron. min.* 1.461, 1183). After five days of skirmishing the Moorish cavalry deserted to Maximus, other units followed, and Gratian fled with some three hundred picked cavalry. As Seeck suggests (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 167), the Moorish cavalry will have known Maximus from his service in Africa with the elder Theodosius (Amm. Marc. 29.5.6, 21). Ambros. *Ep.* 24.10 also mentions that the army deserted Gratian.

81. Clearly not just Gratian's troops but large sections of the populace of Gaul will have collaborated with the usurper; see the Introduction. Stories of Maximus' irritation with individual adherents of Gratian (see Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 3.11) imply that he had come to terms with all but the most zealous. Pacatus is at such pains to exculpate his fellow countrymen, whom he claims were misled by Maximus, that an unkind auditor might even surmise that his own conscience was not clear; see note 5.

82. Maximus held consulships in 384 and 388.

and of your goodwill,[83] committed the gravest crime of all in a spirit of innocence. I am aware how difficult and rocky the ground I have 2 reached. For your ears recoil from the recapitulation of that five-year period of public mourning, but they seek praises, and it is important to your glory to recount past ills for the commendation of our present good fortune. On the other hand your clemency prefers to see the sum of your beneficial services diminished rather than have them exalted by a catalogue of our misfortunes. So it is inevitable, whether I am silent about the troubles of the State or speak about them, that I seem unappreciative of your valor or that I cause an affront to your feelings of delicacy.[84] But yet, Emperor, impose a little patience on 3 your feelings. For if it be sweet to recall troubles in times that are

83. The boast would seem to have some justification. Maximus came from Spain (Zosimus 4.35.3). Not only did he serve with Theodosius' father (in Britain, with Theodosius himself; see Zosimus 4.35.3; and presumably also in Africa, in the war against Firmus; see Amm. Marc. 29.15.6, 21), and not only did Theodosius make special provision for Maximus' family after his death—giving his daughters to a relative to rear, and his mother a pension (Ambros. *Ep.* 40.32; Enßlin, "Maximus," 2546; even if Greg. Tours *HF* 1.45, *Life of the Fathers* 2, is a pious legend, it suggests that Maximus had at least one daughter), but the very abuse that Pacatus levels at Maximus at 31.1 itself points to an embarrassingly close connection with the family of Theodosius; see 31.1 and 43.6.

Sources that say that Maximus was British are confused by the location of his revolt (e.g., Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.11). His creation of a new province in northern Spain (*AE*, 1960, 158; see A. Chastagnol, "Les espagnols dans l'aristocratie gouvernementale à l'époque de Théodose," in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne*, ed. A. Piganiol and H. Terrasse [Paris, 1965] 285f.; *PLRE* I, Maximinus 19) is irrelevant to the question, for he created one in Gaul, too (Maxima Senonia: *ILS* 6117, 6117a; see *PLRE* I, Lupicinus 5; J. Harries, "Church and State in the Notitia Dignitatum," *JRS* 68 [1978] 36–38, who argues that the *Notitia Galliarum* was originally a secular record reflecting Maximus' reorganization of the provincial government of Gaul).

84. A *iustitium*, or cessation of public business, might be proclaimed on an occasion of public mourning. Theodosius had good reason for recoiling from a recapitulation of the five-year rule of Maximus in Gaul, which at best would merely emphasize his procrastination or inertia, and at worst might suggest collaboration with the usurper. But some such account was all but unavoidable from a speaker who had come from Gaul to congratulate the emperor shortly after his victory. Clearly Pacatus' safest course was invective against the "tyrant"; some of the fascination of the speech is how much is revealed to us by his need "to set the record straight" for contemporaries.

good, if sailors take pleasure in the remembrance of storms, and doctors in that of diseases, why should you too not listen to our misfortunes in order to recognize your benefactions? Where then should I
4 begin, unless with your misfortunes, my Gaul? Of all the countries which that scourge had oppressed, you are claiming for yourself, and not without justice, a peculiar monopoly of miseries, since you were compelled to endure, not only through oral report, the impact of which is less great, but in your presence and with your very eyes, the vic-
5 tory of Maximus and the death of Gratian.[85] It must be confessed, though, that Italy, next to us, and neighboring Spain, have deep wounds to show; but in the depth of their grief both have their consolation.
6 Spain did not see the tyranny, and Italy saw the tyrant slain.[86] We were the first to sustain the attack of the raging beast; we sated his savagery with the blood of innocents, his cupidity with the impoverishment of the community. Among us was practiced a cruelty which was now without fear and an avarice still unfulfilled.[87] Elsewhere the public curse either had its start, or came to an end; on Gaul it was an incubus.[88]

85. After the desertion of his army (note 80) Gratian fled from Paris toward the Alps with some picked cavalry (presumably his faithful Alani), but the cities on his route denied him admittance (Jerome *Epit.* 60.15), and he was caught and put to death at Lyon by Maximus' *magister equitum* Andragathius (Zosimus 4.35.6 calls him τὸν ἵππαρχον; Rufin. *Hist. eccl.* 2.14, *dux*) on 25 August 383 (*Fasti Ital.*, *Chron. min.* 1.297; Marcellin. Comes, *Chron. min.* 2.61). The details differ: Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.11 has Gratian duped by a message about his wife, arrested on the bridge over the Rhône, and killed; the version of Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 7.13.8 is similar, save that Gratian is killed later on. Ambrose, who was in a better position to know, reports further details, albeit in veiled fashion: Gratian was killed later, at a banquet, treacherously (*In Psa.* 61.23ff.). Maximus later claimed somewhat implausibly that he did not give orders for Gratian's death (Ambros. *Ep.* 24.10). Seeck, however, believes on the strength of *In Psa.* 61.25 (*nec Herodes defuit, cui alter Pilatus se placiturum credidit, si captum principem destinasset*) that Maximus had intended to send Gratian to Theodosius, and that Andragathius had exceeded his orders (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 168 and 500, notes to p. 168, lines 5 and 7). Again, this depends on the assumption that Gratian was an inoffensive pawn ("ungefahrlich," Seeck, p. 168). Usurpers seldom take such chances; even pawns can be useful figureheads.

86. For Italy, see secs. 38ff. Spain's wounds, inflicted from Gaul, stem from the persecution of the followers of Priscillian (29 below, and notes).

Who could compare himself to us for disaster? We suffered the tyrant 25
both with others—and alone. Why should I recall towns emptied of their citizens, the wilderness filled with noble fugitives? Why mention the public auctions of the property of men who had performed the highest

87. There follows a stereotypical diatribe against the tyrant, but it contains some items of historical interest. Such evidence as we have for Maximus' rule in Gaul suggests, as one might have expected, that Pacatus' picture is highly distorted. Orosius, for example, writes (7.34.9) that Maximus was "energetic and upright, worthy of being Augustus had he not risen as tyrant in violation of his military oath," although it must be remembered that he was a fellow Spaniard and Catholic. One example of Maximus' energy is his provincial reorganization (see Harries, "Church and State in the Notitia Dignitatum"; note 83 above). What Sulpicius Severus, the biographer of St. Martin, says of Maximus is of great interest; a noble from Aquitania, and a Catholic, born ca. 360 and writing shortly after 400 in Narbonensis (see *PLRE* II, Severus 20), he is demonstrably an intelligent and critical observer. But even his views depend on the requirements of context and genre. For example, in his *Life of St. Martin* Maximus emerges as the tyrant, since for his hero Sulpicius develops the topos of the courageous bishop at court, defiantly asserting the independence of the spiritual power from the temporal when all the other bishops are cowed. Elsewhere, he is usually rather more balanced (except with respect to Martin): "Maximus, in other respects a good man, had been led astray by the advice of the priests," after the death of Priscillian, to hunt down heretics in Spain, and to deprive them of their lives and property. Most thought that this was because of his avarice, "for while he was endowed with many good attributes, it was said that he put too little curb upon his avarice" (*Dial.* 3.11). So Sulpicius can be held to confirm Pacatus to this extent, that avarice was commonly thought to be Maximus' chief failing. But then he goes on, remarkably, to excuse this failing, "unless perchance, this was out of necessity of state [*regni necessitate*], for inasmuch as the treasury had been exhausted by previous princes of the realm, and he almost always stood in expectation of, or in readiness for, civil wars, he will easily be excused for having exploited any opportunity whatsoever to provide resources for his empire."

As for Maximus' cruelty, Sulpicius reports his defense to Martin (*V. Mart.* 20.3) "that none of his adversaries had fallen except on the field of battle." Ambrose alleged, perhaps somewhat later, that Maximus had been demanding that refugees from Gaul be punished, and that he had been killing prisoners (*Ep.* 24.11). When pressed by Maximus, he was able to name one victim (note 93), but the debate was acrimonious, and Ambrose's charges may have been wild.

88. The victorious Maximus made his headquarters at Trier (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.46–50; Greg. Tours *HF* 1.43), which was where Gratian had his seat. There Martin visited him (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 3.11, *Chron.* 2.50), and Ambrose (*Ep.*

offices, the deprivation of their civic rights, the prices put upon their
2 heads? We have seen offices reduced in number, ex-consuls stripped
of their ceremonial robes, old men survive their fortunes, and children,
playing without a care—a sight that would make you weep—at the feet of
the purchaser.[89] Meanwhile we wretches were forbidden to display our
wretchedness, indeed we were compelled to feign happiness, and after we
had entrusted our furtive grief to our wives and children alone, at home
and in secret, we would appear in public with a countenance that gave no
3 clue to our misfortune. You would hear an informer exclaim: "Why does
that fellow go about looking so sad? Could it be because he was once a
rich man, and is now a pauper? Shouldn't he congratulate himself on
being alive? Why does this man pollute the public domain by appearing
in mourning apparel? He grieves, I believe, for his brother. But he has a
son." Thus it was not permitted to weep over one's losses for fear for
4 those who remained. And so although our spirits were gloomy we put on
an untroubled countenance, and, just as those who have drunk the juice
of Sardinian herbs are said to die with a smile on their face, we feigned
5 happiness in our sadness.[90] It is some amelioration of one's calamities to

24.2); there Ausonius appears to have been caught by events (*Ep.* 20 lemma; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 174 n. 2).

89. There is much stock invective here, and detailed evidence for Maximus' reign, as I have remarked (note 87), is usually lacking. Pacatus clearly speaks chiefly from the point of view of the propertied classes—men of rank and officeholders. "Ex-consuls": Merobaudes? (note 79), Paulinus of Nola (suff. cos. ca. 378; *PLRE* I, Paulinus 21)? Paulinus returned to Bordeaux some time after his governorship of Campania (381) and was evidently living there when Maximus was ruler of Gaul. After his brother's murder in mysterious circumstances, Paulinus himself was suspected; he says (*Carmen* 21.416ff.) that he was in danger and was threatened with the confiscation of his patrimony to the fisc. The danger passed, but he began to sell his estates for charitable purposes and became a priest (and bishop). The chronology is not certain; W. H. C. Frend, "The Two Worlds of Paulinus of Nola," in *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, ed. J. W. Binns (London, 1974) 106, puts these events in the last years of Maximus' rule; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1926; reprint, Brussels, 1964) 7: 293 n. 2, thinks Paulinus was saved by Maximus' fall. "The purchaser": the Latin *sector* implies purchase of confiscated goods at public auction.

90. For the "Sardinian herb" cf. Serv. ad *Ecl.* 7.41: *in Sardinia enim nascitur quaedam herba, ut Sallustius dicit* [= *Hist.* 2.10 Maur.], *apiastri similis. Haec comesa ora hominum rictus dolore contrahit et quasi ridentis interimit (unde vulgo* Σαρδόνιος γέλως). Junius Philargyrius (*vel* Filagrius) of Milan adds a useful clue (ad *Ecl.* 7.41): *Sardonia*

give way to tears over one's misfortunes and to ease the pangs in one's
heart with sighs; there is no greater punishment than to be miserable and
not to seem so. And, amid all this, there was no hope of satisfying the 6
robber. For contrary to Nature's way, no satiety followed his plenty. Day
by day his hunger for possessions grew, and what he had already acquired
provoked his madness for acquisition. As drinking kindles thirst in the
sick, as fire is not quenched, but rather augmented, by dry material, so
wealth accumulated by the impoverishment of the public sharpened the
greed of a hungry soul.

For, clad in purple, he would stand at the scales and with pale but avid **26**
gaze he would study the movement of the weights and the oscillations of
the balance. And all the while loot from the provinces, spoils from those in
exile and the property of the slain were being collected. Here was weighed 2
gold snatched from the hands of matrons, there amulets wrested from the
necks of orphans, and yonder silver covered with its owners' blood. On
all sides money was being counted, chests filled, bronze heaped up, vessels
shattered, so that to any observer it would seem to be, not the abode of an
Emperor, but a robber's den. But yet a robber makes use of his plunder, 3
and at least gives to himself what he has seized from others. He does
not plant himself on highways and lurk in swamps in order to amass and
bury treasure and to be miserable in his crime, but in order to pander

id est herba apio similis iuxta ripas nascitur in Sardonia insula quam si manducaverit, risu moritur. J. Sargeaunt, *The Trees, Shrubs and Plants of Virgil* (Oxford, 1920) 119–20, identifies it as *Ranunculus sceleratus*, the celery-leaved buttercup, the habitat and properties of which make it a good candidate (see O. Polunin, *Flowers of Europe* [Oxford, 1969] 104; P. M. North, *Poisonous Plants and Fungi* [London, 1967] 121). But a far more likely candidate is one of the Umbelliferae (Apiaceae), *Oenanthe crocata*, hemlock water dropwort, or dead men's fingers (Polunin, p. 282; North, p. 133; D. Frohne and H. J. Pfänder, *A Colour Atlas of Poisonous Plants: A Handbook for Pharmacists, Doctors, Toxologists, and Biologists* [Stuttgart, 1983] 37, 41). Not only does it resemble wild celery much more closely in its habits of growth than *Ranunculus sceleratus* does, its parsnip-like roots are reported to have a "pleasant taste" (Frohne and Pfänder, p. 41), and its chief poisonous constituent, the polyacetylene oenanthotoxin, remains stable and active for a long time in the roots. Both plants cause convulsions, and thus *rictus*, but it is much more difficult to imagine a person ingesting enough of the extremely bitter *Ranunculus* to cause death. Both plants are widespread in Europe *iuxta ripas*, but Homer's epithet σαρδάνιος (*Od.* 20.302; etymology unknown) evidently deceived the ancients into thinking that it was characteristic of, if not confined to, Sardinia (see Sargeaunt; LSJ[9] s.v. σαρδάνιος, for further references).

to his gullet and his belly, and not to lack funds for his expenditures; for he spends lavishly and without a care: with the same facility he acquires
4 things and dissipates them. But that pirate of ours would heap together whatever he swept in from anywhere, destined to be lost both to us and to himself in that Charybdis of his cave. Do I say Charybdis? When she had swallowed ships with their cargoes, yet she is said to have spewed out the shipwrecks and craft twisted in the depths and to have cast them up on the
5 shores of Tauromenium. Our property kept traveling to his treasury by a single and continuous route; none of its remnants, no fragments, not even anything rejected finally out of distaste, did that engulfer of the common wealth vomit up again.[91]

27 It is the last defense of wicked rulers to take away things to present them to others and to avert the odium of their brigandage by the magnitude of their gifts. But—the devil!—what rationale is there for taking
2 from everybody what no one is going to have? Indeed, in the case of avarice in private individuals, although it is a bad thing, however there is some defense: for one fears poverty, and puts something aside for old age, and looks to the prospects of one's heir. But what excuse for cupidity is
3 there for one who has as much as exists everywhere? On the contrary, if it be right and proper for mortals to judge heavenly matters, I should have thought there were no greater happiness for a ruler than to make a man happy, to relieve his poverty, to vanquish Fortune and to give a
4 man a new destiny. And so an Emperor making a just appreciation of his majesty ought to consider as his own not so much what he takes as
5 what he gives. For since everything flows back to him, and, as that Ocean which encircles everything receives back from the land the waters which it heaps upon the land, so whatever flows out to the citizens from their ruler comes back to the ruler, and an Emperor who is munificent serves well both his interests and his good name; for he enriches his reputation when he gives money which will return to him.

28 To Maximus, however, all methods of earning praise seemed foolish. In defiance of the model of virtue which is implanted even in the worst of men, he defined his supreme happiness in terms of acquiring things

91. One must concede that Pacatus conjures up some vivid pictures in this section. Comparison of the rapacious with Charybdis, the whirlpool between Sicily and Italy, was hackneyed—cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.67 (Antony); Ambros. *Tobias* 8.31 (a usurer)—but the development of the comparison is, as far as I know, original. And what follows is by no means vacuous, but a well-considered, somewhat Keynesian justification of *beneficentia*.

and doing harm, and not only sought to have as much as possible, but labored to ensure that nothing was left for anyone else. For he did not, as is customary with kings, watch over the workings of the mines in order to fetch out for his use the hidden bounties of Nature and acquire a fortune which harmed nobody and left none the poorer. He did not consider at 2
all precious the gold which the Bessian prospector or Gallaecian searcher plucked from mountain veins or river gravels;[92] he thought purer and more splendid that gold which grieving men had given, which had been bathed not by river waters but by the tears of men, which had not been extracted from underground tunnels, but torn from the necks and throats of the slain. And so, since both the pen and the sword of the pitiless 3
tyrant were feared, our prayers were now for poverty, and, in order to escape the executioner, we wished to submit to the buyer at auction. But 4
if he should seem to anyone to have been less cruel in this respect in comparison with the rest of his crimes, let that man recall your death, your death, Vallio, celebrator of a triumph,[93] and yours, Merobaudes,

92. The Bessi, from Thrace, were noted gold-miners (Vegetius 4.24), as were the Gallaeci, from Hispania Tarraconensis, Theodosius' native place (Pliny *HN* 33.78). Claud. *Cons. Mall. Theod.* 40–41 imitates Pacatus.

93. Vallio (or Balio) is known only from here and from Ambros. *Ep.* 24.11 (ca. 386; the date is linked with that of the trial and execution of the Priscillianists, which it follows—cf. 24.12; see note 96), where he is likewise named as a victim of Maximus when the latter asked Ambrose whom he had put to death. "'I did not order him to be killed,' responded Maximus. 'We heard,' said Ambrose, 'that such orders were given.' 'But,' said he, 'if he had not destroyed himself I would have ordered him to be taken to Chalon and there burnt alive.' Ambrose replied: 'And indeed it was because of this that you are thought to have killed him. Who would suppose he would be spared when such a vigorous warrior, so loyal a soldier and so useful a *comes* had been slain?'" Pacatus' account neatly complements Ambrose's, both confirming an official version of suicide and casting further doubt upon it by adding circumstantial detail. It is suggested in *PLRE* I that as Merobaudes was Gratian's *magister peditum* (Amm. Marc. 30.5.13, but this was in 375, eight years previously), Vallio may have been his *magister equitum* (in which case he will have been replaced by Andragathius; see note 85).

Demandt, "Magister militum," 603, infers from this passage that Vallio was not of the same military rank as Merobaudes, and therefore no *magister equitum*, but probably a *comes rei militaris*. The inference is not sound, for mention of Merobaudes' "highest magistracies" (his military *magistratus*, for which, see note 79) need not imply that Vallio held none. Nothing is known of Vallio's triumph, but the testimonial of Ambrose makes it plausible.

wearer of the *trabea*.[94] The one, after holding the highest magistracies and wearing consular purples, and uniting within the one household a kind of senate of honors, was obliged to take his own life; the other had his neck broken in his own home at the hands of Maximus' British thugs, and was branded with the infamy of a womanly death, in order, of course, that a man who had a passion for weapons should appear to have preferred to
5 perish by the noose than by the sword. But it could be thought, perhaps, that the tyrant had special cause for hatred against them; for each had stood in Gratian's battle line, and Gratian had loved each of them. What does one say of those who, strangers to high office and to rulers, and

94. "Wearer of the *trabea* [or consular robe]" is particularly appropriate if Merobaudes perished in his consulship. But in 383 or 388 (note 79)? If he had perished in 383, why does Ambrose not mention him as well as Vallio, for Merobaudes was surely the more celebrated figure? One possibility is that he was not such a clear-cut victim, that his suicide could not easily be portrayed in Maximus' presence as an enforced one. If Merobaudes did survive to hold the consulship for 388 (Rossi, *ICUR* 1.370, 10 January 388 = n.s. II 5996), he did not hold it for long, for from 11 January Maximus' name appears instead of his in the Western inscriptions (*ICUR* 1.371–72, 374–75). We can only speculate about his relationship with Maximus in the period 383–388. It may have been uneasy (Rossi suggests that it was Valentinian II and not Maximus who nominated Merobaudes and Theodosius for the consulship for 388, before Maximus' invasion of Italy). Merobaudes may have fallen from favor, for example, for opposing the invasion, or he may have been forced to commit suicide because Maximus could not afford to leave him in his rear. There are many possibilities. E. Vetter, "Das Grab des Flavius Merobaudes in Trier," *RhM* 103 (1960) 366–72, sees Merobaudes as a would-be peacemaker, and not a betrayer of Gratian (p. 370); Rodgers, "Merobaudes and Maximus in Gaul," argues that Merobaudes was acting for the good of the state in betraying Gratian. Barnes, "Patricii under Valentinian III," 160, explains "a kind of senate of honors" by suggesting that Merobaudes held the patriciate. But a third consulship would be sufficient explanation of the phrase. Yet on balance it would seem best to reject a third consulship in 388 for Merobaudes. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, 650–52, have recently set out the case against it very powerfully; a third consulate for a *privatus*, unprecedented in the fourth century, is particularly unlikely in conjunction with a second consulate for an emperor; if Maximus initially proclaimed Theodosius and Merobaudes, why did he later proclaim only himself? This suggests rather a conciliatory move, allowing Theodosius to fill the second post, and as such, it "would make sense only as a first proclamation." But no conclusion is without difficulties.

prominent only among their own people, shed their noble blood beneath the executioner?[95]

Do I speak of the deaths of men, when I recall that he descended 29
to spilling the blood of women, and raged in peacetime against a sex which is spared by war? But of course serious and odious offenses were 2
responsible for the wife of a famous poet being dragged off to punishment with a hook;[96] for excessive piety and too assiduous worship of divinity was alleged and indeed proved against the widow.[97] What greater charge 3

95. So far it is clear that no strong case has been made for Maximus' cruelty. The death of Gratian was a necessity, and the two victims Pacatus can name he concedes "had stood in Gratian's battleline" (on the desertion hypothesis, however, Merobaudes cannot have been there for long) and had been loved by Gratian; see note 81 for Sulpicius' implication that it was only the most obstinate partisans of Gratian who had aroused Maximus' anger. But the issue is complicated by Maximus' involvement, which was not of his making, in the Priscillianist controversy.

96. Euchrotia, wife of Attius Tiro Delphidius (Auson. *Prof. Burd*. 5, 6; Amm. Marc. 18.1.4), rhetor, advocate, and friend of Ausonius. She was executed by Maximus at Trier with Priscillian and several of his followers (Prosper Tiro, *Chron. min.* 1.462, 1187; *Chron. of 452*, *Chron. min.* 1.646; Hydatius, *Chron. min.* 2.15; Jerome *De vir. ill.* 122; Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.51). The sources give dates ranging from 385–387; for discussion, see H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (Oxford, 1976) 132ff., who prefers summer 386 to the date of 384 favored by Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 192, line 34. Birley, "Magnus Maximus and the Persecution of Heresy," 30–31, finds a *terminus ante quem non* of 386 in Sulpicius' *V. Mart.* 20.4, where Euodius (cos. 386) is mentioned as consul in a context that evidently precedes the trial. The trial goes down in history as marking the first time that a secular authority pronounced the death sentence on a heretic, although technically the charge was "magical practices," *maleficium* (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.50; Chadwick, pp. 139ff.). For the Priscillianist movement in general see Chadwick; B. Vollmann, "Priscillianus," *RE* Suppl. 14 (1974) 485–559; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 160–71; Birley; R. Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley, 1985) chap. 5; the anonymous Priscillianist tractates in the Wurzburg codex, found in the nineteenth century, are published in *CSEL* 18 and reprinted in Migne, *PL* Suppl. 2: 1413–83. Priscillian had stayed at Euchrotia's estate after being expelled from Bordeaux, and she accompanied him, with some others, to Rome and Milan on his quest to have a proper enquiry into the charges against him (see Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.46–48).

97. Euchrotia's husband died in middle age and was spared the pain of his wife's punishment (Auson. *Prof. Burd*. 5.35–38); presumably his death occurred before her journey to Italy and made the latter possible. Pacatus, of course,

than this could an accuser who was a priest level at her?[98] For there was,

provides no clear picture of the doctrinal issues. To put aside the issue of episcopal rivalry, Priscillian got into trouble because of a rigorous asceticism, which laid him open to charges of Manichaeism, compounded by an interest in the occult, which led to charges of sorcery. His advanced views on the equality of the sexes, and his admission that he prayed naked and attended nocturnal meetings with women, did nothing to help his cause (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.50; see Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, 139, for the likelihood of torture being used to extract these admissions). Protests at the verdict followed (Martin, Ambrose, and perhaps Pope Siricius), but the vast majority of Gallic bishops supported Ithacius, and a synod in Trier (387?) formally exculpated him from any fault (Chadwick, p. 145). There is extant a letter of Maximus replying to some inquiries of Pope Siricius (*Coll. Avell.* 40; *CSEL* 35.90–91; Migne, *PL* 13: 591–92) in which he asserts his great concern for the Catholic faith, as befitted one who "rose to imperial power right from the saving [i.e., baptismal] font itself." He goes on to claim that his arrival and strong action had prevented schism (*ingens profecto divulsio atque perditio*) in the Church, and concludes by explaining that he would prefer that His Holiness read about the crime of which the Manichees had recently been revealed to have been guilty ("not by doubtful or uncertain suspicions, but by their very own confession") from the reports of the trial, and not from his embarrassed lips. It would seem that Pope Siricius had heard disquieting rumors of the trial of the Priscillianists and sought reassurance (but cf. Birley, *Fasti*, 37, who suggests that Siricius wrote, perhaps after Maximus gained control of Italy, primarily to solicit a declaration of Catholic allegiance from the latter). Pacatus puts a sane and levelheaded construction upon Euchrotia's behavior. Galletier (3: 51) not unreasonably likens his attitude of tolerance to that of Symmachus in the Altar of Victory controversy (*Relat.* 3).

The reading *probabatur* (proved) has been challenged, and Galletier prints Rhenanus' conjecture *exprobrabatur* (blamed, reproached). Although I concede that the passage is ironical, I think the emendation is unnecessary.

98. Pacatus' tone becomes even more ironical. He clearly disapproves of Maximus' role in the affair but reserves his greatest indignation for the bishops who brought matters to a head (*sacerdos* and *antistes* are used alike of pagan and Christian priest, and Christian bishop)—they are "thuggish henchmen [*satellites*] and butchers." His judgment is shared by Sulpicius Severus, although the latter's language is more moderate. Maximus was "led astray by the advice of priests" (*Dial.* 3.11.2); "afterwards the Emperor was led astray by the bishops Magnus and Rufus, and deflected from milder counsels" (*Chron.* 2.50.7). The chief accuser was Ithacius of Ossonuba (Portugal), whose character Sulpicius paints in unflattering terms (*Chron.* 2.50.2–3): "I declare that he had no regard for anything; he held nothing sacred; he was a man of no weight, without a touch of holiness; for he was brash, garrulous and impudent; a wastrel, excessively

it must be said, a race of informers who were priests in name, but in reality thuggish henchmen and butchers, who were not content to have wrested from poor unfortunates their inherited patrimonies, but would bring false accusations against their blood and threaten the very lives of defendants whom they had already made paupers. Yet, further, after assisting in these capital cases, and eagerly drinking in with ears and eyes the groans and torments of the unhappy victims,[99] after handling the axes of the lictors and the chains of the condemned, they would take back to their sacred rites hands sullied by contact with punishment, and the ceremonials which they had defiled with their minds they even polluted with their bodies.[100] These were the types that this Phalaris numbered 4
among his friends, the apples of his eye, indeed his bosom companions. And this was only right, for it was they who provided the answers to so many of his prayers at the same time: the possessions of the wealthy to

devoted to the pleasures of gullet and belly; he went to such lengths of stupidity as to arraign all men, even holy men, who either were devoted to reading or had made a practice of engaging in fasting, as accomplices or protégés of Priscillian." Sulpicius then reveals his most outrageous act: the cursed fellow even dared to bring a charge of heresy against Martin himself! Sulpicius is steeped in Sallust, and the above picture owes much, conceptually and stylistically, to him (see J. Fontaine, "L'affaire Priscillien ou l'ère des nouveaux Catilina," in *Classica et Iberica: Festschrift Marique*, ed. P. T. Brannan [Worcester, Mass., 1975] 355–92, esp. 369–71). But if there is any truth at all in the description, one can see why Ithacius would be unlikely to appeal to cultivated men like Pacatus. Ambrose, likewise, would sympathize with Pacatus' view of the bishops associated with Maximus and the trial (*Ep.* 24.12: he refused to associate with them on his second embassy, 386[?]; Martin also refused initially, until persuaded by Maximus; he later felt pangs of conscience about this; see Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, 146–47).

99. This would seem to confirm Chadwick's belief (note 97) that torture was used, as was normal in charges involving witchcraft (e.g., Paulinus *Vita Ambrosii* 20.1; *Cod. Theod.* 9.16.6, a.358; 16.10.9, a. 385; Amm. Marc. 28.1, 29.1–2; Zosimus 4.14–15).

100. Maximus used his power to protect Ithacius and his allies, and a synod of inquiry at Trier had pronounced Ithacius free of guilt (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 3.11–12). This might well give rise to such expostulations and charges that "this Phalaris numbered [them] among his friends." (Phalaris was the tyrant of Agrigentum who roasted his victims in a bronze bull: Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.73; Amm. Marc. used him as a symbol of cruelty, 26.10.5, 28.1.46.)

cater to his greed,[101] and punishment of the innocent to satisfy his cruelty, the damage to religion to appeal to his impiety.[102]

30 At last God cast his gaze upon us again, and while watching over the welfare of the East he looked back upon our misfortunes and instilled such madness into that accursed head[103] that it did not shrink
2 from breaking a treaty,[104] violating fetial law,[105] and declaring war. Or am I to think that it was brought about without divine sanction that the man who could have amused himself under a nominal peace and have been spared punishment for his first crime by remaining quiet[106]

101. The recurrence of the theme is apposite, for at the renewal of the trial of Priscillian after the withdrawal of Ithacius, the first prosecutor, the latter's place was taken by one Patricius, *fisci patronus*, or advocate of the treasury (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.51). We have already noted (note 87) the suspicion that the desire to acquire property lay behind Maximus' dispatch of armed tribunes to Spain to hunt down more heretics (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 3.11). Certainly many of the accused were noble and wealthy.

102. Maximus would have been outraged at the charge of impiety. He professed to be a staunch champion of Catholic orthodoxy and defended his action against the Priscillianists on this basis (note 97). Indeed there is no reason to doubt his claim, although it is clear that he was not blind to the political advantages that accrued therefrom in his dealings with both the intolerant Catholic Theodosius and the Arian court at Milan (see note 108; and Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, 114ff.: "Priscillianism was a godsend to him," p. 121).

103. For divinely inspired madness as a causal agent in the panegyrics, cf. *Pan.* 12.16.2; 4.12.1, 28.1. It is, of course, very common in overtly Christian writers (e.g., Lactant. *Mort. pers.* 24.1, 31.1, 33.1, etc.).

104. While it cannot be proved that Theodosius accepted Maximus' offer of a formal treaty (see the Introduction, pp. 445f.), this is certainly not out of the question, and at the very least it would appear that there was a de facto understanding between the two that Maximus violated when he crossed the Alps and invaded Italy. For further discussion, in addition to Vera, "I rapporti fra Magno Massimo, Teodosio e Valentiniano II," see Paschoud, *Zosime*, livre 4, nn. 75 and 76 at 4.37; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 177ff. H. R. Baldus, "Theodosius der Grosse und die Revolte des Magnus Maximus," *Chiron* 14 (1984) 175–92, has recently argued, from a series of bronze coins of Theodosius, Gratian (initially), and Valentinian II, depicting the emperor in military garb aboard a ship with dragon's head prow, that Theodosius had planned an expedition to recover Britain from the usurper even before the death of Gratian; the type has usually been interpreted as symbolic.

Maximus' relations with Valentinian II were naturally more bitter, the murdered Gratian being the latter's half brother, and Italy being more vulnerable to invasion than Theodosius' realms. After Gratian's death there was an understandable fear that Maximus would invade Italy. In autumn 383 Ambrose was sent from Milan to ask for peace and the return of Gratian's corpse (Ambros. *Ep.* 24.3, 9). His embassy crossed with one from Trier likewise seeking peace but demanding that Valentinian should come to Trier "as a son to his father," a request that was refused (7). Ambrose pleaded the rigors of a winter journey over the Alps, which won Milan some time, while Valentinian's general Bauto hurriedly fortified the Alpine passes. Maximus claimed he had been deceived by Ambrose, and charged Bauto with having loosed barbarians against him (4, 8).

Ambrose's second embassy to Trier (after the trial of Priscillian, *Ep.* 24.12, hence 386; see note 96), still seeking peace, but now "for an equal" (3), reveals that Gratian's body had still not been returned, and that relations were still very hostile—Maximus voiced bitter complaints, and Ambrose claims to have called him a "usurper" to his face (10). Clearly, whatever accommodation Theodosius had made with Maximus, the court of Valentinian had not recognized him by 386, and he, on the other hand, had not given up his claim to be Valentinian's adviser (11).

The sources for subsequent events are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The *Gallic Chronicle* of 452 records that "Maximus, fearing the ruler of the eastern Empire, Theodosius, concluded a treaty [*foedus*] with Valentinian" (*Chron. min.* 1.646, 11), and that it was the treaty that he broke when he invaded Italy (*Chron. min.* 1.648, 16). Rufinus (*Hist. eccl.* 2.15) has Valentinian accept a peace offered by Maximus, because he was "terrified by the death of his brother and fear of the enemy," but suggests that both parties were insincere. Zosimus reports that just prior to Maximus' invasion of Italy in 387 Valentinian had sent envoys to Maximus to seek "the security of a more stable peace" (4.42.3), which implies some kind of modus vivendi already existed. But there is little to show for such a treaty, or peace, in the documentary sources. Certainly Maximus' name appears occasionally with those of the other rulers on inscriptions in Valentinian's territory (Africa: *ILS* 787; Ostia: *CIL* 14.4410). But neither Valentinian's nor Maximus' coinage acknowledges the existence of the other.

105. This archaic law regulated Roman conduct, sanctioning only declarations of "just" wars consequent upon some provocation, and the failure of the offender to give satisfaction (see Livy 1.32.5–14). Clearly Maximus failed to satisfy its provisions—indeed, how could he, being outside Rome? Apparently the law had not been invoked since Marcus Aurelius ostentatiously did so in 178 (Dio 71.33.3). Pacatus would not dream of subjecting Theodosius' practice to a similar scrutiny.

106. Pacatus seems both to retreat from the claim that there was a formal treaty ("nominal peace") and to suggest that Theodosius would not have moved

raised a second and third standard of civil brigandage,[107] crossed the Cottian Alps,[108] then broke through the barrier of the Julian Alps as

against Maximus had he not invaded Italy—perhaps rightly, although he would attribute this to Theodosius' mercifulness.

107. His first crime was his usurpation and murder of Gratian (383), the second the crossing of the Cottian Alps and invasion of Italy (387), and the third the passage of the Julian Alps and offensive against Theodosius (388), as the context makes clear. Vera's interpretation ("I rapporti fra Magno Massimo, Teodosio e Valentiniano II," 299) of the second as a "tentativo di aggressione" in 384 is strained and unsatisfactory (Paschoud, *Zosime*, livre 4, 434); Vera's article is very stimulating, but he is sometimes inclined to attach too great weight to some flimsy sources.

108. Maximus, who as we have seen had evidently been accumulating resources for the purpose, crossed the Cottian Alps in 387 and invaded Valentinian's territory. Why did he strike when he did? A reading of Zosimus 4.42 suggests that he simply exploited an unexpected opportunity, although some have found the story incredible. Zosimus reports that Valentinian had sent ambassadors from Aquileia to Trier to secure a more stable peace. Upon hearing that Maximus desired the same, he followed up the matter by entrusting the arrangements to a confidant, one Domninus, who was promised the aid of some of Maximus' forces to beat off the barbarians attacking Pannonia. According to Zosimus, Maximus crossed the Alps peacefully with the whole of his army in the wake of the unsuspecting Domninus.

Certainly the government of Valentinian was particularly vulnerable at the time. Pannonia had been overrun; major cities had been devastated (Mursa; Maximus' letter to Valentinian, *Coll. Avell.* 39, *CSEL* 35.1, p. 90; Migne, *PL* 13: 593; see *Cod. Theod.* 1.32.5 [29 July 386] for insecurity in Illyricum). Its best general, Bauto, was evidently dead (see Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 204–5; *PLRE* I). It was also racked by religious controversy, as Valentinian's mother, Justina, pushed the claims of her Arians. Maximus had focused on Milan's deviation from the Catholic faith in his propaganda (Letter to Valentinian [*Coll. Avell.* 39, *CSEL* 35.1, p. 90]: " 'What could be more devoutly wished for by an enemy than that you sin against the churches of God?' he writes. To paraphrase: 'As a friend, I advise you to hold to the faith of your fathers. Look what has happened to Arian Illyricum, and Mursa!' "). This duly appears in the histories and chronicles as his pretext for invasion; see Theodoret 5.14: Maximus sent dispatches urging Valentinian to stop his campaign against true religion (5.13 describes the siege of the basilica) and threatening war if he disregarded his advice; the *Gallic Chronicle* of 452 reports that Maximus found an opportunity for breaking his treaty with Valentinian in the unworthy condition of the Church; so, too, Rufin. *Hist. eccl.* 2.16, mentioning the machinations of

Justina and the undermining of the statutes of the Catholic church (but not the treaty); see also Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 7.13.

It is conceivable that Maximus had heard that Theodosius was making preparations against him (Zosimus 4.39.5; 386; see Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 181) and was hoping to confront him with a fait accompli. But it is more likely that he had despaired of receiving formal recognition as Valentinian's superior from Theodosius and, seeing his chance, decided to settle the matter by force.

We do not hear of any opposition to Maximus' invasion. It was evidently totally unexpected. The court fled immediately from Aquileia (whither it had advanced to monitor the situation in Pannonia) to Thessalonica and sent to Theodosius for help (Zosimus 4.43.1–2).

The date of the invasion was probably early summer 387. (Zosimus narrates it after the sedition in Antioch, January–March 387. Valentinian was still in Milan on 19 May 387; *Cod. Theod.* 11.30.48; see Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 519, note to p. 209, line 2, arguing that *Cod. Theod.* 6.28.4 from Milan, 8 September 387, is actually a law of Maximus.) Maximus' rule in Italy lasted about a year (Sulp. Sev. *V. Mart.* 20.9—*annum fere*; cf. Zosimus 4.44.4), and he was dead by late July or August 388 (note 152). Maximus evidently still hoped for a rapprochement with Valentinian; at any rate, the *Feriale of Capua* (*ILS* 4918, 387) suggests that Maximus had given instructions for Valentinian's *natalis imperii* to be celebrated in Capua on 22 November (387); Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 520, note to p. 209, line 2.

Upon the arrival of the embassy from Valentinian at Constantinople a meeting of the Senate was held, after which Theodosius decided to go to Thessalonica with some senators (Zosimus 4.43.2). There, after a final debate, it was unanimously resolved to punish Maximus for his crimes (43.2). But this was a debate among the senators, for Theodosius distanced himself from the resolution, pointing out the evils of civil war and arguing for an embassy to be sent, and if Maximus agreed to hand back Valentinian's territory and keep the peace, that power could be divided among them "according to the former arrangement" (κατὰ τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα; Zosimus 4.44.1). Against this, we are told, none of the senators dared speak. Zosimus puts Theodosius' hesitation down to his natural pusillanimity and claims that Theodosius finally undertook the war because it was only on that condition that Justina would consent to his marriage with her beautiful daughter Galla. Theodosius was recently widowed (in 386; see Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 521, note to p. 210, line 34; Paschoud, *Zosime*, livre 4, 437), and the story is not incredible. Some have suspected a quid pro quo: Theodosius obliged Justina and Valentinian to renounce their Arianism in return for his support (Birley, "Magnus Maximus and the Persecution of Heresy," 36; Stein and Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 1: 205, on the basis of Suidas, s.v. Οὐαλεντινιανός). But other factors must surely

well, and imposed upon you, O Emperor, who even yet kept open for
3 him a guarantee of pardon, the obligation of conquering him?[109] The
State, I believe, that was to be rescued by an avenger who was al-
ready very near, drove him headlong, and its dead lord, victim of fla-
grant assassination, sought the punishment which he owed. This was
not self-confidence, but lunacy, not rashness, but necessity. He did not
provoke you into war of his own accord, but could no longer withhold
4 himself from punishment. Otherwise, how could he have conceived
such great daring that he ventured to rush against the steel and con-
front death, a man so cowardly and afraid of death that subsequently,
5 even when defeated, he was unable to take his own life? And in-
deed, august Emperor, for you to rescue the State and carry off the
victory it would have sufficed for you alone to have come into bat-
tle; for if once upon a time masters, about to fight their rebellious
slaves, carried whips into the field, and such a fit of conscience struck
the latter that, though armed, they turned from unarmed men, and
after having offered their breasts to death now presented their backs
to the lash,[110] would you not also have put an end to this whole affair
without having to call upon your legions, simply by making an appear-
ance?

be admitted, such as Theodosius' reluctance to subject the Empire to civil war, particularly as his adversary was orthodox (Theodosius wrote to Valentinian after his flight from Maximus to the effect that Maximus' victory was not surprising: "You have been fighting against piety, he for it"; Theodoret 5.15; cf. Zonar. 13.18).

Theodosius was still in Constantinople on 6 July 387 (*Cod. Theod.* 12.1.118). By 31 December his presence is recorded at Thessalonica (*Cod. Theod.* 1.32.6). Presumably he traveled there in the autumn to join Valentinian and his family. He was still in Thessalonica on 30 April 388 (*Cod. Theod.* 9.11) and moved west only in May or June (see note 122).

109. In the following campaigning season, in 388 (exact date unknown), Maximus again took the initiative and crossed the Julian Alps into Illyricum, reaching Siscia and establishing himself there before Theodosius' forces engaged him (see 34.1–4). Although Theodosius' preparations were painfully slow, there could surely be no doubt now that he was planning to fight, so Maximus presumably wished to seize as much territory as he could before the conflict. The "guarantee of pardon" was certainly kept open after Maximus' invasion of Italy (see Zosimus 4.44.1, cited above, note 108), but clearly Maximus was not going to avail himself of it.

110. Cf. Hdt. 4.1–4 for the story; Justin 2.5; Claud. *In Eutr.* 1.505ff.

Or would he have been able to withstand you in person, and face your **31**
gaze alone, that fellow who was once the most delinquent little slave[111]
in your household and a waiter stationed at the lowly tables of the slaves?
Would not a reflection upon his past and yours immediately have swept
over him? Would he not have reproached himself with the fact that you
were the son of a triumphant general, while he was not sure who his father
was,[112] you the heir of the noblest of families, he a client; that you were the
commander of the Roman army all this time, the champion of liberty,
while he was banished from the world, a fugitive from his homeland? And 2
furthermore that you were chosen ruler in the bosom of the State, by the
vote of all the soldiers, with the consent of the provinces, finally by the
canvassing of the Emperor himself, that he had aspired to that theft of the
name of tyrant in a remote corner of the world, without the knowledge
of the legions, against the wishes of the provinces, and finally with no
auspices? In conclusion, on your side there was loyalty, on his, treachery; 3
you had right on your side; he, wrong; you had justice, he injustice; you
had clemency, modesty, religious scruple, he impiety, lust, cruelty and a
whole company of the worst crimes and vices.[113] Let us examine the events 4
themselves, and, employing the surest kind of conjecture, let us infer from
what happened what had to happen. Can there be any doubt, in the end,
what he would have done in the presence of one whom he did not see
and yet fled?

And so, Emperor, although you had the advantage of such an enemy **32**
and were coming not so much to join battle as to exact punishment from
that impious head, yet you carried out the war with such careful planning
and so many calculations that you seemed to be preparing to fight it

111. Stock invective, and contradicted by "client" below, which may be closer to the truth, but I believe not the whole truth (see note 83). Perhaps not coincidentally, Auson. *Urb.* 70, or 9.7, calls Maximus a *lixa* (waiter) posing as a soldier, in a poem that was originally planned (and written?) before Maximus' fall (cf. 60, or 9.1). For *lixae* see R. Grosse, *RE* 13 (1926) 929–30. Theodosius refers to Maximus as a slave (δοῦλος) in a letter to Valentinian (Zonar. 13.18).

112. Pacatus exaggerates, for the identity of Maximus' uncle was known (Sulp. Sev. *V. Mart.* 20.4).

113. Cf. *Pan.* 4.3–4 for a similar contrast between legitimate ruler and usurper (Constantine and Maxentius). Note the emphasis on unanimity in the choice of Theodosius, a claim as conventional as it was untrue (cf. Augustus *Res gestae* 34.1; Tac. *Hist.* 1.15, speech of Galba).

2 out with some Perseus or Pyrrhus, even with Hannibal himself.[114] For first, with pledges given and received, you made sure of the loyalty of the kings whose domains encircle the Eastern frontier, so that you might act abroad with freedom of mind by removing all anxiety and cause for
3 suspicion at home.[115] Then you divided your forces into three,[116] so that

114. Theodosius' preparations were so thorough and drawn out, in fact, that Maximus could march into Pannonia and fortify Siscia before encountering him. Pyrrhus and Hannibal were often cited as threats to Italy that materialized (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 1.11; Flor. 2.12.1), Perseus as a potential one (Livy 42.25.2ff.; Tac. *Ann.* 4.55).

115. Galletier (3: 98 n. 3) suggests that this is an allusion to the Saraceni, who lined the Roman frontier between the Euphrates and Arabia Petraea (citing Amm. Marc. 14.8.5). This is possible, although we do not hear elsewhere of such pledges, and when the Eastern frontier is mentioned, one thinks first of Persia. Now in 386 or 387 an embassy came from Persia, apparently to renew the agreement of 384 (note 73) upon the accession of a new ruler (Vararanes IV, replacing Shapur III); see Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 453, note to p. 69, line 21; N. H. Baynes, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955) 207 and n. 112 ("Theodosius needed peace in the East for his campaign against Maximus"). He paid a high price; Armenia was partitioned, and the Roman protégé received only a fifth of the country.

116. Pacatus is our only source for this, and he discloses no details (cf. 40.3). Perhaps, as Seeck suggests (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 211), Theodosius did this to facilitate provisioning, which was a problem (cf. 32.5). Section 33.4 seems to preclude a reference to Theodosius' navy, which was evidently used to convey troops to Italy to take Maximus in the rear. Maximus' general, Andragathius, had to weaken the defense of the Julian Alps and take to the sea to meet this threat (Oros. 7.35.3–4; see Zosimus 4.46.1–2). Zosimus asserts that Andragathius was sent to pursue Justina, Valentinian, and one of her daughters, who had been sent by sea to Rome under escort by Theodosius, who believed they would be well received because the Romans had been alienated from Maximus. Ambrose does refer to Maximus' unpopularity at Rome when he wished to punish those responsible for burning down a synagogue (*Ep.* 40.23), but this is hardly a balanced appraisal. But one does not send one's commander in chief on such a mission with a major engagement looming, and I find it difficult to believe that the cautious Theodosius would risk having members of the imperial family fall into Maximus' hands in this way (contra Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 523, note to p. 211, line 29). It is more likely that the imperial family arrived in Rome after Maximus' defeat (so Paschoud, *Zosime*, livre 4, 441 n. 191). In any case Andragathius failed to intercept Theodosius' ships, and Ambrose mentions a defeat of Maximus in Sicily (Ambrose, *Ep.* 40.23).

you might upset the confidence of the enemy by multiplying his terror, and cut off his retreat by surrounding him. Finally you granted the privileged status of fellow soldiers to the barbarian peoples who promised to give you voluntary service, both to remove from the frontier forces of dubious loyalty, and to add reinforcements to your army. Attracted by your kindness, all the Scythian nations flocked to you in such great numbers that you seemed to have imposed a levy upon barbarians from which you exempted your subjects. O event worthy of memory![117] There marched 4
under Roman leaders[118] and banners the onetime enemies of Rome, and they followed standards which they had once opposed, and filled with soldiers the cities of Pannonia which they had not long ago emptied by

117. See Zosimus 4.39.5 for Theodosius freeing captive Greuthungi (Ostrogoths) and loading them with gifts that they might prove useful in the war against Maximus. We may surmise that such men did fight for Theodosius. This passage supports beautifully the argument of J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, "Generals, Federates and Bucellarii in Roman Armies around A.D. 400," in *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, ed. P. Freeman and D. Kennedy (Oxford, 1986) 2: 463–74, that barbarian federates in this period did not form permanent contingents in Roman armies but were recruited individually by Roman commanders for specific campaigns; cf. id., *Barbarians and Bishops*, 32ff.; Heather, *Goths and Romans*, 161–62 with nn. 16–18; and note 67 above. At 4.45.3 Zosimus reports that Maximus succeeded in inducing sections of Theodosius' barbarian forces to revolt, but that the latter learnt of this and bloodily repressed them. Such occurrences would give added strength to criticism of Theodosius' policy toward barbarians (see note 67). And, of course, it is precisely this kind of criticism that leads Pacatus to extol the loyalty and zeal of Theodosius' barbarians at such length. Maximus had already upbraided Valentinian for using barbarians under the Frankish general Bauto against him some years before (Ambros. *Ep.* 24.4.8), and this passage strongly suggests that he had made good use of the same charge against Theodosius, and that it still stung.

118. Timasius, *magister peditum*, and Promotus, *magister equitum* (Zosimus 4.45.2), and under them the Franks Richomer and his nephew Arbogast ("στρατηγοί"; Philostorgius *Hist. eccl.* 10.8; Zosimus 4.47.1). Timasius and Promotus had distinguished careers; both were consuls in 389, the reward for their success, but came to untimely ends. Paschoud, *Zosime*, livre 4, 439–40, wishes to invert their posts on the basis of *Cod. Theod.* 4.17.5 (23 March 386), which addresses Timasius as *magister equitum*, and Zosimus 4.35.1, 38–39, which describes Promotus' campaigns in Thrace as *magister peditum* in 386 (so, too, Demandt, "Magister militum," 553–790, 713–15). Were such commands really so specialized that one cannot contemplate such a switch?

hostile plundering.[119] The Goth, the Hun and the Alan responded to their names, and stood watch in their turn, and were afraid of being marked down as absent without leave. There was no disorder, no confusion and no looting, as is usual among the barbarian. On the contrary, if at any time the supplying of provisions was rather difficult, they endured the shortage with patience, and they made their rations, which were reduced because of their number, last longer by using them frugally.[120] They demanded as their sole reward and salary this one thing, that they should be spoken of as yours. How great is the aspiration for virtue! You received a benefit which you could impute as one you had conferred!

33 People in the old days thought it memorable that once, at the battle of
Actium, Egypt mingled its foreign arms with Roman generals and Rome's
civil wars, and the affair was believed to be so novel that, unless it had
been frequently made the subject of literature, belief in the fact would
2 seem to have labored under difficulties among posterity. For what writer
of history or poetry failed to mention your fleets, Cleopatra, and your
ships decorated with ivory and purple sails with their gilded ropes? No,
history has so frequently reechoed them that it seems as though they have
3 been more often described by the same writers than omitted by anyone. I
shall not compare the leaders—for not to mention the defeated Antony,
the victorious Augustus did not equal our ruler. What similarity shall we
discover in other respects, at least, especially if we compare the aspect
of the deeds and the times from both sides and consider with the mind's
4 eye this people and that? Those people were conveyed, as they sailed,
by a fleet consigned to the winds; these made their long journey under
the burden of arms. Those were inveigled by a queen sighing with a
foreign passion; these were driven by love of praise and a concern to
share in your glory. Those were sent forth by enervating Pharos and
effeminate Canopus, and the Nile, nursemaid of fickle peoples; these
menacing Caucasus, icy Taurus and the Danube, which hardens mighty
bodies, had poured forth. Those clad in fine, diaphanous robes, and

119. Probably just a general reference to the devastation after Adrianople (the three barbarian nations mentioned next are those listed at 11.4 in the context of Theodosius' accession in 379) rather than a precise one to the more recent invasions, 386–387, mentioned in Zosimus 4.42.5.

120. See Ambros. *Ep.* 40.22 for a dearth of grain, which Ambrose implied was solved by taking over the granaries held by the enemy (presumably at Siscia; see 34.3 and note 123). This suggests that Theodosius' preparations were not as thorough as Pacatus maintains (32.1).

scarcely tolerating light linen garb to ward off the sun, advanced to the jangling rhythm of the sistrum; these, burdened by their breastplates and sheathed in iron, were roused by the staccato blare of the trumpets and the blast of huge bugles. Finally, what comparison could be made between peoples, even if their causes had not been so different that the one sought to capture the Roman Empire, the other tried to reclaim its liberty? And so it seemed the more unworthy to you, O Emperor, that anyone could be found to be a partner in a sin of which the barbarian would act as avenger.[121]

But those men who drenched the opening campaigns of the war with 34
their nefarious blood were equally an example of guilt and punishment. You are witness, Siscia, and you are witness, Save, of that finest of conflicts, if that can be called a conflict in which troops full of courage made such an assault upon the traitors to the State that neither the number of their adversaries nor the depth of that great river checked them, out of breath and covered in dust as they were from their long journey.[122] Spurring on

121. The contrast between the Egyptian troops of Cleopatra at the battle of Actium and Theodosius' barbarian troops is very contrived, so much so that Galletier is uncharacteristically confused (3: 100 n. 3: "Cette comparaison prolongée entre les adversaires d'Auguste [illos] et ceux de Theodose [hoc] . . ."). But the whole passage, and especially its climax, that in the one case barbarians sought to undermine the liberty of Rome, in the other to reclaim it, effectively distracts the audience from reflecting, if Theodosius led a barbarian army, whether Maximus did not have the better claim to Roman loyalty, and to be serving Roman interests. In addition to the Goths, Huns, and Alani mentioned above (32.4) Liebeschuetz (*Barbarians and Bishops*, 30) detects a reference to Iberians and Isaurians in "these menacing Caucasus, icy Taurus." Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 1.20.20 refers to Bacurius, king of the Iberians, serving Theodosius in the campaign against Maximus. *PLRE* I.144 regards this as an error for the campaign against Eugenius, but there seems no reason not to accept Socrates' statement, and to conclude that he commanded a contingent of his countrymen in the earlier expedition, although as "a professional officer, not a tribal chieftain" (see Liebeschuetz; Bacurius had been a *tribunus sagittariorum* at Adrianople, Amm. Marc. 31.12.16; for his subsequent career see *PLRE* I.144.

122. Pacatus is our chief source here, for Zosimus omits this part of the campaign. Theodosius' itinerary, however, can be plotted from the laws in *Cod. Theod.:* 30 April 388, still in Thessalonica (9.11.1); 14, 16 June, at Stobi (16.5.15; 4.2); 21 June, at Scupi (12.1.119).

Pacatus omits the naval operations, of which Zosimus 4.46.1–2 and Oros. 7.35.3–5 give a sketchy idea. These help explain Maximus' problems on land. His

their horses, they swam across the river, leapt up the bank and finally
2 caught up with the enemy, who were ready and waiting for them. My description is longer than the engagement. The invincible band had scarcely crossed the river when it was master of the battlefield. It had no sooner encountered the enemy than it was pressing them hard; no sooner had it set eyes on their breasts than it was hacking their backs. The rebellious army was consigned to a well-deserved fate; the impious squadrons writhed in their own blood; a single massacre covered entire fields, and everything far and wide was buried under an unbroken carpet
3 of bodies. Now those who had hastened to the walls to postpone death either filled up the ditches with their bodies, or impaled themselves on the stakes that were in their path, or clogged by their death the gates which had been opened for their sortie. But those whose flight was blocked by the river with its impassable banks gathered together in their fear, embraced one another, and formed a dense mass all along the heights.
4 The river was discolored by a bloody foam, and it flowed with a slower current, scarcely able to make its way through the corpses. Furthermore, in order to credit itself with a special military service on your behalf, it swallowed up in its whirlpools the very standard-bearer of that impious faction,[123] and so that there might be no burial for the dead man, it hid the

commander in chief, Andragathius, who had fortified the passes of the Julian Alps, was recalled by Maximus (who had apparently stayed behind at Aquileia; Oros. 7.35.3) in order to intercept a naval contingent of Theodosius making for Italy (see note 116). But his troops had pressed on and actually occupied Siscia itself (see 34.3: gates opened) and were prepared for a siege (section 34.3: ditches; stakes: see Oros. 7.35.3). Seeck (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 213–14) accounts plausibly for the swiftness of the victory by postulating that it was won by the Huns in Theodosius' army (32.4), whose fine horsemanship facilitated the crossing of the Save, and whose appearance terrified the Western army of Maximus, which was unused to them (see Amm. Marc. 31.12). The absence of Andragathius would not have helped. Ambros. *Ep.* 40.23, who lists places where Maximus was defeated, is the only other to mention Siscia and Poetovio.

123. For the phrase *ipsum illum vexillarium sacrilegae factionis* cf. *Pan.* 8.15.5 (*ipse ille . . . signifer nefariae factionis*) and 16.4 (*ipse vexillarius latrocinii*; Pacatus has used the image *vexillum latrocinii civilis* at 30.2). Pacatus at this point is borrowing heavily from Nazarius (see 4.30.1 for another corpse-filled river, the Tiber in 312).

The identity of this "standard-bearer" is a mystery. He may have been Euodius, the praetorian prefect. While at first glance one might think that a military commander is meant (and praetorian prefects in this era normally do not have military expertise), *vexillarius* is surely used metaphorically, and it is by

body. Surely we must believe that it promoted your retribution in two ways, both by assisting in your victory and preempting your clemency!

Here is a second battle for you, and a second victory![124] Marcellinus, 35
that Megaera of civil war, rushed his chosen cohorts, indeed the very mainstay of that nefarious faction, into battle. His audacity exceeded that of the rest of the satellites in proportion to the conspicuousness of the energies he, the brother of the tyrant, devoted to the tyrant.[125] Your army, 2
indeed, was especially pleased at this, since it saw itself provoked to battle spontaneously, for it had feared nothing more than to be feared,[126] to such an extent that when camp had been pitched next to camp, and it could not engage battle because day was done, it lay awake all night in hopes of a victory that would come with the morning light, and cursed the sun as a sluggard, daylight as a deserter, and the summer night for being as long as a year. Behold, dawn at last, and already the plain was bristling 3
with troops: cavalry sent out to the wings, light troops placed in front of the standards, cohorts arranged by maniples, legions deployed in squares, moving their columns forward at a quick pace, occupied the whole field

no means unlikely that some of Maximus' higher civilian officials accompanied his army and were caught up in the fighting. Tillemont's suggestion, Maximus' uncle (Sulp. Sev. *V. Mart.* 20.4), is implausible, for Pacatus would surely have mentioned the relationship (so Galletier, 3: 101 n. 2). The death was a celebrated one, for Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.14 and Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 7.15 have Andragathius perish in a river, mistakenly; he threw himself into the sea upon learning of Maximus' death (Zosimus 4.47.1; Oros. 7.35.5; Claud. *IV. cons. Hon.* 91–92).

124. At Poetovio (modern Ptuj, formerly Pettau), since Diocletian's day in Noricum, not in Pannonia (B. Saria, in *RE* 21 [1951] 1174); see Ambros. *Ep.* 40.23; it lies northwest of Siscia. The battle was fought in summer (35.2).

125. He was Maximus' "right-hand man" (see Ambros. *Ep.* 24.9), his *comes* (Sulp. Sev. *V. Mart.* 20.4, 386). He was living in Valentinian's territory when Maximus was proclaimed emperor (*PLRE* I, Marcellinus 12), for he was there when Gratian's death was announced (see Ambros. *Ep.* 24.9; contra, Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 180–81 and n. 6). He was allowed to return to his brother unharmed. He suggested dismissing some of Symmachus' agents (Symmachus *Ep.* 2.31).

Megaera: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.845ff.; one of the Furies, she appears at Jupiter's throne to presage the end of the war. More often used of savage women: Amm. Marc. 14.1.2 (Galla).

126. Cf. Nazarius *Pan.* 4.18.2.

4 as far as the eye could see.[127] Not yet was courage put to the test; discipline was already winning. But after each battle line moved forward to within throwing range, and clouds of javelins and arrows had been launched this way and that, the matter came to sword-fighting, and the soldiers, mindful of their ancient valor, their Roman name, and last but not least their Emperors, supported the cause of the State by engaging hand to hand. The enemy, reflecting that they had sold their services for money and torn Italy apart, and that their last hope lay in the sword, fought with the desperation of gladiators; they did not yield an inch, but stood in their tracks—or fell.

36 But when their battle line was driven back, and their front breached, and their trust transferred to their feet, they ran headlong, or fled en masse, and slowed each other down in their haste. Armed men and disarmed, unharmed and wounded, those in the first rank and those in the last, were all mingled together. Our soldiers bore down on them from a distance, and fought them hand to hand, with swords and spears, cut and thrust. Some aimed for the hamstrings, others struck in the back, or transfixed with their javelins those whom they could not catch on foot.
2 Arms and weapons, horses and men, living and dead, corpses prone and supine, lay scattered everywhere or in heaps. There men with limbs mutilated or hacked off fled with what remained of themselves; here men succumbed to the pain of their wounds; others put off their deaths until they reached woods or streams, and there poured out their last breath in admiration of your name and denunciation of their own leader. There would have been no end to the slaughter and pursuit had death not at
3 last stolen the enemy away from the victors, and night the day. But how much better a decision did that troop of men make who lowered their

127. Here begins a real set piece. The battle was clearly a hard-fought one: this was the core of Maximus' army, and there was no real resistance in Italy (note 129). If Maximus hoped for reinforcements from Gaul, invasions of Franks and Saxons put paid to that (Greg. Tours *HF* 2.9, citing one Sulpicius Alexander; Ambros. *Ep.* 40.23). We are given little historically authentic information. Orosius, speaking of the whole campaign, claims that Theodosius had vastly inferior forces (7.35.2). Pacatus' description is full of conventional details and is at some points anachronistic ("cohorts arranged by maniples"; cf. Vegetius 2.13f.: "the ancients" did it this way). He employs many terms used by Vegetius, presumably with little application to the battle in question; e.g., *quadratae legiones;* cf. Vegetius 1.26; *caesim* at 36.1; cf. Vegetius 1.12, where the words are contrasted. Other phrases are taken from Nazarius (*acies fronsque laxata*, *Pan.* 4.36.1; cf. 4.28.3).

standards in entreaty and sought pardon for a crime of necessity, kissing the ground and throwing their bodies and their arms under your feet as objects to be trampled! You did not spurn them arrogantly as vanquished men, nor angrily, as offenders, nor carelessly, as if they were of little use, but treating them with kindness and generosity you bade them become Romans.[128] The two armies were united as allies, and separate limbs of 4
the State coalesced under one head. Both armies were animated with an equal joy: the one took pleasure in its performance, the other in its pardon, both in the victory.

Nor was loyal Emona slow to rush forth when your approach was **37**
announced: its gates were thrown open and people poured out to meet you. As desire is always more insistent after hopes are aroused, the inhabitants believed it was not enough for the city to lie open for you upon your arrival, but hastened to meet you as you were on your way.[129]
As we know indeed, fear masquerades as joy, but faces betray the truth, 2
and so clearly divulge the inward emotions of the mind that the image of the soul is reflected in the mirror of the brow. That city, as if breathing again after a long siege[130]—for as it lay at the foot of the Alps, the tyrant had worn it down like a threshold of war—was transported with joy so great and artless that had its delight not been sincere, it would have

128. The propaganda here is paradoxical, considering how much effort Pacatus has put into describing the role of barbarians in Theodosius' army.

129. Ljubljana, on the Save, in Slovenia, southwest of Poetovio (Herodian 8.1.4: "the first city of Italy as you come from Illyricum"—but it lies east of the Julian Alps). Theodosius now makes for (modern) Italy by the shortest route. Emona's capitulation opened up the road to the Julian Alps. Seeck remarks (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 215) that the fleeing troops of Maximus must have been pushed sideways from their natural retreat for the Alps to have been left open, as Orosius reports (7.35.4).

"Your arrival": an *adventus*, a feature of many panegyrics, indeed, an important part of imperial ceremonial. See S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), pt. 1, "Adventus"; id., "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity," *Historia* 21 (1972) 721–52; cf., too, Theodosius' entry into Rome (47.3 below); *Pan.* 4.31–32, Constantine in Rome; *Pan.* 10.10–11, Diocletian and Maximian in Milan.

130. *Velut illa civitas a longa obsidione respirans*—perhaps a figure of speech. As Pacatus soon makes plain ("had worn it down like a threshold of war"), Emona had not closed its gates to Maximus but had been used by him as a base. Galletier, however, takes the phrase literally, translating as follows: "Thus the city breathed again after a long siege." There is no external evidence.

3 appeared excessive. Bands of dancers crowded your path, and everything resounded with singing and castanets. Here a chorus sang a hymn of triumph to you, there, on the other hand, one sang mournful dirges and a funeral song for the tyrant.[131] On this side people were praying for the permanent departure of the vanquished, on that for numerous visits from the victors. Now wherever you trod foot they followed you, surrounded you, went ahead, until finally the streets where you were borne were blocked. No one had any regard for themselves or for you; the pertinacity
4 of their joy made the injury flattering to you. Why should I recall the festive approach of the liberated nobility before its own walls, the senators resplendent in their white robes, the *flamines* venerable in their municipal purple, the priests distinguishable by their mitered hats?[132] Or, indeed, the gates crowned with green garlands and the squares waving with tapestries, and the day prolonged with blazing torches? Why recount the crowds pouring out of their houses into the public places, old men congratulating themselves on their years, youngsters pledging long service upon your behalf, joyful mothers and girls without a care? You had not yet brought the whole war to an end and you were already celebrating a triumph.

38 Meanwhile Maximus kept on going, and, looking back at you over his shoulder, flew away, frenzied, like a madman.[133] Nor did he pursue any plan or reasoned course of action,[134] or even entertain any hope, which is the last thing to desert a man. On the contrary he got tangled in the very deviations of the way, and veering now to the right and now to the left and now meeting his own footprints, he wove an uncertain course in his perilous meandering. And all the while we can imagine him asking 2
himself: "Where shall I flee? Shall I try war again? A man whom I could not resist with all my forces intact shall I withstand with only a part? Shall I bar off the Cottian Alps because the Julian Alps were such a help to me?[135] Shall I make for Africa, which I have drained?[136] Shall I seek Britain again, which I abandoned? Shall I entrust myself to Gaul? But I am hated there.[137] Shall I venture to Spain? But I am well known

131. *Hic tibi triumphum chorus, ille contra tyranno funebres nenias et carmen exsequiale dicebat.* The implication of mourning is odd. If the dirges were sung in mockery, Pacatus does not make this clear: while *nenias* might invite this interpretation, it is qualified by *funebres*, and *carmen exsequiale* seems plain enough.

132. The priests were pagan. At Rome, *flamines* and *pontifices* wore the *apex* or conical hat with spike, which is often depicted on coins (e.g., of Caesar, M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* [Cambridge, 1974] no. 443; of Antony and Lepidus, no. 489.1 and 2). For the *flamen*, cf. K. Esdaile, "The Apex or Titulus in Roman Art," *JRS* 1 (1911) 212–26.

133. For the phraseology, cf. *Pan.* 10.16.2. Oros. 7.35.3 claims that Maximus stayed in Aquileia and left the command to Andragathius, and it is to be noted that this is Pacatus' first mention of Maximus himself in his description of the final campaign. Is this vivid account of Maximus' flight a complete fiction? Quite possibly, but not necessarily. After Andragathius' departure to take over the fleet (note 122) Maximus may well have advanced over the Alps to Emona (Orosius' account is very brief and selective); Claud. *IV cons. Hon.* 76–80 does not help. Grinda, "Der Panegyrikus des Pacatus," has Maximus besiege Emona unsuccessfully, but a long siege is out of the question because of the rapidity of the whole campaign, and inherently implausible.

134. Ambros. *Ep.* 40.22 suggested that Christ must have "bound" Maximus' mind, so that when he had an opportunity for escape he failed to avail himself of it. Gregory of Tours reports (*HF* 2.9) that in his (lost) *Histories* Sulpicius Alexander told "how Maximus, with all hope of imperial rule lost, shut himself up in Aquileia as if out of his mind [*amentem*]."

135. Heavily ironical; cf. 29.3 and note 98.

136. Maximus was recognized in Africa, along with Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius (*CIL* 8.11025 = *ILS* 787) and with his son Victor alone (*CIL* 8.22076).

This suggests that the *comes Africae* Gildo had not remained loyal to Theodosius and Valentinian. The notion of Gildo's disloyalty has been challenged by S. Oost, "Count Gildo and Theodosius the Great," *CP* 57 (1962) 27–30, but trenchantly reaffirmed by A. Cameron, *Claudian* (Oxford, 1970) 103–5. *PLips.* I.63 (14 June 388) refers to forces sent by Theodosius from Egypt to Africa, presumably against Gildo, at precisely the time he was moving west against Maximus.

To what extent the famines in Rome in the 380s can be attributed to the political situation, and specifically to the activities of Gildo in withholding grain, is uncertain. Symmachus *Ep.* 2.6 (383?) mentions the diversion of a grain fleet from Africa away from Rome. Was the African government equivocating after the death of Gratian (see O. Seeck, *Q. Aurelii Symmachi quae supersunt*, MGH 6.1 [Berlin, 1883; reprint, 1961] CXIX–XX; J.-R. Palanque, "Famines à Rome à la fin du IVe siècle," *REA* 33 [1931] 346–56; H. P. Kohns, *Versorgungskrise und Hungerrevolten im spätantiken Rom* [Bonn, 1961] esp. 42ff.)? Imported grain from Africa was still vital to Rome in this period (see Kohns, p. 42; G. E. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* [Oxford, 1980] chap. 8).

Pacatus seems to borrow his phraseology from *Pan.* 12, as often (cf. 12.16.1, and the Introduction; also Nazarius *Pan.* 4.32.6–8).

137. Rhetorical: this was perhaps his best chance, if he could reach it. His young son Victor was there, at Trier, under the protection of the experienced generals Nannienus and Quintinus (see *PLRE* I). But about this time the Franks

3 there. What then am I to do, caught between weapons and hatred? In the rear I am harried by my enemies, from the front by my crimes. If I were to die, I had escaped them. But, look, neither my hand obeys my brain, nor the sword my hand. The weapon wavers, my right hand trembles, my resolution falters. Oh, how difficult it is for the wretched
4 even to die." And so, just as wild animals, when caught in a trap, after desperately seeking for a long time for a way out, stand still, and do not flee because of their fear, so Maximus, caught fast in that terror which was tormenting him, bolted into the town of Aquileia, not that he might defend his life by resisting, but that he might not put off his punishment by
5 procrastination.[138] Although what further postponement could there have been, when eager soldiers were treading in his footsteps and at his back, so that a speedy revenge almost forestalled the whole procession which followed?[139]

39 Rightly indeed have those twin fancies of painters and poets conceived of Victory as winged, because when Fortune goes with men theirs is not a
2 run but a flight.[140] That army, rushed by rapid marches from the most distant recesses of the East, worn out from leaving so many countries behind, from swimming across so many rivers and climbing so many mountains, set down in another world and, I might almost have said, under another sun, in the space of a day made its way from Illyricum
3 to Aquileia.[141] Your soldiers, however, lay claim to nothing for themselves on this account, and whenever they draw in circles of admirers or prolong

invaded Roman Germany (i.e., the left bank of the Rhine), and after an initial success the Romans were defeated in "Francia" (across the Rhine) with heavy losses; Greg. Tours *HF* 2.9, quoting Sulpicius Alexander, bk. 3; cf. Ambros. *Ep.* 40.23.

138. Pacatus speaks as if Maximus had not been in Aquileia before, but cf. note 133.

139. I.e., the triumphal parading of Maximus before Theodosius' troops (see below, 40.1, 43.2ff.).

140. Grinda, "Der Panegyrikus des Pacatus," 113, suggests there is a pointed allusion to the Altar of Victory dispute, 382–384; if so, not one that Pacatus would care to spell out.

141. From Emona to Aquileia is a distance of about 55 miles, and the Julian Alps intervene, so for a whole army to cover this distance in a day is incredible, although Galletier is not impressed by the achievement (3: 57 n. 6)! Picked troops might have managed the feat, if they could have been sure that the way was clear, although Seeck asserts that not even the Hunnic cavalry could have managed it (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 524, note to p. 215, line 9). The latter

our banquets with their conversation[142] they assert that all their own work was limited by the boundary of the Alps, and deny that that swiftness was due to them, for they saw themselves arriving, having exerted no effort, at a place to which they had not been sensible of traveling. Indeed they say that they were not carried bodily, but, as if they were transported in their bodily absence in the illusion of a dream, that they had provided the service of idle limbs to the winds that carried them. Nor does belief waver, 4
for if in olden days our stern forefathers believed that the twins Castor and Pollux, conspicuous because of their white horses and caps adorned with stars, while washing off the dust and blood of Thessaly with the waters of the Tiber, both announced the victory and claimed credit for fighting,[143] why should we not suppose that some manifest concern of immortal god strove to avenge you and the State?—unless perchance the Roman state demanded a greater exertion of divine favor for its augmentation by the kingdom of Macedon than its delivery from slavery to a tyrant. If the 5
favor of the gods is to be measured by the worthiness of the cause, I for one would contend with good reason that your cavalry were carried along, borne aloft, by Pegasuses, your infantry on winged feet. Simply because divine things disdain to show themselves to mortals, we shall not on that account doubt that things that were not seen were done, since we see things done which we would have doubted could have been done.

He judges your fortune too narrowly, Emperor, whoever believes of **40**
you only what is possible! Or, when I see that from the Julian Alps the sword has been at its ease and on holiday, and there has been no battle, but rather a triumph, should I hesitate to label that some special kind of military service accountable to your good fortune? We know, indeed, 2
Emperor, that you have so managed everything that success cannot make any claim upon you, but you must confess that your good fortune did as much for you after the war as you accomplished during it. If we were to give her a voice and a judge, would she not set out at length the help she has given you, and, while conceding much to your virtues, would she not

attributes the claim to the Gallic rhetor's ignorance of Illyrian geography; better, panegyrist's license? At any rate one may concede that the chase was swift.

142. Conjuring up a rather implausible picture of our cultivated rhetor hobnobbing with Theodosius' barbarous soldiery at banquets!

143. Cf. Val. Max. 1.8.1 (who follows Cic. *N. D.* 2.2.6) and especially Flor. 1.28.14–15, whose phraseology Pacatus echoes (cf. *pulverem et cruorem abluebant*), although he changes Lake Juturna to the Tiber. The Dioscuri are also evoked by Nazarius *Pan.* 4.15.4ff.

3 also claim something for herself? And why, I ask, should we not give her such an opportunity, in order to listen to assertions on each side, since the side which wins will be yours? I hear Resolution saying: "I undertook a fierce and perilous war"; Patience recalls: "I endured a mighty journey, a harsh time of year, constantly under arms, and often hungry"; Wisdom maintains: "I divided up the troops and multiplied terror by my skill"; Bravery asserts: "Twice I engaged the enemy, and twice I was victorious"; at last all exclaim: "What do we owe to you, Fortune, whom we have made?" But if she were to say: "I helped the army to speed its course; I hindered the enemy's flight; I forced Maximus behind walls and the man whom you were compelling to die I preserved alive for his master,"
4 I do not see what judgment could be made but that since one party claims credit for the flight of the tyrant, the other for his custody, the State, which is equally indebted to both, should so combine each as to confess that she owes victory to the one and vengeance to the other.

41 But neither do you repudiate, like one disavowing a liability, the gratitude you owe for the favor; for even if you completed what you wanted by yourself, yet it was through Fortune that you obtained more
2 than you wanted. Come, if you please, consider your thoughts at that time and recall your prayers. Did you expect anything more than that you would receive an announcement that Maximus had been killed, that his head had been carried from the field of battle, half-alive, with his eyes not yet wholly closed in death, that at most, he had been captured
3 while fleeing or resisting? But when did you even hope for what actually happened, that he himself might save himself for you, that he might be unwilling to inflict death upon himself, although he had the opportunity? Love of life is, indeed, I confess, a powerful, indeed the most powerful, instinct in the human breast, and death an object of horror, but only to the extent that either the former can be hoped for or the latter avoided. But if the final hour hangs over one's head, and the day has come which can never be reversed, and death has manifested itself, the end is not feared
4 when it is certain. Hence defendants are in fear until they are found guilty, and then there is stupefying paralysis, and the unconcern of hopelessness, and a voluntary hastening to the place of punishment with no need for the executioner to drag them off. Not to mention those who, bravely coming to terms with the Fates, have anticipated an uncertain death by a certain one, and to say nothing of slaves who have escaped the lash by hanging themselves and have evaded their masters' passions by jumping
5 over a cliff, who has ever felt fear when all hope was gone? Who then has been unwilling to kill himself, in order to be killed? Unless, in truth, either another's hand is gentler than one's own, or a private death more dishonorable than a public one, or to fall upon one's sword and heap wounds upon one's body and to receive death instantly and completely is a more protracted torment than to divide the whole punishment up, to bend down, stretch out one's neck, and to wait for a blow which might not be a single one.

And yet, when did he ever imagine he was to be transfixed with the **42**
sword? Did he not rather fear the fire, the sheets of metal, the cross, the sack and whatever else he deserved?[144] Never, assuredly, was he so sensible of his own crimes that he could hope for the death by which he perished. If, therefore, the defendant could neither count on pardon, nor 2
the trapped man hope for flight, nor the man about to die fear death, and, in the certainty of the end, a voluntary death ought to have seemed more tolerable than a compulsory one, a private death more honorable than a public one, finally an anticipated death less protracted than one awaited, can anyone be in any doubt that Fortune was responsible for his losing his reason? She, she it was who blinded the tyrant's judgment, and she who blunted his wits and his weapons, she who struck aside and held his hand when it was poised to inflict the wound. Unless, of course, 3
it was you, revered Gratian, who, accompanied by the avenging Furies, haunted your slayer, and, an angry and menacing shade, shook in front of his face and eyes torches smoking from the fires of the underworld, and whips cracking with their twisted snakes,[145] lest he be spared for an honorable death, lest he contaminate that regal and sacrosanct apparel with his impious blood, lest the garment that was once yours, and then to be your brothers',[146] receive doomed blood even as it was being avenged, lest finally the hand of the tyrant avenge you and you owe to Maximus even his own death.

And clearly everything fell out so that your vengeance seemed not **43**
only saved up, but ordained. For whence, I ask you, came such a sudden conversion that he who had been afraid to meet death was not afraid

144. For *laminae*, sheets of metal, as torture, cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.163; Plaut. *Asin.* 548. For instruments of torture in general, see J. Vergote, "Les principaux modes de supplices chez les anciens et dans les textes chrétiens," *BIBR* 20 (1939) 141–63; id., "Folterwerkzeuge," *RAC* 8 (1972) 111–41. For a broad discussion of the application of penalties, see P. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972), esp. pt. 2, "The Dual-Penalty System."

145. Cf. Allecto in *Aen.* 7, esp. 448–50.

146. Valentinian II was his half brother, Theodosius a "brother" by virtue of his marriage in 387 to Valentinian's sister Galla, Gratian's half sister.

to seek it out, that he who had shut himself away for terror now boldly
2 offered himself up?[147] Here there was no longer any delay in hastening events. Immediately your most valiant generals undertook to arrange your triumph, the diadem was toppled from his head, his robe was snatched from his shoulders, the ornaments from his feet, and finally the whole
3 man was fitted out to receive his deserts.[148] The despoiler of the public was publicly stripped, his rapacious hands were bound, the fugitive's legs were bared, in short he was presented for your inspection just as a captive should be presented to the victor, a slave to his master, a tyrant to his
4 Emperor.[149] Nor would you have wanted him to come into your sight, such is your merciful nature, lest the man of death contaminate those eyes which bring well-being to all, had you not wanted to suppress the lying rumors and to clear yourself using as witness the man who gave them
5 currency. But it has its avengers, the criminal mind, it has some kind of internal executioner; either the conscience itself is its own executioner, or as I rather believe, to be interrogated by you is a more severe inquisition
6 than any. At your opening words a confession was drawn from his wicked breast, nor could he make the least delay, or keep silent, to prevent his whole plan from being revealed, namely, that he had used the pretext of having your favor as a cover for himself, because he could not otherwise have won the complicity of the soldiers, had he not portrayed himself as an agent contracting on your behalf.[150]

147. There are differing accounts of Maximus' capture at Aquileia. Zosimus claims that part of Theodosius' army stormed the city, overcame the tiny garrison, and snatched Maximus from the throne (4.46.2). Orosius asserts bluntly that Theodosius "shut up, captured, and killed Maximus, that great enemy, without treachery and without a contest" (7.35.4). Socrates, on the other hand, has Maximus' troops bind and deliver him to Theodosius, who caused him to be put to death (*Hist. eccl.* 5.14); he is by no means reliable, for he locates the event at Milan (5.12). Sozomen has Maximus seized and slain by his own men, a variation of the preceding (*Hist. eccl.* 7.14). Pacatus, in having Maximus give himself up, may be speaking metaphorically.

148. For the generals, see note 118. It was Arbogast who actually effected his capture (Oros. 7.35.12).

149. For the formal stripping of Maximus, see, too, Zosimus 4.46.2; Philostorgius *Hist. eccl.* 10.8.

150. Zosimus (4.46.3) claims that Theodosius reproached Maximus before having him led away to execution, but does not say with what. Pacatus' repetition of Maximus' embarrassing claim to have had Theodosius' support suggests that

And after this response did you not order him to be put up on the cross, to be sewn up in a sack, or to be torn to pieces? Did you not, finally, give instructions for that tongue, responsible for such a colossal lie, to be pulled out by the roots, along with the part of the vitals whose 44
falsehood it had spoken?[151] No, you had already begun to hesitate about 2
his death; you had lowered your eyes, and a blush had suffused your countenance and you were beginning to speak with compassion.[152] But it is well that you cannot do everything: your men avenge you even though you are unwilling.[153] And so he is snatched from your sight, lest there be any scope for mercy, and is carried to his death by innumerable hands.
Behold, again, Emperor, you turn away, and are troubled by the account 3
of the tyrant's death. Now, now rest easy. I shall respect your merciful
nature: what you did not wish to behold you shall not hear. To this, 4
to this, you pious bards, devote all the labors of your learned nights; celebrate this in all your writings and in every tongue, nor be anxious as to whether your works shall last. That eternity which you are accustomed
to confer on histories shall come from history. You, too, artists, to whom a 5
propitious fate concedes the power to give fame to events, scorn those hackneyed themes of ancient fables, the labors of Hercules and the Indian

it was still widely believed and needed refutation—as, of course, does the whole story of the extraction of the confession, whether true or not; see note 83.

151. I.e., Maximus' heart.

152. Grinda, "Der Panegyrikus des Pacatus," 113, is prepared to believe this; he supposes that Theodosius was weakening, but that Valentinian and his advisers insisted on the execution. Zosimus 4.46 says nothing of this hesitation, but one would scarcely expect him to. Pacatus' version is not incredible, but such sentiments do not accord with his sending Arbogast to hunt down and kill Maximus' young son Victor (Zosimus 4.47.1; *Chron. min.* 1.245, 298, 462; 2.15; Greg. Tours *HF* 2.9).

Maximus' interrogation and execution took place 3 miles from Aquileia at Theodosius' camp; *Chron. min.* 1.245, 462; 2.15. He was beheaded (Philostorgius *Hist. eccl.* 10.8; Claud. *IV cons. Hon.* 85; Olympiodorus frag. 20.1 Blockley = *FHG* 19).

The date is variously given by the sources as 28 July (*Cons. Const.*, *Chron. min.* 1.245; *Fast. Hydat.*, *Chron. min.* 2.15) and 28 August (Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.14; *Fast. Ital.*, *Chron. min.* 1.298). O. Perler, *Les voyages de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1969) 197–203, argues for 28 July on the basis of the movements of St. Augustine (see Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, 122 n. 3).

153. Pacatus imitates *Pan.* 6.20.4.

triumphs of Bacchus, and the wars with snake-footed monsters.[154] Turn your skillful hands rather to these exploits; with these let the public squares be decorated, with these the temples. May these be rendered in ivory, and in marble; may they live in colors; may they be fashioned in bronze; may they increase the worth of gems.

45 It is important to the security of every age for what has been done to be seen so that if anyone has ever entertained any nefarious desires, he may review the monuments of our times and drink in innocence with his eyes. If anyone at any time dreams of draping his shoulders with royal purple
2 may he encounter the depiction of Maximus being stripped. If anyone wishes to decorate his simple citizen's feet with gold and gemstones may barefooted Maximus appear before him. If anyone contemplates placing a diadem upon his head may he gaze at the head of Maximus plucked
3 from its shoulders, and at his nameless corpse.[155] We realize, of course, that no revolution will ever come about, since the Roman Empire shall always belong to you or your descendants;[156] it is important, however, to the twofold[157] security of the State that what cannot happen should
4 also not be feared. But however the hand of the artist renders your deeds of courage for the eyes of a curious posterity, when the copy of the painter and sculptor will follow you either scaling the crests of the Alps, or swimming across rivers in your path or crushing the enemy host with triumphant footsteps, with what chisel, Emperor, with what pigment, with what bronze or gold shall they depict your clemency? With this, you, victor over victory itself, so laid aside all your anger with your arms that
5 no one was killed after the war, certainly no one after Maximus.[158] After a

154. *Pan.* 10.4.2–4 celebrates the labors of Hercules; for the triumphs of Bacchus see Val. Max. 3.6.6; for the "snake-footed monsters" cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.182–84 and *Pan.* 11.3–4.

155. A Virgilian reminiscence (*Aen.* 2.557f.).

156. Pacatus ignores Valentinian II.

157. Galletier translates "pourtant il importe à la sécurité intérieure et à la sécurité extérieure" and adds a note defending the MS reading *geminam.* But Pacatus talks only of internal matters. A better explanation of the term is that he is thinking both of the present and of the future. Revolution has been proved impossible in the present, and the publicizing of that lesson should deter would-be usurpers for the future, thus providing "twofold" security for the state. Haupt's emendation *genuinam* (*Hermes* 8 [1874] 247) "real," "genuine," is otiose.

158. Pacatus glosses over the fate of Victor (note 152). For the phrase *ipsius victoriae victor* cf. *Pan.* 12.21.2.

few of the Moorish enemy, whom he had shut up with him like a hellish brigade when about to meet his doom,[159] and two or three trainers of that raging gladiator[160] were slain as expiatory victims of the war, pardon embraced all the rest, enfolded as it were, in a maternal bosom. The 6
property of none was confiscated,[161] no one's liberty was forfeited, no one's previous rank diminished.[162] No one was branded with censure, no one was subjected to abuse, or indeed reproof, and atoned for a crime which merited death by mortification to his ears. All were restored to their homes, all to their wives and children, all finally—which is sweeter—to innocence. See, Emperor, what the consequences of this clemency are for 7
you:[163] you have so managed things that no one feels that he has been conquered by you, the victor.

You regarded this from your hills, Rome, and sublime on your seven 46
citadels, you were raised even higher with joy. You, who experienced the raging of a Cinna, and Marius made cruel by exile, and Sulla, "fortunate" by your destruction,[164] and Caesar, merciful to the dead, used to quake

159. Maximus' Moorish cavalry, which had been the first to desert Gratian for the usurper (note 80).

160. Maximus' generals. We hear only of the fate of Andragathius, who drowned himself after hearing of his emperor's death (Zosimus 4.47.1; Oros. 7.35.5).

161. *Cod. Theod.* 4.22.3 (Trier; 14 June 389) probably refers to the confiscation of the property of Maximus himself, rather than implying a widespread proscription, as Grinda believes; see Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5: 530, note to p. 227, line 16. Thus it confirms accusations that Maximus accumulated property (see 24.6ff. and notes 87, 89).

162. Either artfully worded, or simply untrue, for certain acts of Maximus, including his conferral of offices and honors, were annulled (see *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.6–7, Aquileia and Milan, 22 Sept.; 10 Oct. 388, for Italy; *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.8, Milan, 14 Jan., for Gaul).

163. Orosius (7.35.7–8) praises Theodosius' clemency, evidently with some justification; Symmachus, for example, was pardoned for his panegyric on Maximus (Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.14; see note 5) and became consul for 391. But Maximus' supporters were scarcely favored; see Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*, 231 and n. 2, on Symmachus *Ep.* 3.81. It is not clear whether Ambrose's requests for the pardon of those in exile or prison, or under threat of the death penalty (*Ep.* 40.25), embraced any of Maximus' supporters.

164. Pacatus seems to have been well informed about Theodosius' attitudes. Another contemporary writes: "[Theodosius] was clearly intelligent, and very keen to familiarize himself with the exploits of his ancestors; and of them he did

2 at every trumpet blast of civil war; for in addition to the slaughter of soldiers perishing for you on both sides, you had wept for the leading lights of your Senate, extinguished at home, the heads of consuls were stuck upon pikes, Catos forced to die, Ciceros mutilated and Pompeys
3 unburied; the fury of your citizens, rent apart by factions, led to graver losses than those inflicted by the Carthaginian looming at the gates or the Gaul admitted within the walls; Emathia more deadly than the day of the Allia, the Colline Gate more lethal than Cannae, long ago left such deep scars that you, having always suffered more grievously from your own
4 than another's valor, feared nothing more than yourself.[165] Now you have seen a civil war ended with the slaughter of enemies, a peaceful soldiery, the recovery of Italy, and your liberation; you have seen, I repeat, a civil war ended for which you can decree a triumph.[166]

47 May it have been proper, august Emperor, for me to have dealt with your past exploits up until this point; but although the occasion urges me to recall your present deeds, I would prefer to put an end to my speech
2 than to usurp the duty of this most splendid order. At any rate, my pious

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not cease to execrate those about whose arrogant and cruel deeds, so destructive to liberty, he had read, such as Cinna, Marius, and Sulla" (*Epit.* 48.11–12). While there are few verbal echoes, Pacatus could have gleaned the material that follows from the exempla of Valerius Maximus. He also draws upon *Pan.* 12.20.3.

165. Emathia, a part of Macedonia; an allusion to Philippi; cf. Virg. *G.* 1.489–92; Luc. 1.1. The river Allia, a small tributary of the Tiber north of Rome, was the scene of a frightful disaster to the Romans in 390 B.C.E. at the hands of the Gauls (Val. Max. 9.11 *Ext.* 4; cf. Livy 5.37–39). The Colline Gate was the scene of Sulla's final battle; cf. *Pan.* 12.20.4.

166. There can be no doubt that Theodosius' visit to Rome in 389 included "victory observances," as McCormick cautiously puts it (*Eternal Victory*, 85; see the Introduction, p. 443). Procopius reports that in his day the Romans still celebrated the annual festival "named from the defeat of Maximus" (*Wars* 3.4.16). Once a triumph for a victory in a civil war would have seemed an execrable act. Traditionally none was awarded for victories *non externo, sed domestico partae cruore* (Val. Max. 2.8.7). But by the fourth century few emperors had such qualms; cf. Constantine's celebration of his victory over Maxentius. McCormick, pp. 80–82, argues that complaints such as that of Ammianus, who criticized Constantius II for celebrating a triumph for his defeat of Magnentius (16.10.1–3; cf. Claud. *VI. cons. Hon.* 393–406), were out of harmony with the times. He points out (p. 83 n. 12) that the epitome of Valerius Maximus composed by Julius "Paris" in the late fourth or fifth century omits the section referring to civil wars quoted in part above.

brashness will be pardoned if, rather than to have occupied the ground belonging to another, I seem to have appropriated the sentiments of all. I hope, too, that I have had permission, both with your divine assent and the favor of the Senate, to have spoken of all that you have accomplished so bravely and successfully on behalf of the State in barbarous lands and in
distant provinces. But what took place in Rome; the impression you made 3
on the day you first entered the city;[167] how you behaved in the Senate house and on the rostra; now in a chariot, now on foot, distinguished in either mode of progress, triumphant now in war, now over pride; how you showed yourself to all as a ruler, to individuals as a senator; how in your frequent and unpretentious public appearances you not only visited public buildings, but hallowed with your divine footsteps private dwellings as well,[168] all the safer, with your military guard removed, for the vigilance of a devoted people, let all these be praised by the tongues and voices
of these men, of these men, I say, who on the subject of common joys will 4
surely be able to extol more worthily what is most outstanding, and more
justly what is especially theirs.[169] O happy journey of mine! O labors well 5
undertaken and brought to their conclusion! In what happy events have I shared! And what joy is in store for me! What marvelous tales shall I have to tell to the cities of Gaul upon my return![170] What crowds of admiring people, how great an audience, shall surround me when I say: "I have seen Rome; I have seen Theodosius; and I have seen both together;[171] I have seen the father of the ruler himself, I have seen the avenger of

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167. Theodosius entered Rome on 13 June 389 (*Cons. Const., Chron. min.* 1.245; *Fast. Ital., Chron. min.* 1.298; cf. Marcellin. Comes, *Chron. min.* 2.62).

168. "Unpretentious" renders *civilis*. For the tradition of the princeps behaving like a citizen (*civiliter*) at Rome, see J. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1939; reprint, 1964) 186–88; Cameron, *Claudian*, 382–83. Exemplary is Trajan's entry into Rome as described by Pliny *Pan.* 22ff. Diocletian apparently failed to live up to Roman expectations in this respect (Lact. *Mort. pers.* 17.2). Constantius II, whose solemn and dignified *adventus* so impressed Ammianus, nevertheless conformed to the tradition (Amm. Marc. 16.10.13), and according to Claudian, Honorius did so too (*VI. cons. Hon.* 543ff.). Constantius and Honorius, like Theodosius, are said to have addressed the people as well as the Senate (Amm. Marc. 16.10.13; Claud. *VI. cons. Hon.* 587ff.).

169. The phraseology here owes something to *Pan.* 4.5.4.

170. Whether Pacatus in fact returned to Gaul is not known; presumably he did. But *Cod. Theod.* 9.2.4 shows that he was already in Africa as proconsul by 4 Feb. 390 (cf. the Introduction).

171. Cf. *Pan.* 11.11.4.

6 the ruler; I have seen the restorer of the ruler!"[172] Distant cities will flock to me; every pen will receive from me the story of your exploits in due order; from me poetry will get its themes; from me history will derive its credibility. Although I myself have said nothing about you which is worthy of being read, I shall compensate for this injury I have done you, Emperor, if I furnish the materials for those who will be read.

172. Honorius, Gratian, and Valentinian II respectively.

APPENDIX

THE CAREER OF COUNT THEODOSIUS ACCORDING TO PACATUS 5.2

> Quae Rhenus aut Vachalis vidit adgrediar? Iam se mihi Sarmatica caede sanguineus Hister obiciet. Attritam pedestribus proeliis Britanniam†referam? Saxo consumptus bellis navalibus offeretur. Redactum ad paludes suas Scotum loquar? Compulsus in solitudines avias omnis Alamannus et uterque Maurus occurrent.
>
> †Britaniam *w*: Bataviam *M* — Mynors, OCT

In a recounting of exploits, even in a panegyric, one would normally expect chronological ordering. But here the speaker professes to be overwhelmed: he does not know where to begin; images crowd upon him. There is no guarantee, then, that the arrangement will be chronological—or even geographical. But the passage is not a farrago; it has a carefully wrought rhetorical structure. The speaker essays three starts; immediately alternatives present themselves, namely:

1. Rhine/Waal—Sarmatia/Danube
2. Batavia†—Saxon
3. Scot—Alamann/Moor

What is the association of thought? In (1) rivers suggest another great river; in (3) swamps suggest other pathless wildernesses; (2) is different, an association of opposites, infantry battles suggesting naval ones. Perhaps the process was aided by an association of time and place, that is, that adversaries were beaten on land and sea in the one campaign (or even the same adversary?). P. Bartholomew ("Fourth Century Saxons," *Britannia* 15 [1984] 183) suggests that the point of the contrast is the variety of military successes against the Saxon. He may be right, but Pacatus does not make this explicit.

But where were the battles on land? All recent editors (Mynors, Galletier, Paladini), following earlier ones, print *Britanniam*. *PLRE* I, Theodosius 3, accepts the reading but refers the whole section "Shall I recall . . . into his own swamps" to Theodosius' campaigns in Britain, thus ignoring the antithetical structure of the passage. But all the manuscripts read *Bataviam* (as Bartholomew points out). The reading *Britanniam* comes from 'w,' the anonymous humanist corrector of Vat. Lat. 1775 (in the X1 Italian family of manuscripts, the inferior branch of the stemma: see Mynors, *praef.*). With what justification, if not from the manuscript? Presumably historical. Every reader of Ammianus knows that Theodosius made his name in Britain and won promotion to *magister equitum* (West) as a result (see Amm. Marc. 28.3.9). Would it not then be inconceivable for this to be left out

of a catalogue of his exploits? Pacatus may not intend to be comprehensive, but one would expect him to recall the memorable. But rather than play down Theodosius' achievements in Britain (as does Bartholomew, esp. pp. 177ff.) it may be that reference to them does not depend on reading *Britanniam* (see below).

While it is true that no other source notes campaigns of Theodosius in Batavia, it was the venue for recent campaigns against the Saxons (e.g., by Julian in 358, according to Zosimus 3.6–8.1; see F. Paschoud, *Zosime: Histoire nouvelle*, livre 3 [Paris, 1979] n. 15 ad loc.), and in 370 a seaborne Saxon force perhaps landed there before marching south to engage the Romans across the frontier in northern Gaul (Amm. Marc. 28.5.1ff.; cf. Jerome *Chron.* a.374; Cassiod. *Chron.* a.373), so its claim is not implausible.

Thus it is the mention of infantry battles in Batavia that brings to Pacatus' mind naval battles against the Saxons.

What were the latter? Claudian (*IV cons. Hon.* 30–31), recalling to Honorius the exploits of his grandfather, mentions the Orkneys in connection with the Saxons (and Thule in connection with the Picts), and there seems no reason not to accept this as a genuine glimpse of the campaign. Ammianus (26.4.5; ca. 364/365) writes that Picts, Saxons, and Scots and Attacotti troubled the Britons continuously *hoc tempore*. I think R. S. O. Tomlin ("Ammianus Marcellinus 26.4.5–6," *CQ* 29 [1979] 470f.) is probably right to conclude that this means during the whole of Valentinian I's reign, so that the first invasion of Britain will have been the one in 367, referred to as the "barbarian conspiracy" (27.8.1), which was eventually beaten off by Theodosius. In this passage Ammianus has Picts, Attacotti, and Scots attacking Britain, and Franks and Saxons the *Gallicanos tractus* ("the Gallic regions," 8.5), which shows the possibility of Theodosius encountering Saxons on the Continent at that time.

In short, the historical importance of this part of the passage of Pacatus is that it confirms the evidence of Claudian that Theodosius fought naval battles against the Saxons, and that it adds the information that at some time he campaigned in Batavia, whether against Saxons or others.

As to the chronology, Ammianus 28.3.9 says that upon the successful completion of the British operation Theodosius went straight back to court and was promoted. Thereafter he was very busy, and in the public eye. It will therefore prove easier to fit in a campaign in Batavia before, or in conjunction with, the British campaign than afterward.

Moving to (3), the reference to Alamanni is to a campaign in 370 when Theodosius attacked them through Raetia (see Amm. Marc. 28.5.15 for details), and is to be distinguished from (1) (Rhine and Waal), pace *PLRE* I, Flavius Theodosius 3, p. 903, for *per Raetias* must mean going east of the Rhine. The reference to Maurus is to the campaign against Firmus, 373–375 (Amm. Marc. 24.5).

As for *Scotum*, the passage of Claudian cited above (*IV cons. Hon.* 32) suggests that Scottish marshes ought to be located in Ireland. In any case this is obviously part of Theodosius' British campaign (Amm. Marc. 27.8.5; see above), so no disquiet need be felt by the elimination of the word *Britanniam*. Theodosius' British exploits are covered by Pacatus.

This leaves (1). No "slaughter of Sarmatians" is attested elsewhere for Theodosius. But in the light of other chronological indications, and by pulling together disparate items—that Theodosius and his son campaigned together (Pacatus 8.3; cf. Zosimus 4.35.3—in Britain—with 4.24.4); that the son, the future emperor, won a victory over the Sarmatians as *dux Moesiae*, in 374 (Amm. Marc. 29.6.15); that military units were sent by Valentinian I to Africa from Pannonia and Moesia upon Firmus' rebellion (Zosimus 4.16.3), which Theodosius was to put down—it is possible to locate this episode just prior to the Moroccan campaign, that is, ca. 372 (but Theodosius himself did not go to Africa directly from Illyricum, but from Arles; Amm. Marc. 29.5.5). An inscription from Stobi (*AE*, 1931, 53; R. Egger, "Der erste Theodosius," *Byzantion* 5 [1929–30] 9–32 = *Römisches Antike und Frühes Christentum*, ed. A. Betz and G. Moro [Klagenfurt, 1967] 126–43), setting out Theodosius' career, seems to confirm Pacatus' claim by referring to "great joy [or delight] of the Dardanians" (= Illyrians).

What then of the Rhine and Waal? Visions of Theodosian success overwhelm Pacatus; one triumph suggests another; ideally we ought not then to get doublets. These engagements ought to be different from those in 370 against the Alamanni or those in Batavia. *ILS* 771 (late 369 or 370; Rome) entitles Valentinian I Francicus Maximus, which A. Demandt ("Die Feldzüge des älteren Theodosius," *Hermes* 100 [1972] 82–84) attributes to an early victory of Theodosius not mentioned by Ammianus (cf., however, Tomlin, p. 477 n. 4—but the absence of Francicus from the titles at 5.4 below is not a serious weakness of the argument: the list is clearly selective). Obviously Theodosius must have had some military success before being chosen to deal with the emergency in Britain. His other known campaigns are later. It is therefore tempting to put this one in 366, as does Demandt. That the reference is to Valentinian's campaign across the Rhine against King Macrianus and the Alamanni in 372(?) is most improbable; the campaign was not a success (see Amm. Marc. 29.4), and mention of the Waal would be inappropriate—the fighting was opposite Trier and Mainz near Wiesbaden (Amm. Marc. 29.4).

SUMMARY OF CAREER

366	Vs. the Franks on the Lower Rhine and Waal
367	Vs. the Saxons at sea, and in Batavia
367/368 or 368/369	In Britain
370	Vs. the Alamanni as *magister equitum*
371 or 372	Vs. King Macrianus and the Alamanni
372 or 373	Vs. Sarmatians
373–375	Vs. Firmus in Africa
Early 376	Executed at Carthage

THE PANEGYRICS
LATIN TEXT

X (II)

⟨MAMERTINI (?) PANEGYRICVS MAXIMIANO AVGVSTO DICTVS⟩

Cum omnibus festis diebus, sacratissime imperator, debeat honos 1
uester diuinis rebus aequari, tum praecipue celeberrimo isto et impe-
rantibus uobis laetissimo die ueneratio numinis tui cum sollemni sacrae
urbis religione iungenda est. Verum est enim profecto quod de origine 2
illius ciuitatis accepimus, primam in ea sedem numinis uestri, sanctum
illud uenerandumque palatium, regem aduenam condidisse sed Herculem
hospitem consecrasse. Neque enim fabula est de licentia poetarum nec 3
opinio de fama ueterum saeculorum, sed manifesta res et probata, sicut
hodieque testatur Herculis ara maxima et Herculei sacri custos familia
Pinaria, principem illum tui generis ac nominis Pallantea moenia adisse
uictorem et, parua tunc licet regia, summa tamen religione susceptum
futurae maiestatis dedisse primordia, ut esse posset domus Caesarum quae
Herculis fuisset hospitium. Iure igitur hoc die quo immortalis ortus domi- 4
nae gentium ciuitatis uestra pietate celebratur, tibi potissimum, imperator
inuicte, laudes canimus et gratias agimus, quem similitudo ipsa stirpis tuae
ac uis tacita naturae ad honorandum natalem Romae diem tam liberalem
facit, ut urbem illam sic colas conditam, quasi ipse condideris. Re uera 5
enim, sacratissime imperator, merito quiuis te tuumque fratrem Romani
imperii dixerit conditores: estis enim, quod est proximum, restitutores et,

2 Incipit sextus *M* 4 debent *Bert* 7 religione *w*: -oni *M* 10 hospitem *w*: -ite *M* consecrasse *Goetze*, consecrauisse *Schenkl*: condidisse *M Bert*

sit licet hic illi urbi natalis dies, quod pertinet ad originem populi Romani, uestri imperii primi dies sunt principes ad salutem.

2 Quare si nunc Romae omnes magistratus et pontifices et sacerdotes iuxta parentes urbis et statores deos Herculis templa uenerantur, quia partam aliquando ex uictoria praedam a flumine Hibero et conscio occidui solis Oceano ad pabula Tyrrhena compulerit et in Palatino iugo uenturo tibi reliquerit uestigia, quanto tandem studio nos hic conuenit, qui te praesentem intuemur deum toto quidem orbe uictorem, sed nunc cum maxime in eadem occidentis plaga non pastorem trino capite deformem sed prodigium multo taetrius opprimentem, quidquid spiritus et uocis habeamus, omne id in laudibus tuis non occupare modo sed, si res poscat,
2 absumere! Vnde igitur ordiar? Commemorabo nimirum patriae tuae in rem publicam merita? Quis enim dubitat quin multis iam saeculis, ex quo uires illius ad Romanum nomen accesserint, Italia quidem sit
3 gentium domina gloriae uetustate, sed Pannonia uirtute? An diuinam generis tui originem recensebo, quam tu non modo factis immortalibus
4 sed etiam nominis successione testaris? An quemadmodum educatus institutusque sis praedicabo in illo limite, illa fortissimarum sede legionum, inter discursus strenuae iuuentutis et armorum sonitus tuis uagitibus
5 obstrepentes? Finguntur haec de Ioue, sed de te uera sunt, imperator. An tuas res gestas enumerare conabor, quae te prima signa imperatoriis auspiciis inaugurarint, quae castra dominum habitura susceperint, quae
6 bella diduxerint, quae uictoriae auxerint? Ibo scilicet uirtutis tuae uestigiis colligendis per totum Histri limitem perque omnem qua tendit Eufraten et
7 ripas peragrabo Rheni et litus Oceani? Sed qui uelit omnia ista complecti, saecula sibi optare debet et innumerabiles annos et quantam tu mereris aetatem.

3 Faciam igitur compendio orationis meae, sed damno uoluntatis, quod huic tempori maxime congruit: omittam cetera, et potissimum illud arripiam quod multis fortasse mirum uidebitur et tamen ⟨re⟩ ipsa uerissimum est: te, cum ad restituendam rem publicam a cognato tibi Diocletiani numine fueris inuocatus, plus tribuisse beneficii quam acceperis. Neque
2 enim specie tenus ac nomine fortuna imperii consideranda est. Trabeae uestrae triumphales et fasces consulares et sellae curules et haec obsequiorum stipatio et fulgor, et illa lux diuinum uerticem claro orbe complectens, uestrorum sunt ornamenta meritorum, pulcherrima quidem et augustis-

1 pertinet *Bert h*: -neat *M* 6 Thyrrena *M* 12 commemorabo *hc*: -abor *M* 21 enumerare *X2 w*: -abo *M* 22 inauguriarint *M*: -gurarint *w* 23 diduxerint *M Bert*: ded- *X2* 24 omnem *hw*: omne *M* 25 ista *om. Bert* 30 re *add. X2 w, om. M*

sima; sed longe illa maiora sunt quae tu impartito tibi imperio uice gratiae 3
rettulisti: admittere in animum tantae rei publicae curam et totius orbis fata suscipere et oblitum quodammodo sui gentibus uiuere et in tam arduo humanarum rerum stare fastigio, ex quo ueluti terras omnes et maria despicias uicissimque oculis ac mente conlustres ubi sit certa serenitas, ubi dubia tempestas, qui iustitiam uestram iudices aemulentur, qui uirtutis uestrae gloriam duces seruent, accipere innumerabiles undique nuntios, 4
totidem mandata dimittere, de tot urbibus et nationibus et prouinciis cogitare, noctes omnes diesque perpeti sollicitudine pro omnium salute transigere.

Haec omnia cum a fratre optimo oblata susceperis, tu fecisti fortiter **4**
ille sapienter. Neque enim cum rei publicae nauem secundus a puppi 2
flatus impelleret, salutarem manum gubernaculis addidisti, sed cum ad restituendam eam post priorum temporum labem diuinum modo ac ne id quidem unicum sufficeret auxilium, praecipitanti Romano nomini iuxta principem subiuisti eadem scilicet auxilii opportunitate qua tuus Hercules Iouem uestrum quondam Terrigenarum bello laborantem magna uictoriae parte iuuit probauitque se non magis a dis accepisse caelum quam eisdem reddidisse. An non illud malum simile monstrorum biformium in 3
hisce terris fuit quod tua, Caesar, nescio utrum magis fortitudine repressum sit an clementia mitigatum, cum militaris habitus ignari agricolae appetiuerunt, cum arator peditem, cum pastor equitem, cum hostem barbarum suorum cultorum rusticus uastator imitatus est? Quod ego cursim 4
praetereo; uideo enim te, qua pietate es, obliuionem illius uictoriae malle quam gloriam.

Quid uero? Statim, uixdum misero illo furore sopito, cum omnes **5**
barbarae nationes excidium uniuersae Galliae minarentur, neque solum Burgundiones et Alamanni sed etiam Chaibones Erulique, uiribus primi barbarorum, locis ultimi, praecipiti impetu in has prouincias inruissent, quis deus tam insperatam salutem nobis attulisset, nisi tu adfuisses? Tu 2
enim diuinae prouidentiae, imperator, consilio prius quam ui bellum gerendum ratus ceteros quidem perduelles, quibus ipsa multitudo pestifera, ire passus es in profundam famem et ex fame pestilentiam, mox ⟨ad⟩ triumphi ornamenta capienda militum manibus usurus; Chaibonas tamen Erulosque non dignatus pari astu perdere atque ut interim diuina

2 retulisti *M* 16 subiuisti *W. Baehrens*: subisti *M* Hercules *X2 w*: Herculis *M* 21 militaris *corrector cod. Napocensis*: -res *M* 26 quid *h*: quod *M* 27 barbarae *X2 w*: barbariae *M* 32 pestifera *M* (*ante* multitudo *X2*): pestiferat *Bert*: pestifera erat *Liuineius* 33 ire *w*: tire *M* 34 ad *add. w, om. M* 35 atque *del. h*

uirtus tua exercitatione solita non careret aperto Marte atque uno impetu
perculisti, non uniuerso ad id proelium usus exercitu sed paucis cohor-
3 tibus. Quid enim opus erat multitudine cum ipse pugnares, ipse omnibus
locis totaque acie dimicares, ipse hosti undique et qua resisteret et qua
cederet et qua fugeret occurreres, erroremque aduersariis pariter ac tuis
faceres, cum neque te barbari unum putarent neque milites, non dico
stipatione atque comitatu sed saltem oculis sequi possent? Toto quippe
proelio ferebare, non aliter quam magnus amnis solet hibernis imbribus
4 auctus et niuibus passim fluere qua campus est. Ita cuncti Chaibones
Erulique cuncti tanta internecione caesi interfectique sunt ut exstinctos
eos relictis domi coniugibus ac matribus non profugus aliquis e proelio
sed uictoriae tuae gloria adnuntiaret.

6 Transeo innumerabiles tuas tota Gallia pugnas atque uictorias. Quae
2 enim tot tantisque rebus sufficiat oratio? Illum tamen primum consulatus
tui auspicalem diem tacitus praeterire nullo modo possum, quo tu solus
omnium consecutus es ut, quod tempus antea incipiendis tantummodo
rebus aptum uidebatur, tunc primum potuerit sufficere per agendis, uno-
que sol curriculo suo eoque breuissimo et officia te consulis inchoantem
3 uideret et opera imperatoris implentem. Vidimus te, Caesar, eodem die
pro re publica et uota suscipere et conuicta debere. Quod enim optaueras
in futurum, fecisti continuo transactum, ut mihi ipsa deorum auxilia
quae precatus eras praeuenisse uidearis et, quidquid illi promiserant, ante
fecisse. Vidimus te, Caesar, eodem die et in clarissimo pacis habitu et
4 in pulcherrimo uirtutis ornatu. Bona uenia deum dixerim, ne Iuppiter
quidem ipse tanta celeritate faciem caeli sui uariat quam facile tu, impe-
rator, togam praetextam sumpto thorace mutasti, hastam posito scipione
rapuisti, a tribunali temet in campum, a curuli in equum transtulisti et
rursus ex acie cum triumpho redisti, totamque hanc urbem repentina tua
in hostes eruptione sollicitam laetitia et exsultatione et auris flagrantibus
5 et sacrificis odoribus [et] accensis numini tuo implesti. Ita utroque illius
diei supremo tempore bis diuina res pari religione celebrata est: Ioui dum
pro futuris uouetur, tibi dum pro uictoria soluitur.

1 tua *X2 w*: tue *M* 4 ipse *Liuineius*: ipsi *M* 5 oceanum occurreres *Bert* 9 Caiuones *H* 10 internicione *M* 12 adn- *scripsi*: gloriam (-ia *hw*) nuntiaret *M* 13 tuas *Rhenanus*: tua *M* Gallia *Puteolanus*: gloria *M* 19 opera *Liuineius*: ora *M* uidimus *X2 w*: uidemus *M* 20 conuicta *C. G. Schwarz collato Cic. de domo 145, quod perperam fortasse intellexerat noster*: coniuncta *M* 24 uenia *hcw*: ueniam *M* 29 auris *M Bert*: aris *Cusp, fort. recte* 30 sacrificis *Liuineius*: -ciis *M* et accensis *M*; et *del. h, ante* odoribus *posuit X2* 31 diei *w*: die *M*

Tale igitur auspicium illius anni quid sequebatur, nisi nouum ali- **7**
quid et ingens miraculum? Quod autem maius euenire potuit illa tua in 2
Germaniam transgressione, qua tu primus omnium, imperator, probasti
Romani imperii nullum esse terminum nisi qui tuorum esset armorum?
Atqui Rhenum antea uidebatur ipsa sic Natura duxisse, ut eo limite 3
Romanae prouinciae ab immanitate barbariae uindicarentur. Ecquis 4
umquam ante uos principes non gratulatus est Gallias illo amne muniri?
Quando non cum summo metu nostro Rheni alueum minuit diu serena
tempestas? Quando non cum securitate nostra illius diluuia creuerunt?
Credo, itidem opimam illam fertilemque Syriam uelut amplexu suo tege- 5
bat Eufrates, antequam Diocletiano sponte se dederent regna Persarum.
Verum hoc Iouis sui more nutu illo patrio, quo omnia contremescunt,
et maiestate uestri nominis consecutus est; tu autem, imperator inuicte, 6
feras illas indomitasque gentes uastatione, proeliis, caedibus, ferro ignique
domuisti. Herculei generis hoc fatum est, uirtuti tuae debere quod uindi-
cas. Exinde igitur soluto animo ac libero sumus. Licet Rhenus arescat 7
tenuique lapsu uix leues calculos perspicuo uado pellat, nullus inde metus
est: quidquid ultra Rhenum prospicio, Romanum est.

Sic illa quondam Romanae potentiae diu aemula et inimica Carthago **8**
a P. Scipione deuicta est, cum is traiecto in Africam exercitu Hannibalem
ab Italiae uastatione reuocauit. Audieras hoc, imperator, an ipse per te 2
diuina tua mente perspexeras ita demum hostes funditus posse subuerti,
si in propriis sedibus uincerentur nec praedam modo quam cepissent
amitterent, sed ipsi coniuges et liberos [suos] et parentes suos et carissima
omnia capta maererent? Hoc tu siue cognitum secutus es seu te auctore 3
fecisti, utrumque pulcherrimum est; neque enim minorem laudem mag- 4
narum rerum aemuli quam ipsi merentur auctores. Quin immo, quamuis 5
optimum, intemptatae rei consilium Fortunae committitur; iteratum uero
idem atque repetitum ad certam iudicii gloriam pertinet. Ideoque hoc 6
nunc ambo, sacratissime imperator, ipso estis Scipione potiores, quod et
tu Africanum et te Diocletianus imitatus est.

Ingressus est nuper illam quae Raetiae est obiecta Germaniam si- **9**
milique uirtute Romanum limitem uictoria protulit: adeo numini illius
simpliciter amanterque, quidquid pro hisce terris feceras, rettulisti, cum

3 imperatorum *c* 4 armorum *w*: arborum *M* 5 uidebatur *Puteolanus*: uideatur *M* 6 ecquis *c*: et quis *M* 7 illo *hw*: illorum *M* 10 identidem *Bert* opimam *h*: optimam *M* 15 fatum *h*: factum *M* 18 prospicio *c*: prospicuo *M* 21 ipse *Liuineius*: ipsa *M* 24 suos *del. X2* 28 intemptatae *Puteolanus*: intempt(a)e *M* 29 certi *h* 33 ultra *ante* Romanum *add. w* uictoria *hc*: -iam *M* 34 hisce terris *Liuineius*: hiis ceteris *M* retulisti *M* (rett- *Puteolanus*)

ex diuersa orbis parte coeuntes inuictas dexteras contulistis, adeo fidum
2 illud fuit fraternumque conloquium. In quo uobis mutua praebuistis
omnium exempla uirtutum atque inuicem uos, quod fieri iam posse non
uidebatur, auxistis, ille tibi ostendendo dona Persica, tu illi spolia Ger-
3 manica. Sed neque illum uirtutes tuae bellicae ⟨a⟩ liberalitate ⟨neque te⟩
illius opes a bellica uirtute reuocarunt: ambo nunc estis largissimi, ambo
fortissimi atque hac ipsa uestri similitudine magis magisque concordes
4 et, quod omni consanguinitate certius est, uirtutibus fratres. Sic fit ut
uobis tantum imperium sine ulla aemulatione commune sit neque ullum
inter uos discrimen esse patiamini, sed plane ut gemini illi reges Lacedae-
5 mones Heraclidae rem publicam pari sorte teneatis. Quamquam hoc uos
meliores et iustiores, quod illos mater astu coegit, cum nemini fateretur
quem prius edidisset in lucem, pari aetatis auctoritate regnare, uos hoc
sponte facitis, quos in summis rebus aequauit non uultuum similitudo sed
morum.

10 Attamen illos, si discrimen sui scire potuissent, minus mirum fuisset
exiguam sibi communicasse regionem, quam saepe uno die impiger uia-
tor emensus est. Vos uero, qui imperium non terrae sed caeli regionibus
terminatis, tantam uim tantam potestatem mutuo uobis impartire diuinae
2 profecto immortalisque fiduciae est, quam cupiditas nulla perturbet. Et
tamen uides, imperator, non inuenire me ex omni antiquitate quod com-
3 parem uobis, nisi Herculeae gentis exemplum. Nam ille quidem magnus
Alexander iam mihi humilis uidetur Indo regi sua regna reddendo, cum
tam multi reges, imperator, uestri clientes sint, cum per te regnum re-
4 ceperit Gennoboudes, a te uero munus acceperit. Quid enim ille aliud
expetiuit ad conspectum ⟨tuum⟩ cum omni sua gente ueniendo, nisi ut
tunc demum integra auctoritate regnaret, cum te, Maximiane, placas-
5 set? Ostendit ille te identidem, ut audio, popularibus suis et intueri diu
6 iussit et obsequia discere, cum tibi ipse seruiret. Hoc eodem modo rex
ille Persarum, numquam se ante dignatus hominem confiteri, fratri tuo
7 supplicat totumque, si ingredi ille dignetur, regnum suum pandit. Of-
fert interim uaria miracula, eximiae pulchritudinis feras mittit, amicitiae
nomen impetrare contentus promeretur obsequio.

11 Vestra hoc concordia facit, inuictissimi principes, ut uobis tanta ae-
qualitate successuum etiam fortuna respondeat. Rem publicam enim una

2 conloquium *Itali*: eloquium *M* 5 a *et* neque *add. w, om. M* 6 te *ante* a *add. w, ante* reuocarunt *Puteolanus, ante* illius *Aem. Baehrens, om. M* 7 uestra *w* 10 Lacedaemonis *h* 24 imperator *Aem. Baehrens*: -atores *M* susceperit *Bert* 25 gennoboudesateh *M*, -bond esathi *Bert: corr. post Buechelerum Aem. Baehrens* 26 tuum *add. w, om. M* 35 successuum *w*: -sum *M*

mente regitis, neque uobis tanta locorum diuersitas obest quominus etiam
ueluti iunctis dexteris gubernetis. Ita, quamuis maiestatem regiam gemi- 2
nato numine augeatis, utilitatem imperii singularis consentiendo retinetis.
Quare, si non frustra Graeci poetae hominibus iustitiam colentibus re- 3
promittunt binos gregum fetus et duplices arborum fructus, nunc omnia
gentibus uniuersis gemina debentur, quarum uos domini tam sancte iusti-
tiam et concordiam colitis. Tu quidem certe, imperator, tantum esse in 4
concordia bonum statuis, ut etiam eos qui circa te potissimo funguntur
officio necessitudine tibi et adfinitate deuinxeris, id pulcherrimum arbitra-
tus adhaerere lateri tuo non timoris obsequia sed uota pietatis. Quorum
ductu proxime, cum felicissimis uestris auspiciis uterentur, lubrica illa fal-
laxque gens barbarorum ut merebatur adfecta est. Vestra haec, imperator, 5
uestra laus est; a uobis proficiscitur etiam quod per alios administratur. Vt 6
enim omnia commoda caelo terraque parta, licet diuersorum numinum
ope nobis prouenire uideantur, a summis tamen auctoribus manant, Ioue
rectore caeli et Hercule pacatore terrarum, sic omnibus pulcherrimis re-
bus, etiam quae aliorum ductu geruntur, Diocletianus †facit, tu tribuis
effectum. Vestrae, inquam, fortunae, uestrae felicitatis est, imperator, 7
quod iam milites uestri ad Oceanum peruenere uictoria, iam caesorum in
illo litore hostium sanguinem reciproci fluctus sorbuerunt.
Quid nunc animi habet ille pirata, cum fretum illud quo solo mortem **12**
suam hucusque remoratus est paene exercitus uestros uideat ingressos,
oblitosque nauium refugum mare secutos esse qua cederet? Quam nunc 2
insulam remotiorem, quem alium sibi optet Oceanum? Quo denique
pacto effugere poenas rei publicae potest, nisi si haustu terrae deuoretur
aut turbine aliquo in deuia saxa rapiatur? Aedificatae sunt ornataeque 3
pulcherrimae classes cunctis simul amnibus Oceanum petiturae; neque
solum ad perficiendas eas certatim homines laborarunt, sed etiam ad
excipiendas flumina repente creuerunt. Toto fere anno, imperator, quo 4
tibi opus erat serenitate ut naualia texerentur, ut trabes caederentur,
ut artificum animi uigerent, ut manus ne torpescerent, nullus fere dies
imbre foedatus est. Hiemps ipsa temperiem ueris imitata est. Iam 5
non septentrioni nos putauimus subiacere, sed quasi translatis sideribus
aut terris meridiani caeli clementiam sensimus. Fluuius hic noster diu 6
pluuiarum pabulo carens impatiens erat nauium, solam naualibus tuis

1 etiam *M*: eam *Acidalius* 2 ueluti iunctis *Liuineius*: uelut inuictis *M* 14 commoda *w*: -odo *M* 15 ope *M*: opere *Bert* 17 facit *M*: facem *Aem. Baehrens*, actum *Eyssenhardt, alius aliud supplet* 19 uictores *w* 20 sanguinem *hw*: sanguine *M* 28 perficiendas *Puteolanus*: percipi- *M* 34 sensimus *Puteolanus*: sentimus *M*

materiam deuehebat. Ecce autem subito, cum iam deduci liburnas
oporteret, tibi uberes fontes Terra submisit, tibi largos imbres Iuppiter
7 fudit, tibi totis fluminum alueis Oceanus redundauit [Oceanus]. Ita in
aquas sponte subeuntes impetum nauigia fecerunt leui modo commota
nisu ducentium, quorum ad felicissimum illud exordium magis opus erat
8 nautico carmine quam labore. Facile itaque quiuis intellegit, imperator,
quam prosperi te successus in re maritima secuturi sint, cui iam sic
tempestatum opportunitas obsequatur.

13 Felix igitur talibus, Roma, principibus (fas est enim ut hoc dicendi
munus pium unde coepimus terminemus); felix, inquam, et multo nunc
2 felicior quam sub Remo et Romulo tuis. Illi enim, quamuis fratres
geminique essent, certauerunt tamen uter suum tibi nomen imponeret,
diuersosque montes et auspicia ceperunt. Hi uero conseruatores tui (sit
licet nunc tuum tanto maius imperium quanto latius est uetere pomerio,
quidquid homines colunt) nullo circa te liuore contendunt. Hi, cum
primum ad te redeant triumphantes, uno cupiunt inuehi curru, simul adire
3 Capitolium, simul habitare Palatium. Vtere, quaeso, tuorum principum
utroque cognomine, cum non cogaris eligere: licet nunc simul et Herculia
4 dicaris et Iouia. O quanto nunc, imperator, illa ciuitas esset augustior,
quanto magis hunc natalem suum diem coleret, si uos stipatos uestro
senatu in illa Capitolini Iouis arce conspiceret! Quae nunc sine dubio
praesentiam uestri sibi fingit, aedes uestrorum numinum frequentando et
identidem, sicut a maioribus institutum est, inuocando Statorem Iouem
5 Herculemque Victorem. Hoc enim quondam illi deo cognomen adscripsit
is qui, cum piratas oneraria naue uicisset, ab ipso audiuit Hercule per
quietem illius ope uictoriam contigisse. Adeo, sacratissime imperator,
multis iam saeculis inter officia est numinis tui superare piratas.

14 Sed profecto mature ille inlucescet dies, cum uos uideat Roma uic-
tores et alacrem sub dextera filium, quem ad honestissimas artes omnibus
ingenii bonis natum felix aliquis praeceptor exspectat, cui nullo labore
constabit diuinam immortalemque progeniem ad studium laudis hortari.
2 Non necesse erit Camillos et Maximos et Curios et Catones proponere
ad imitandum; quin potius uestra illi facta demonstret, uos identidem
et semper ostendat praesentes et optimos imperatoriae institutionis auc-

1 deduci *X2*: diduci *H(M?)* 3 fudit *h X2 w*: fundit *M* Oceanus (2°) *del. X2 w* 6 quiuis *X1*: uis *M* 12 imponeret *cw*: -nere *M* 19 imperatores *c* 20 stipatos *cw*: -ato *M* 23 identidem *Puteolanus*, ibidem *w*: ident *M* 24 ascripsit is *h*: ascripsistis *M*: asscripsisti *Bert* 26 sacratissime *X*: cac *H* 28 illucescat *Bert* 32 Camillos *cw*: camelos *M* 33 demonstrent . . . ostendant *w*

tores. Interim tamen te, gentium domina, quoniam hunc optatissimum 3
principem in Gallis suis retinet ratio rei publicae, quaesumus, si fieri potest,
ne huic inuideas ciuitati, cui nunc ille similitudinem maiestatis tuae con-
fert natalem tuum diem celebrando in ea consuetudine magnificentiae
tibi debitae. Teque ipsum, imperator, oramus ut etiam cum uos totius 4
orbis securitate composita illa imperii uestri mater acceperit, amplexus
eius artissimos interdum piis manibus resoluatis; tuque potissimum (credo
enim hoc idem Diocletianum Oriens rogat) has prouincias tuas frequenter
inlustres, et profundissima licet pace florentes aduentu numinis tui red-
das feliciores. Vides, imperator, quanta uis sit tuorum in nos caelestium 5
beneficiorum: adhuc praesentia tua fruimur, et iam reditum desideramus.

2 Galliis *w* 4 consuetudinem *h* 11 et iam *Bert*: etiam *M*

XI (III)

EIVSDEM MAGISTRI †MEMET GENETHLIACVS MAXIMIANI AVGVSTI

1 Omnes quidem homines, sacratissime imperator, qui maiestati ue-
strae laudes canunt et gratias agunt, debitum uobis conantur exsoluere
(quis enim est qui possit implere?); sentio tamen a me [hoc] praecipue hoc
piae uocis officium iure quodam sacrosancti fenoris postulari, ut exspec-
tationem sermonis eius quem tuis quinquennalibus praeparaueram hac
gemini natalis praedicatione compensem, et dicendi munus quod tunc uoti
2 promissione susceperam, nunc religione debiti repraesentem. Voueram
autem, sacratissime imperator, longe infra spem honoris eius quem in me
contulistis (unde enim uel tantam fiduciam mei gererem uel tam improbe
concupiscerem, ut optare mihi quantum iudicio uestro sum consecutus
auderem?); uoueram, inquam, potissimum ut me dignatione qua pridem
audieras rursus audires, siquidem apud tanti praesentiam numinis hoc
3 ipsum mihi maximum dicendi praemium uidebatur ut dicerem. Gaudeo
igitur, si fas est confiteri, dilatam esse illam cupiditatem meam. Neque
enim orationis eius quam composueram facio iacturam, sed eam reseruo
ut quinquennio rursus exacto decennalibus tuis dicam, quoniam quidem
lustris omnibus praedicandis communis oratio est.

2 eiusdem *om. c*, magistri *om. X1 c* Mamertini *X2*, Mamertim *codicis H miniator, om. X1 c*: memet *cod. H scriba in margine et cod. Napocensis, unde* mem⟨oriae⟩ et ⟨rhetoris latini⟩ *Seeck* 3 *Post* Augusti *add.* eidem Maximiano dictus *c*, et Diocleciani *w* 6 possit *Jaeger*: posset *M* hoc (*1°*) *del. w* 10 uoueram (*hic et l.14*) *hd*: noueram *M* 16 dicendi *Puteolanus*: -ti *M Bert*

Et profecto, si non sensus meos dicatorum uobis dierum proxima 2
quaeque ueneratio sui maiestate praestringit, hic mihi dies uidetur in-
lustrior magisque celebrandus, qui te primus protulit in lucem. Etenim 2
ipsi illi dies quibus imperii auspicia sumpsistis ob hoc sancti sunt ac religiosi
quod tales declarauerint imperatores; at certe uirtutes eas quibus ipsum
ornatis imperium gemini uestri procreauere natales. Quos quidem, 3
sacratissime imperator, quotiens annis uoluentibus reuertuntur, uestri
pariter ac uestrorum numinum reuerentia colimus, siquidem uos dis 4
esse genitos et nominibus quidem uestris sed multo magis uirtutibus
approbatis. Quarum infatigabiles motus et impetus ipsa uis diuinitatis
exercet, quae uos tantis discursibus toto quem regitis orbe deducit, ut
nos semper anxios uestri caritate nuper ad libertatem piae conquestionis
impulerit, cum itinera uestra ipsis hiberni solstitii diebus per uicina illa
caelo Alpium iuga, quibus Italiam Natura uallauit, perque illa saxa et
duriorem saxis niuium densitatem desiderio uestri et amore sequeremur,
et ⟨quam⟩ uirtus uestra non sentit pati uos putaremus iniuriam.
Reddidimus tamen rationem sollicitudini nostrae, et inspecta peni- 3
tus ueritate cognouimus quae causa faciat ut numquam otio adquiescere
uelitis. Profecto enim non patitur hoc caelestis ille uestri generis conditor 2
uel parens. Nam primum omnium, quidquid immortale est stare nescit,
sempiternoque motu se seruat aeternitas. Deinde praecipue uestri illi 3
parentes, qui uobis et nomina et imperia tribuerunt, perpetuis maximo-
rum operum actionibus occupantur. Ille siquidem Diocletiani auctor deus 4
praeter depulsos quondam caeli possessione Titanas et mox biformium
bella monstrorum perpeti cura quamuis compositum gubernat imperium,
atque hanc tantam molem infatigabili manu uoluit, omniumque rerum
ordines ac uices peruigil seruat. Neque enim tunc tantummodo com- 5
mouetur, cum tonitrua incutit et fulmina iacit, sed etiam, si tumultuantia
elementorum officia pacauit, nihilominus tamen et fata disponit et ipsas
quae tacitae labuntur auras placido sinu fundit, et in aduersa nitentem
impetu caeli rapit solem. Itidemque, Maximiane, Herculis ⟨tui uir⟩tus. 6

2 praestringit *Gruter*, praestrinxit *Liuineius*: perstringit *M* 5 at *h*: et *M* uirtutes eas *Bert*: uirtus eas *M* (uirtutes *w*) 6 gemini *M*: genui ni *H nondum correctus* 7 uoluentibus *hcpd*: uolen- *M* 9 nominibus *h*: numin- *M* 12 anxios *Liuineius*: auxilii *M* 13 impulerit *w*: impleuerit *M* hiberni solstitii *Liuineius*, hibernis *Puteolanus*: hibernis hostilis *M Bert* 16 quam *add. Liuineius, om. M* 17 reddidimus *Liuineius*: reddimus *M* racione *H* nostrae *Bongarsius*: uestrae *M* 19 conditor uel parens *in margine alia manu H, in textu cod. Napocensis*; uel parens *in margine habuisse suspicor X: uerba genuina esse docent numeri* 20 primum *Puteolanus*, diuinorum *w*: plum *M* 31 impetu *w*: -tum *M* Herculis tui uirtus *Aem. Baehrens*, -les tuus autor *w*, -les tuus *Puteolanus*: herculistus *M*

Mitto quod dum inter homines erat terras omnes et nemora pacauit,
urbes dominis crudelibus liberauit, etiam caelo dirarum alitum uolucra
tela detraxit, etiam terrores inferum abducto custode compescuit; exinde
certe nihilominus post adoptionem caelitum Iuuentaeque conubium per-
petuus est uirtutis adsertor omnibusque fortium uirorum laboribus fauet,
7 in omni certamine conatus adiuuat iustiores. His quidem certe diebus,
quibus immortalitatis origo celebratur, instigat, ut uidemus, illos a sacris
certaminibus accitos ut pertinaci animositate certandi multa faciant ip-
8 sius similia Victoris. Adeo, sacratissime imperator, utraque uestra numina
semper aliquid agunt agendumue curant, ut iam nobis illa quam pro uobis
susceperamus cura ponenda sit, cum non laborare uos sed parentes deos
uideamus imitari, cumque praeterea ingenitum illum uobis diuinae men-
tis ardorem etiam earum quae primae uos suscepere regionum alacritas
9 excitarit. Non enim in otiosa aliqua deliciisque corrupta parte terrarum
nati institutique estis, sed in his prouinciis quas ad infatigabilem consue-
tudinem laboris atque patientiae fracto licet oppositus hosti, armis tamen
semper instructus limes exercet, in quibus omnis uita militia est, quarum
etiam feminae ceterarum gentium uiris fortiores sunt.

4 Ex istis ergo causis stirpis uestrae patriorumque institutorum illa
eueniunt quae saepe miramur, interdum etiam pro amoris impatientia
timebamus, quod expeditiones uestras numerare non possumus, quod
diutius in isdem manere uestigiis dedignamini, quod uos a continuo cursu
rerum gerendarum non modo amoenitas locorum aut nobilitas urbium
2 sed ne ipsa quidem uictoriarum uestrarum laetitia remoratur. Illum
modo Syria uiderat: iam Pannonia susceperat. Tu modo Galliae oppida
inlustraueras: iam summas arces Monoeci Herculis praeteribas. Ambo,
cum ad Orientem Occidentemque occupari putaremini, repente in medio
3 Italiae gremio apparuistis. Hos fructus capitis operum maximorum,
sic interim meritorum conscientia triumphatis, dum triumphos ipsos
semper uincendo differtis, quod quaecumque pulcherrima facitis continuo
transitis et ad maiora properatis ut, dum uestigia uestra miramur dumque
uos adhuc esse in conspectu putamus, iam de uobis audiamus longinqua
4 miracula. Ita omnes prouinciae uestrae, quas diuina celeritate peragrastis,
ubi sitis uicissim nesciunt: sciunt tamen uos ubique uicisse.

5 fauet et *Liuineius* 7 a *del. h* 9 ad eos ac imp. *M, corr. X2* 16 hosti *C. G. Schwarz*: hostis *M* (fractus . . . hostis *w*, fracto l. opposito hoste *Liuineius*) 17 limes *M Bert*: miles *Puteolanus* 19 illa eueniunt *w*: ille (illa *Liuineius*) ueniunt *M* 33 quas *X2 w*: quam *M*

Sed de rebus bellicis uictoriisque uestris, sacratissime imperator, et **5**
multi summa eloquentia praediti saepe dixerunt et ego pridem, cum
mihi auditionis tuae diuina dignatio eam copiam tribuit, quantum potui
praedicaui. Hodie uero si de duabus rebus, quas ad hoc tempus aptissi- 2
mas nisi fallor elegi, dicere mihi fauente uestra maiestate contigerit, de
ceteris ueniam silentii petam. Non commemoro igitur uirtute uestra rem 3
publicam dominatu saeuissimo liberatam, non dico exacerbatas saeculi
prioris iniuriis per clementiam uestram ad obsequium redisse prouincias,
mitto etiam dies festos uictoriis triumphisque celebratos, taceo trophaea
Germanica in media defixa barbaria, transeo limitem Raetiae repentina 4
hostium clade promotum, omitto Sarmatiae uastationem oppressumque
captiuitatis uinculis Sarracenum, etiam illa quae armorum uestrorum ter-
rore facta sunt uelut armis gesta praetereo, Francos ad petendam pacem
cum rege uenientes Parthumque uobis munerum miraculis blandientem:
nouam mihi propono dicendi legem ut, cum omnia uidear silere quae 5
summa sint, ostendam tamen inesse laudibus uestris alia maiora.

Quae igitur illa sunt? Pietas uestra, sacratissime imperator, atque **6**
felicitas. Nam primum omnium, quanta uestra est erga deos pietas,
quos aris simulacris templis donariis, uestris denique nominibus adscrip-
tis, adiunctis imaginibus ornastis, sanctioresque fecistis exemplo uestrae
uenerationis! Nunc enim uere homines intellegunt . . . ac potestas deorum, 2
cum tam impense colantur a uobis. Deinde, id quod maxime deorum im- 3
mortalium cum religione coniunctum est, quanta uosmet inuicem pietate
colitis! Quae enim umquam uidere saecula talem in summa potestate
concordiam? Qui germani geminiue fratres indiuiso patrimonio tam ae-
quabiliter utuntur quam uos orbe Romano? Ex quo profecto manifestum 4
est ceterorum hominum animas esse humiles et caducas, uestras uero
caelestes et sempiternas. Obtrectant inuicem sibi artifices operum sor- 5
didorum, est inter aliquos etiam canorae uocis inuidia, nihil denique tam
uile tamque uulgare est cuius participes malignis aemulationis stimulis
uacent: uester uero immortalis animus omnibus opibus omnique fortuna
atque ipso est maior imperio. Vobis Rhenus et Hister et Nilus et cum 6

1 uictoriisque *h X2 w*: -ribusque *M* 5 contigerit *w*: conterit *M* 7 exaceruatas *M* 12 Sarracenum *Itali*: Sarac- *M* 13 petendum *Bert* 14 Partumque *M, corr. cw* 19 quos *X2*: quo *M* 21 ac *M*: '*forsan* quaenam potestas, *uel* quaenam magnitudo *uel* sublimitas, ac pot.' *Rhenanus*, quanta *Eldik*, quanta sit *Rühl*, quae uis ac *Thörnell*, quae *uel* quae sit *W. Baehrens* 22 denique *Bert* 24 enim umquam *Rühl*, ulla umquam *X2*, umquam *w*: nimiumquam *M* 29 alios *Eyssenhardt*

gemino Tigris Eufrate et uterque qua solem accipit ac reddit Oceanus et
quidquid est inter ista terrarum et fluminum et litorum, tam facili sunt
aequanimitate communia quam sibi gaudent esse communem oculi diem.
7 Ita duplices uobis diuinae potentiae fructus pietas uestra largitur: et suo
uterque fruitur et consortis imperio.

7 Laurea illa de uictis accolentibus Syriam nationibus et illa Raetica et
2 illa Sarmatica te, Maximiane, fecerunt pio gaudio triumphare; itidemque
hic gens Chaibonum Erulorumque deleta et Transrhenana uictoria et
domitis oppressa Francis bella piratica Diocletianum uotorum compotem
3 reddiderunt. Diuidere inter uos dii immortales sua beneficia non possunt;
4 quidquid alterutri praestatur amborum est. Obstupescerent certe omnes
homines admiratione uestri, etiam si uos idem parens eademque mater
5 ad istam concordiam Naturae legibus imbuissent. At enim quanto hoc
est admirabilius uel pulchrius quod uos castra, quod proelia, quod pares
uictoriae fecere fratres! Dum uirtutibus uestris fauetis, dum pulcherrima
inuicem facta laudatis, dum ad summum fortunae fastigium pari gradu
6 tenditis, diuersum sanguinem adfectibus miscuistis. Non fortuita in uo-
bis est germanitas sed electa; notum est saepe eisdem parentibus natos
esse dissimiles, certissimae fraternitatis est usque ad imperium similitudo.
Quin etiam interuallum uestrae uincit aetatis et seniorem iunioremque
caritate mutua reddit aequales, ut iam illum falso dictum sit non delec-
7 tari societate rerum nisi pares annos. Intellegimus enim, sacratissimi
principes, geminum uobis, quamuis dispares sitis aetatibus, inesse con-
sensum: neque tu illi uideris promptior neque tibi ille cunctantior, sed
inuicem uosmet imitamini, inuicem uestros adfectatis annos. Sic uos
geritis quasi iuniores ambo, ⟨ambo⟩ seniores. Neuter plus suis moribus
fauet; uterque se uult hoc esse quod frater est.

8 Inde igitur proxime illa impatientia uestrae pietatis erupit quod uos
nulla regionum longinquitas, nulla iniquitas locorum, nulla tempestatis
asperitas retinere aut morari potuit, quominus ad conspectum uestri per-
2 uolaretis. Neque enim illud progressio fuit nec itineris confectio nec

1 qua solem *Cl. Puteanus*, qua lucem *Gruter*, qua diem *Aem. Baehrens*: qualem *M* accipit *Cl. Puteanus*: accepit *M* ac *M*: et *X2* 2 littorum *Puteolanus*, tectorum *w*: retorum *M* 3 quam *w*, quantum *X2*: quamquam *M* 6 deuictis *M*, *corr. w* Syriam *w*: Syria *M* 8 Chaibonum *Itali*: Cayuonum (*ut uidetur*) *H*, Caiu- *X2 Bert*, Cayn- *X1* (Cayu- *M*?) 9 domitis *w*: domiciis *M* 14 est *om. Bert* 18–19 sed ... est *Cusp*, *om. M* (germanitatis *X2*); *cui haec glossema olent, naso ei non inuideo* 20 quin *Rhenanus*: quaene *M* iunioremque *X et* (*nisi fallor*) *H*: minoremque *Bert et cod. Napocensis* 21 reddite quales *M*, *corr. w* 22 societate *w*: -tatem *M* 26 geritis *Aem. Baehrens*, fertis *w*: certis *M* ambo *ante* sen. *add. Liuineius*, *ante* iun. *w*, *om. M* 28 illa *Langius*: ille *M*

solitis adminiculis usa properatio. Quid simile concitus eques aut ueliuola 3
nauis? Diuinus quidam impetus fuit, quo repente in eundem locum ab
utroque solis aduerso fine uenistis; ipsos siquidem quos praemiseratis nun-
tios reliquistis, ipsam quae uos conata est praeuenire Famam praeuertistis,
ut absque paucissimis qui uobis comites haerere potuerunt ceteri homines
fortasse crediderint, quod dignum est maiestate uestra, diurna uobis et
nocturna curricula utraque mundi lumina commodasse. Sed remouea- 4
mus istinc fabulas imperitorum, uerum loquamur: uestra uobis pietas,
sacratissime imperator, uolucres dedit cursus. Etenim cum nihil sit ani- 5
mo uelocius, uos, quorum igneae immortalesque mentes minime sentiunt
corporum moras, peruecti estis ad uos mutui desiderii celeritate.

Sed qua tandem uice temporum, quo tempestatis habitu! Nempe **9**
hieme saeuissima et his quoque regionibus inusitata, cum agros glacies,
glaciem niues premerent caelo pariter ac terris uniformibus, cumque ipsi
anhelitus hominum circa sua ora concreti rigore canescerent. Adeo, ut 2
res est, aduersus inclementiam locorum ac siderum uestrae uos maiestatis
potentia tuebatur, et ceteris hominibus atque regionibus ui frigorum
adstrictis et oppressis uos solos aurae lenes uernique flatus et diductis
nubibus ad itinera uestra directi solis radii sequebantur. Tanta facilitate 3
illa quae tunc aliis forent inaccessibilia superastis, atque inde Iulias hinc
Cottias Alpes quasi relictas aestu arenas patentium litorum transcurristis.
Eant nunc rerum ueterum praedicatores et Hannibalem illum multis 4
laboribus magnaque exercitus sui diminutione Alpes penetrasse mirentur!
Vos, inuictissimi imperatores, prope soli Alpium uias hibernis niuibus
obstructas diuinis uestigiis aperuistis, ut quondam Hercules per eadem
illa culmina Hiberiae spolia incomitatus abduxit.

Tum, si fortunae causaeque Hannibalis ac uestrorum itinerum com- **10**
parentur, quanto haec uestra dis hominibusque acceptiora sunt, quanto
laude ac sempiterna memoria digniora! Tunc Poeno ex summis Alpibus 2
uiso Italia contremuit, statim pecua agrique deserti, omnes familiae rusti-
canae siluas et ferarum cubilia petiuere. Quo nuntio accepto omnibus 3

1 simile *Gruter*: simili *M* concitus eques *Bert w*: concitu seques (eques *X2*) *M* tueli uola *H*, tue liuola *X*, *corr. h X2 w* 6 crediderint *Puteolanus*: -runt *M* quod *w*: quo id *M*: quod id *Bert* 13 agros *Cusp*: algor *M* 14 glaciem *del. w* 17 et *Puteolanus*: ut *M* 18 lenes *M*: leues *Itali passim* diductis *M Bert*: ded- *X* 19 radii *h X2 w*: radiis *M* 20 aliis *wp*: alis *M* florent *H* 22 eant *h X2 w*: eat *M* 23 deminutione *H* 25 Hercules *h X2 w*: -lis *M* 28 quanto *X2 w*: quanta *M* quanto (2°) *Puteolanus*: quanta *M* 29 Peno *M*, *corr. d* 30 pecua *M*: pecu *hd*, pascua *Langius* agroque *w* deserti *Bert c*, -ta *X2*: deserto *M*

oppidis matres Italae pensa e manibus abiecerunt, paruos liberos arreptos
ad templa traxerunt, ibi aedes sacras passo capillo suo quaeque uerrebat,
uario planctu ploratuque futuris cladibus omina dabant, Trasimennum
4 et Cannas dolore praesago praecanebant. Nunc autem, ut primum ex
utrisque Alpium iugis uestrum numen effulsit, tota Italia clarior lux dif-
fusa, omnibus qui suspexerant aeque admiratio atque dubitatio iniecta,
ecquinam di de illis montium uerticibus orirentur, an his gradibus in ter-
5 ras caelo descenderent. Vt uero propius propiusque coepti estis agnosci,
omnes agri oppleti non hominibus modo ad uisendum procurrentibus sed
etiam pecudum gregibus remota pascua et nemora linquentibus, concur-
sare inter se agricolae, nuntiare totis ⟨suis⟩ uisa, arae incendi, tura poni,
uina libari, uictimae caedi, cuncta gaudio calere, cuncta plausibus tripu-
diare, dis immortalibus laudes gratesque cantari, non opinione traditus
sed conspicuus et praesens Iuppiter cominus inuocari, non aduena sed
imperator Hercules adorari.

11 Quid illud, di boni! Quale pietas uestra spectaculum dedit, cum in
Mediolanensi palatio admissis qui sacros uultus adoraturi erant conspecti
estis ambo, et consuetudinem simplicis uenerationis geminato numine
2 repente turbastis! Nemo ordinem numinum solita secutus est disciplina;
omnes adorandi mora restiterunt duplicato pietatis officio contumaces.
3 Atque haec quidem uelut interioribus sacrariis operta ueneratio eorum
modo animos obstupefecerat quibus aditum uestri dabant ordines digni-
tatis. Vt uero limine egressi per mediam urbem simul uehebamini, tecta
ipsa se, ut audio, paene commouerunt, omnibus uiris feminis paruulis
senibus aut per fores in publicum proruentibus aut per superiora aedium
4 limina imminentibus. Clamare omnes prae gaudio, iam sine metu uestri
et palam manu demonstrare: 'Vides Diocletianum? Maximianum uides?
Ambo sunt! Pariter sunt! Quam iunctim sedent! Quam concorditer
5 conloquuntur! Quam cito transeunt!' Nemo studio suo par fuit oculis
ad intuendum, dumque uos alterna cupiditate mirantur, neutrum satis
uidere potuerunt.

1 Italae *Puteolanus*: Italie *M* pensa e *Cusp*, pensa *cw*: pense *M* arreptos *cod. Vat. lat. 1775*: abreptos *M* 3 omina *d*: omnia *M* Thrasymennum (-sim- *X*) *M* 6 aeque *Liuineius*: atque *M* (*del. w*) admiratio *cw*: -ati *M* 7 ecquinam *Liuineius*, est quinam *w*: et qui nam *M* di de] dei *Gruter*: de *M* 8 e caelo *w* 10 linquentibus *X2 w*: liqu- *M* 11 notis *Liuineius* suis *addidi, om. M* ar(a)e *X2*: aree *M* 14 aduocari *Bert* 22 animos *h X2 w*: an mos *M* obstufecerat *H* (*recte Napocensis*) 25 senibus *X2 w*: sensibus *M* 26 omnes *w*, omnibus uiis *Goetze*: omnibus *M* 28 iunctim *Bert*: iuncti *M*

Ipsa etiam gentium domina Roma immodico propinquitatis uestrae 12
elata gaudio uosque e speculis suorum montium prospicere conata, quo
se uultibus uestris propius expleret, ad intuendum cominus quantum po-
tuit accessit. Lumina siquidem senatus sui misit beatissimae illi per eos 2
dies Mediolanensium ciuitati similitudinem maiestatis suae libenter im-
partiens, ut ibi tunc esse sedes imperii uideretur quo uterque uenerat
imperator. Interim tamen, dum mihi ante oculos pono cotidiana uestra 3
conloquia, coniunctas in omni sermone dextras, ioca seriaque communi-
cata, obtutu mutuo transacta conuiuia, illa me cogitatio subit quanam ani-
mi magnitudine ad reuisendos exercitus uestros discesseritis pietatemque
uestram utilitate rei publicae uiceritis. Qui tunc uestri sensus fuere, qui 4
uultus! Quam impatientes ad dissimulandum indicium perturbationis
oculi! Respexistis profecto saepius, neque haec de uobis uana finguntur.
Talia uobis dedistis omina, cito ad conspectum mutuum reuersuri. 5

Facilis est mihi transitus, sacratissime imperator, ab hac pietatis ue- 13
strae laude ad praedicationem felicitatis. Hoc enim ipsum felicitatis est
quod ut conspicere uos inuicem complectique possitis in manu uestra est.
Solem ipsum lunamque cernimus, quia totius mundi funguntur officiis, 2
non nisi post multa saecula certa lege temporum conuenire: uestra tam
libera est et beata maiestas, ut in summis rebus generis humani nihil
uobis necesse sit nisi uestrae parere pietati. Ceterum si quis ad humana 3
respiciat, quanto magis magnitudo uestrae felicitatis appareat! Homines
priuatis rebus intenti ita plerumque propriis difficultatibus implicantur, ut
omni aeuo careant aditu suorum; uos tantae rei publicae administratione 4
suscepta, quos huc atque illuc tot urbes tot castra tot limites tot circumiecta
Romano imperio flumina montes litora uocant, tantum animis ac fortuna
ualetis ut in unum conuenire possitis, nihilominus orbe securo. Neque 5
enim pars ulla terrarum maiestatis uestrae praesentia caret, etiam cum
ipsi abesse uideamini.

Ne tantulum quidem barbarae nationes audent animos attollere quod 14
uos in interiorem imperii uestri sinum secesseritis: quin immo ipsi magis in
uobis fiduciam pertimescunt, quod se contemni sentiunt cum relinquun-
tur. Itaque illud quod de uestro cecinit poeta Romanus Ioue, Iouis omnia 2
esse ⟨plena⟩, id scilicet animo contemplatus, quamquam ipse Iuppiter

4 ueatissime *M, corr. X2 w* 6 cedes *H* 7 tamen *om. Bert* 8 coniuncta si nomini *M, corr. h X2 w* dextera si o caseriaque *M, corr. h X2* (dextras *iubentibus numeris posui*) 9 conuiuia *Puteolanus*: connubia *M Bert* 12 impatientes *Cl. Puteanus*: pacientes *M* indicium *h Itali*: iudicium *M* 14 omnia *X1* 18 qui *Liuineius* 24 omnia euocarent *M Bert, corr. Cl. Puteanus* 34 plena (*e Verg. buc. 3.60*) *add. hic Klotz et* (*deleto* esse) *Liuineius, ante* Iouis *Puteolanus, om. M*

summum caeli uerticem teneat supra nubila supraque uentos sedens in
luce perpetua, numen tamen eius ac mentem toto infusam esse mundo,
3 id nunc ego de utroque uestrum audeo praedicare: ubicumque sitis, in
unum licet palatium concesseritis, diuinitatem uestram ubique uersari,
4 omnes terras omniaque maria plena esse uestri. Quid enim mirum si,
cum possit hic mundus Iouis esse plenus, possit et Herculis?

15 Admonet me et temporis et loci ratio et maiestatis tuae reuerentia ut
finem dicendi faciam, quamquam de felicitate uestra tam pauca dixerim et
2 tam multa restent. Sed ecce suggerunt: 'Adhuc potes dicere de salubritate
3 temporum et fertilitate terrarum.' Reuera enim, sacratissime imperator,
scimus omnes, ante quam uos salutem rei publicae redderetis, quanta
frugum inopia quanta funerum copia fuerit, fame passim morbisque gras-
santibus. Vt uero lucem gentibus extulistis, exinde salutares spiritus iugiter
4 manant. Nullus ager fallit agricolam, nisi quod spem ubertate superat.
Hominum aetates et numerus augetur. Rumpunt horrea conditae messes,
et tamen cultura duplicatur. Vbi siluae fuere, iam seges est: metendo et
uindemiando defecimus.

16 Illud uero, non suggeratur licet, quoquo modo dicam ante quam
desinam: tantam esse imperii uestri felicitatem ⟨ut⟩ undique se barbarae
nationes uicissim lacerent et excidant, alternis dimicationibus et insidiis
clades suas duplicent et instaurent, Sarmaticas uestras et Raeticas et
2 Transrhenanas expeditiones furore percitae in semet imitentur. Sancte
Iuppiter et Hercules bone, tandem bella ciuilia ad gentes illa uesania
dignas transtulistis, omnemque illam rabiem extra terminos huius imperii
3 in terras hostium distulistis. Etenim, quod ait ille Romani carminis primus
auctor,

a sole exoriente usque ad Maeotis paludes,

id nunc longius longiusque protendere licet, si qui hostilem in mutua
4 clade uesaniam toto orbe percenseat. Etenim ab ipso solis ortu non modo
circa Maeotim ac sub extrema septentrionis plaga, qua feruidum caput
5 Danubius euoluit quaque horridus secat Alba Germaniam, sed etiam sub
ipso lucis occasu, qua Tingitano litori Calpitani montis obuium latus in

9 potes *w*: potest *M* dicere *cw*: ducere *M* 12 fuerit *C. G. Schwarz*: fuit *M* 17 deficimus *e codd. C. G. Schwarz* 18 quoquo *Acidalius et Gruter*: quo *M* 19 desinant tanta messe *M, corr. w* (*nota interrogationis post* desinam *posita*) ut *add. w, om. M* 22 Transrhenanas *d*: -rhenas *M* 23 illa *Liuineius*: illas *M* 24 dignas *Puteolanus*, digna *w*: digni *M* 27 usque ad *Liuineius*: adusque *M* (*Ennius, uaria 21 V.*) 30 circa Maeotim ac *Liuineius*: hac circa (citra *M*) Meotis *M Bert* 31 Alba *M Bert*: Albis *Puteolanus* 32 litori Scalpitani *w*: litoris Calpitano *M*

mediterraneos sinus admittit Oceanum, ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum
populi, quibus numquam contigit esse Romanis, obstinataeque feritatis
poenas nunc sponte persoluunt.

Furit in uiscera sua gens effrena Maurorum, Gothi Burgundos peni- **17**
tus excidunt, rursumque pro uictis armantur Alamanni itemque Teruingi;
pars alia Gothorum adiuncta manu Taifalorum aduersum Vandalos Gi-
pedesque concurrunt. Ipsos Persas ipsumque regem adscitis Sacis et Rufiis 2
et Gelis petit frater Ormies nec respicit uel pro maiestate quasi regem uel
pro pietate quasi fratrem. Burgundiones Alamannorum agros occupauere, 3
sed sua quoque clade quaesitos. Alamanni terras amisere sed repetunt.
O magnam uim numinis uestri! Non istae modo aliaeque gentes uiribus 4
armisque terribiles fiducia instructae ad perniciem immanitatis utuntur,
sed etiam Blemyes illi, ut audio, leuibus modo adsueti sagittis aduersus
Aethiopas quaerunt arma quae non habent, et paene nudis odiis proelia
interneciua committunt.

Iam de perduellibus ultionem non armis, non exercitu capitis, sic- **18**
ut hucusque fecistis; iam, inquam, fortunatissimi imperatores, felicitate
uincitis sola. Ecquid umquam Romani principes de felicitate sua praedi- 2
cari laetius audierunt quam cum diceretur hostes quiescere, otiosos esse,
pacem colere. At enim quanto hoc est laetabilius ac melius quod de 3
prosperitate saeculi uestri certatim omnium hominum ⟨sermo⟩ circum-
fert: 'Barbari ad arma, sed inuicem dimicaturi! Vicerunt barbari, sed
consanguineos suos!' Tam innumeros uobis, tam nouos ex omni hostium 4
genere successus Fortuna suppeditat, ut iam mihi necesse sit illa quae
initio separaueram rursus hic communi laude coniungere, dum tantorum
euentuum quaero rationem: felicitatem istam, optimi imperatores, pietate 5
meruistis!

Optime igitur, quantum arbitror, sacratissime imperator, haec potis- **19**
sima elegi quae gemino natali tuo praedicarem. Etenim ceterae uirtutes 2
et bona cetera processu aetatis eueniunt: fortitudo annis accedentibus
roboratur, continentia disciplinae praeceptis traditur, iustitia cognitione
iuris addiscitur, ipsa denique illa quae uidetur rerum omnium domina
esse sapientia perspectis hominum moribus et exploratis rerum docetur

2 contigit *X2*: -tingit *M c* 6 Taifalorum *Bert*: Thaif- *M* Bandalos *M, corr. Itali* 7 Saccis et Ruffis et Gellis *M* 8 uel *X2 w*: ue *M* 10 quaesitos *Liuineius*: -tas *M* 11 uiribus *w*: -busque *M* 15 internecina *X1* 16 exercit d' *H* 17 felicitate u. sola *Aem. Baehrens*: -tatem u. soli *M* 18 et quid *M* 21 sermo *add. hic Klotz, post* circumfert (*calcatis ut semper numeris*) *Aem. Baehrens, om. M* 22 barbaria darma *M* (damna *w*), *corr. Langius* 26 quaero *M*: credo *Bert* 29 genuino *H* 33 hominum *Liuineius*: omnium *M*

euentis. Solae cum nascentibus pariter oriuntur pietas atque felicitas; natu-
3 ralia sunt enim animorum bona et praemia fatorum. Gemini ergo natales pias uobis mentes et imperatorias tribuere fortunas, atque inde sanctitatis uestrae omniumque successuum manat exordium quod nascentes uos ad
4 opes generis humani bona sidera et amica uiderunt. Quae uobis concordiam sempiternam et uestrorum generum caritatem et fouendae rei publicae studia conciliant, itemque praeter uictorias toto orbe terrarum
5 partas etiam naualia trophaea promittunt, ut post bella Punica, post Asiae Syriaeque reges Romani rostra campi nouis ornetis exuuiis, et oblitos iam Quirites in memoriam reducatis cur ille sollemnis contionibus locus Ro-
6 stra uocitetur. Dico enim magna certaque fiducia: digna est hac quoque gloria uestra pietas, et potest eam praestare felicitas.

2 genuini *H* 5 opes *M*: spes *h* 9 ornetis *w*: ornet his *M* 10 sollemnis *cwp*: -nes *M* 11 hac *Bert hw*: hec *M* 12 Finit Genethliacus Maximiani Augusti *add. X2*

VIII (V)

⟨INCERTI PANEGYRICUS CONSTANTIO CAESARI DICTUS⟩

Si mihi, Caesar inuicte, post diuturnum silentium sola esset uin- 1
cenda trepidatio qua rudimenta quaedam uocis meae rursus experior, haud immerito me ultra quam aetas et quantulacumque studii mei ferret opinio perturbari confiterer, praesertim cum apud maiestatem tuam diuina uirtutum uestrarum miracula praedicarem. Quo in genere ora- 2
tionis quanta esset cura, quantus labor, quam sollicita ueneratio, sensi etiam cum in cotidiana illa instituendae iuuentutis exercitatione uersarer. Quaeuis enim prima tunc in renascentem rem publicam patris ac patrui 3
tui merita, licet dicendo aequare non possem, possem tamen uel censere numerando. Sed [et] cum et me illo uetere curriculo aut inter adyta palatii 4
uestri alia quaedam sermonis arcani ratio demouerit aut post indultam a pietate uestra quietem studium ruris abduxerit, et uos interim nullum ulciscendae augendaeque rei publicae uacuum tempus amiseritis; cum tot postea uirtute uestra partae uictoriae, tot excisae undique barbarae nationes, tot translati sint in rura Romana cultores, ⟨tot⟩ prolati limites, tot prouinciae restitutae, haereo prorsus et stupeo, et praeter illam ex otio meo 5
tarditatem tanta rerum mole deterreor, ut hoc uno nitar hortatu quod ex

2 Incipit quartus *M* 11 quaeuis *dubitanter scripsi*: quamuis *M* enim *M*: ibi *Aem. Baehrens* 12 uel censere *M*: recensere *Bert* 13 et cum et *M*: et cum *Bert*: cum et *X2*, cum *w* me *Novák*, me ex *Liuineius*, me in eo *w*: meo *H*: in eo *X*: in meo *Bert* curr. illo uetere *Bert* 14 alia *M*: alta *Langius* 15 interim *X2* (*om. X1*): inter *H* 18 in rura *W. Baehrens*, rura in *w*, in *Liuineius*: in Roma in *M*: in Romam (*om.* Romana) *Bert* tot *add. Acidalius, om. M*

quantacumque desidia quamuis maxime orationi imparem ⟨parem⟩ facis
Caesar auditor, praesertim cum fauente numine tuo ipse ille iam pridem
mihi, qui me in lucem primus eduxit, diuinarum patris tui aurium aditus
6 euenerit. Quo facilius maiestatis tuae recordatione confisus, possim illa
quae tunc dicta sunt praeterire atque hunc sermonem ab his quae secuta
sunt inchoare.

2 Quamquam multa mihi ex illis quoque hoc in tempore necessario
transeunda sunt ac potissimum ea quibus officio delati mihi a diuinitate
uestra honoris interfui, captus scilicet rex ferocissimae nationis inter ipsas
quas moliebatur insidias et a ponte Rheni usque ad Danubii transitum
Guntiensem deusta atque exhausta penitus Alamannia; nam et maiora
sunt quam ut enarrari inter alia possint et, ne meis quoque stipendiis uidear
2 gloriari, sufficit conscientiae meae illa uidisse. Det igitur mihi, Caesar
inuicte, hodiernae gratulationis exordium diuinus ille uestrae maiestatis
ortus ipso quo inluxit auspicio ueris inlustrior, cui dies serenus atque,
ut celebrantes sensimus, ultra rationem temporis sol aestiuus incaluit,
augustiore fulgens luminis claritate quam cum originem mundi nascentis
3 animauit; siquidem tunc inter illa rerum tenera primordia moderatus
dicitur ne noceret ardentior, nunc certasse creditur ne maiestate uestra
uideretur obscurior.

3 O felix beatumque uer nouo partu, iam non amoenitate florum nec
uiriditate segetum nec gemmis uitium nec ipsis tantum fauoniis et luce
reserata laetum atque uenerabile, quantum ortu Caesarum maximorum!
O tempus quo merito quondam omnia nata esse credantur, cum eodem
nunc confirmata uideamus! O kalendae Martiae, sicuti olim annorum
2 uoluentium, ita nunc aeternorum auspices imperatorum! Quanta enim,
inuictissimi principes, et uobis et rei publicae saecula propagatis orbis
uestri participando tutelam? Cuius licet esset omni hoste perdomito
certa securitas, nimios tamen in diuersa discursus uel reuisenda posce-
3 bat. Partho quippe ultra Tigrim redacto, Dacia restituta, porrectis usque
ad Danubii caput Germaniae Raetiaeque limitibus, destinata Batauiae
Britanniaeque uindicta, gubernacula maiora quaerebat aucta atque au-
genda res publica et, qui Romanae potentiae terminos uirtute protulerant,
imperium filio pietate debebant.

1 parem facis *Liuineius*: facit *M* 4 possum *Acidalius* 11 Guntiensem *dubitanter in adnotatione Liuineius*, Continensem *Rhenanus*, continenter *Langius*: Contiensem *M Bert* 13 det *Acidalius*: de te *M* 22 fauoniis *Puteolanus*: -nis *M* 23 reserata *Brandt*, serenata *Puteolanus*: serata *M* 27 propagatis *w*: -gati *M Bert*

Et sane praeter usum curamque rei publicae etiam illa Iouis et **4**
Herculis cognata maiestas in Iouio Herculioque principibus totius mundi
caelestiumque rerum similitudinem requirebat. Quippe isto numinis 2
uestri numero summa omnia nituntur et gaudent, elementa quattuor
et totidem anni uices et orbis quadrifariam duplici discretus Oceano et
emenso quater caelo lustra redeuntia et quadrigae Solis et duobus caeli
luminibus adiuncti Vesper et Lucifer. Sed neque Sol ipse neque cuncta 3
sidera humanas res tam perpetuo lumine intuentur quam uos tuemini, qui
sine ullo fere discrimine dierum ac noctium inlustratis orbem, salutique
gentium non his modo quibus immortales uultus uestri uigent sed multo
magis illis diuinarum mentium uestrarum oculis prouidetis, nec solum
qua dies oritur et praeterit et conditur sed etiam ex illa septentrionali
plaga salutari beatis luce prouincias: adeo, Caesar, uestra in orbem
terrarum distributa beneficia prope plura sunt quam deorum. Quibus 4
ego si omnibus immorari uelim, neque hic dies mihi totus neque proximus
neque porro ceteri sat erunt; et habenda ratio est temporis, Caesare stante
dum loquimur.

Adoratae sint igitur mihi Sarmaticae expeditiones quibus illa gens **5**
prope omnis exstincta est et [cum] paene cum solo nomine relicta quo
seruiat. Dent ueniam trophaea Niliaca sub quibus Aethiops et Indus 2
intremuit. Contenta sit uoce gloriae suae etiam proxima illa ruina
Carporum. Reseruetur nuntiis iam iamque uenientibus Mauris immissa
uastatio. Aliis haec permittente maiestate uestra celebrabo temporibus; 3
di immortales, uota suscipio ut ipsis qui gessere praesentibus. Illa uero, 4
Caesar inuicte, quae ductu atque auspicio numinis tui gesta sunt, quorum
etiam spectaculo fruimur, sub hac occasione dignationis tuae sine dilatione
dicenda sunt, eo magis quod, quamuis in communibus rei publicae bonis,
necesse nobis quae propiora nobis sunt maxime [sunt] gratulari.

Statim itaque Gallias tuas, Caesar, ueniendo uicisti; siquidem illa **6**
celeritas, qua omnis ortus atque aduentus tui nuntios praeuertisti, cepit
oppressam Gesorigiacensibus muris pertinacem tunc errore misero ma-
num piraticae factionis atque illis olim mari fretis adluentem portas ademit
Oceanum. In quo diuina prouidentia tua et par consilio effectus apparuit, 2

6 remenso *Bert* lustrare deuncia *M*, *corr. w* 12 praeterit Patarol: -itur *M* 16 Cesares tante *M*, *corr. cw* 18 sint *Liuineius*: sunt *M* 19 cum paene cum *M*: cum *prius om. X2, alterum del. w* 20 ueniam *X2 w*: ueniant *M* 28 nobis (*1°*) *M Bert*: est *w*, est nos *W. Baehrens* propiora *Liuineius*, propria *Itali* (*cod. Vat. lat. 1775*): priora *M Bert* sunt (*2°*) *M*: scilicet *Bert*: *del. w* 29 uicisti *M*: fecisti *Bert* 30 peruertisti *X* (preuenisti *w*) 31 Gesorigiam censibus *M*, *corr. w*: Gesoriacensibus *Liuineius* manum *Langius*: Romanum *M* 33 effectus *Puteolanus*: affectus *M*

qui omnem illum sinum portus, quem statis uicibus aestus alternat, defixis
in aditu trabibus ingestisque saxis inuium nauibus reddidisti atque ipsam
loci naturam admirabili ratione superasti, cum mare frustra reciprocum
prohibitis fuga quasi inludere uideretur tamque nullo usu iuuaret inclusos,
3 quasi redire desisset. Quaenam umquam mirabimur ualla castrorum post
4 hoc nouum in mari uallum? Quid erit mirum si qua murorum aut arieti
non cesserit firmitas aut machinas despexerit altitudo, cum Oceanus ille
tanto libratus impetu, tanta mole consurgens, siue ulterioribus, ut ferunt,
terris repulsus siue anhelitu quem respirat euectus seu quacumque alia
ratione motus, numquam tua, Caesar, claustra perfregerit neque omnino
conuellerit tot dierum ac noctium receptu recursuque?—cum tot interim,
qua terras circumfluit, litora solueret ripasque defringeret, uno illo, ut
res est, loco aut potentia uestrae maiestatis inferior aut pro debito uobis
honore clementior.

7 Xerses, ut audio, Persarum rex potentissimus, pedicas iecit aureas in
profundum, Neptunum se dictitans adligare quia fluctibus ferociret, stulta
2 ille iactantia et sacrilega uanitate. At enim tua, Caesar, diuina prouidentia
et efficaci est usa consilio nec insultauit elemento, ut non prouocaret odium
3 sed mereretur obsequium. Quid enim aliud interpretemur cum, statim
atque obsidionem necessitas et clementiae uestrae fides soluerat, eadem
claustra qui primus incubuit aestus inruperit, totaque illa, quoad usus
fuit, inuicta fluctibus acies arborum ueluti signo dato et peracta statione
dilapsa sit, ut nemo dubitaret portum illum, qui piratae ne suis opem
ferret occlusus fuisset, nobis ad uictoriam sponte patuisse? Potuisset enim,
Caesar inuicte, illo uirtutis ac felicitatis tuae impetu totum peragi continuo
bellum, nisi aedificandis nauibus dari tempus rei necessitudo suasisset.
4 Quo tamen omni numquam ab eorum hostium euersione cessatum est
quos adiri continens terra permisit.

8 Quamquam illa regio diuinis expeditionibus tuis, Caesar, uindicata
atque purgata, quam obliquis meatibus Scaldis interfluit quamque diuor-
tio sui Rhenus amplectitur, paene (ut cum uerbi periculo loquar) terra
2 non est: ita penitus aquis imbuta permaduit ut non solum qua manifeste
palustris est cedat ad nisum et hauriat pressa uestigium, sed etiam ubi

6 murorum *w*: uirorum *M* 9 quem *w*, quo *Puteolanus*: que *M* 10 numquam *Puteolanus*, nequaquam *w*: quamquam *M* tua *X2 w*: tu *M* 11 recepture cursuque *M*, *corr. w* 12 diffringeret *Liuineius* 13 potentia *w*: -tiae *M* 15 Xerses *M* 16 stulta *w*: stulla *M* 18 efficaci *d*: -cia *M* consilio *Itali* (*cod. Vat. lat. 1775*): -cilio *M* 21 incubuit *w*, insiluit *X2*: insubuit *M* 23 illum *X2 w*: ille *M* 24 ferret *Cusp*: ferrent *M* 27 omni tempore *w* 30 Scaldis *w*, calidis *X2*: Caldis *M Bert* 32 qua *w*: quam *M*

paulo uidetur firmior pedum pulsu temptata quatiatur et sentire se procul
pondus mota testetur. Ita, ut res est, subiacentibus innatat et suspensa 3
late uacillat, ut merito quis dixerit exercendum fuisse tali solo militem ad
nauale certamen. Sed neque illae fraudes locorum nec quae plura in- 4
erant perfugia siluarum barbaros tegere potuerunt quominus dicioni tuae
diuinitatis omnes sese dedere cogerentur, et cum coniugibus ac liberis
ceteroque examine necessitudinum ac rerum suarum ad loca olim deserta
transirent ut, quae fortasse ipsi quondam depraedando uastauerant, culta
redderent seruiendo.

Quis hoc umquam futurum, etiamsi coram uoluisset adfari, deus ante 9
uos principes persuadere potuisset quod nunc uidimus et uidemus: totis
porticibus ciuitatum sedere captiua agmina barbarorum, uiros attonita
feritate trepidantes, respicientes anus ignauiam filiorum nuptas marito-
rum, uinculis copulatos pueros ac puellas familiari murmure blandientes,
atque hos omnes prouincialibus uestris ad obsequium distributos, donec
ad destinatos sibi cultus solitudinum ducerentur. Insultare hercule com- 2
muni Galliarum nomine libet ⟨et⟩, quod pace uestra loquar, ipsis trium-
phum adsignare prouinciis. Arat ergo nunc mihi Chamauus et Frisius 3
et ille uagus, ille praedator exercitio squalidi ruris operatur et frequentat
nundinas meas pecore uenali et cultor barbarus laxat annonam. Quin 4
etiam si ad dilectum uocetur accurrit et obsequîs teritur et tergo coercetur
et seruire se militiae nomine gratulatur. Quid faciam, Caesar? Ignosce 5
si moror, ignosce si propero; multa enim illius temporis, quo transitus in
Britanniam parabatur, admirabilia uirtutum tuarum facta praetereo, dum
festino cupidus ad singularem illam uictoriam, qua uniuersa res publica
tandem est uindicata. Cuius magnitudo, Caesar inuicte, hactenus expli- 6
cabitur, ut prius dicam quam necessarium illud et difficile bellum fuerit
⟨quam⟩ quo magisterio confectum sit.

Minus indignum fuerat sub principe Gallieno quamuis triste harum 10
prouinciarum a Romana luce discidium. Tunc enim siue incuria rerum 2
siue quadam inclinatione fatorum omnibus fere membris erat truncata res

2 pondus mota *w*: mota pondus *M* aquis *post* est *add. w* 3 dixerit *w cod. Napocensis*: duxerit *M* talis solo milite *M*, *corr. w* 6 sese dedere *X2* (secedere *X1*): sesedere *H*: se dedere *W. Baehrens* 8 uastauerant *X2 w*: -erat *M* 10 uoluisset *w*: uoluistis et *M* 13 despicientes *Eyssenhardt* 14 copulatos *Eyssenhardt*: -tas *M* 16 hercule *Itali* (*cod. Paris. lat. 8556*): -li *M* 17 et *add. Liuineius, om. M* 18 Chamauus *Langius*: Chamaus *M* 19 squalidi *w*: squali *M Bert* ruris *d*: rudis *M Bert* 21 obsequiis *M* 22 Caesar *Bert*: Caesar auguste *M*: C. inuicte *W. Baehrens* 27 ut *M*: si *w* 28 quam *add. Acidalius*, deinde *W. Baehrens*, *om. M* magisterio *Galletier*, magistro *Aem. Baehrens*: magis *M* 30 Romana *w*: Roma *M* dissidium *M* rerum *M*: deorum *Eyssenhardt*

publica; tunc se nimium et Parthus extulerat et Palmyrenus aequauerat;
tota Aegyptus Syriaeque defecerant; amissa Raetia, Noricum Pannoni-
3 aeque uastatae; Italia ipsa gentium domina plurimarum urbium suarum
excidia maerebat; non erat tantum doloris in singulis, cum paene omnibus
4 careretur. Nunc uero toto orbe terrarum non modo qua Romanus fuerat
uirtute uestra recepto sed etiam qua hostilis edomito, cum totiens procul-
cata esset Alamannia, totiens obstricta Sarmatia, Iuthungi Quadi Carpi
totiens profligati, summittente se Gotho pace poscenda, supplicante per
munera rege Persarum, urebat animos (quod nunc denique confitemur)
una illa tanti imperii contumelia, eoque nobis intolerabilior uidebatur
quod gloriae sola restabat.

11 Et sane non, sicut Britanniae nomen unum, ita mediocris erat iacturae
rei publicae terra tanto frugum ubere, tanto laeta numero pastionum, tot
metallorum fluens riuis, tot uectigalibus quaestuosa, tot accincta portibus,
2 tanto immensa circuitu. Quam Caesar ille auctor uestri nominis cum Ro-
manorum primus intrasset, alium se orbem terrarum scripsit repperisse,
tantae magnitudinis arbitratus ut non circumfusa Oceano sed complexa
3 ipsum Oceanum uideretur. Sed enim illa aetate nec Britannia ullis erat ad
nauale bellum armata nauigiis et Romana res inde iam a Punicis Asiati-
cisque bellis, etiam recenti exercitata Piratico et propiore Mithridatico,
4 non magis terrestri quam nauali usu uigebat. Ad hoc natio etiam tunc
rudis et solis [Brittanni] Pictis modo et Hibernis adsueta hostibus adhuc
seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt, prope ut hoc uno
Caesar gloriari in illa expeditione debuerit quod nauigasset Oceanum.

12 Isto uero nefario latrocinio abducta primum a fugiente pirata classe quae olim Gallias tuebatur, aedificatisque praeterea plurimis in nostrum modum nauibus, occupata legione Romana, interclusis aliquot peregrinorum militum cuneis, contractis ad dilectum mercatoribus Gallicanis, sollicitatis per spolia ipsarum prouinciarum non mediocribus copiis barbarorum, atque his omnibus ad munia nautica flagitii illius auctorum magisterio eruditis, exercitibus autem uestris licet inuictis uirtute, tamen

1 nimium *M*: '*fortasse* nimirum' *Acidalius*, Medus *w* Parthus *cw*: parcius *M* Palymirenus *M*, *corr. Cusp* 2 Syriaeque *Liuineius*, et Syrie *w*: Syrie *M* 3 Italia *X2 w cod. Napocensis*: Italie *M* 4 tanti dolere *Liuineius* 7 obtrita *Langius* Iuthungi *Sirmondus*: uitungi *M* 8 summittentes egotho *M*, *corr. w* (-tes se Gotho *X2*) 9 rege *Puteolanus*: regem *M* animos *Aem. Baehrens* (urgebat animum *Cusp*): animo *M* 12 mediocri *Liuineius* iactura *w* 15 quam *w*: qua *M* 20 propiore *Cusp*, priore *Liuineius*: propriore *Bert X2 w* (proprio remith- *M*) 21 etiam natio *Bert* 22 rudis et solis *w*: rudes et soli *M* Brittanni *del. Aem. Baehrens* assueti . . . seminudi *w* 26 tuebatur *w*: tuebat *M* 30 auctoris *Bert*

in re maritima nouis malam coaluisse ex indignissimo latrocinio belli
molem audiebamus, licet de exitu fideremus. Nam et accesserat diuturna 2
sceleris impunitas quae desperatorum hominum inflarat audaciam, ut
illam inclementiam maris, quae uictoriam uestram fatali quadam necessi-
tate distulerat, pro sui terrore iactarent, nec consilio intermissum esse bel-
lum sed desperatione omissum crederent, adeo ut iam communis poenae
timore deposito archipiratam satelles occideret et illud auctoramentum
tanti discriminis putaret imperium.

Hoc igitur bellum tam necessarium, tam difficile aditu, tam inuetera- **13**
tum, tam instructum ita, Caesar, aggressus es ut, statim atque illo infestum
maiestatis tuae fulmen intenderas, confectum omnibus uideretur. Nam 2
primo omnium, in quo praecipue consulendum fuit, ne quid barbarae
nationes conuerso illuc numine tuo nouare temptarent, inuocata patris
tui maiestate prouisum est. Tu enim ipse, tu domine Maximiane, im- 3
perator aeterne, nouo itineris compendio aduentum diuinitatis tuae ac-
celerare dignatus repente Rheno institisti, omnemque illum limitem non
equestribus neque pedestribus copiis sed praesentiae tuae terrore tutatus
es: quantoslibet ualebat exercitus Maximianus in ripa. Tu uero, inuicte 4
Caesar, instructis armatisque diuersis classibus ita hostem incertum con-
siliique inopem reddidisti, ut tunc denique senserit quod non munitus
esset Oceano sed inclusus.

Hoc loco uenit in mentem mihi quam delicata illorum principum **14**
fuerit in administranda re publica et adipiscenda [re publica] laude fe-
licitas, quibus Romae degentibus triumphi et cognomina deuictarum a
ducibus suis gentium proueniebant. Itaque Fronto, Romanae eloquen- 2
tiae non secundum sed alterum decus, cum belli in Britannia confecti
laudem Antonino principi daret, quamuis ille in ipso Vrbis palatio re-
sidens gerendi eius mandasset auspicium, ueluti longae nauis guberna-
culis praesidentem totius uelificationis et cursus gloriam meruisse testatus
est. At enim tu, Caesar inuicte, omnis istius et nauigationis et belli non 3
modo pro imperii iure praeceptor sed rebus ipsis et exemplo constan-
tiae tuae hortator atque impulsor fuisti. Prior siquidem a Gesorigiacensi 4
litore quamuis feruidum inuectus Oceanum etiam illi exercitui tuo, quem

2 audiebamus *w*, uidebamus *Cusp*: audebamus *M Bert* 4 maris quae *w*: marisque *M* 6 communis *M*: omnis *Bert* pene *M* (*unde* communi *w*) 8 criminis *Liuineius* 11 uideatur *H* 12 primum *Novák* 13 noua re *M*, *corr. Itali* 18 Caesar inuicte *W. Baehrens* 23 re publica *M* (*an Bert, non liquet*): *del. Itali* 24 a ducibus *X2 w*: ad uicibus *M* 32 a Gesorigiacensi *Bert* (Gesoriacensi *Puteolanus*): magis origiacensi *M*

Sequana amnis inuexerat, inreuocabilem iniecisti mentis ardorem, adeo ut
cunctantibus adhuc ducibus, caelo et mari turbidis, ultro signum nauiga-
tionis exposceret, quae iam minacia uidebantur signa contemneret, die
pluuio uela faceret, uentum quia derectus non erat captaret obliquum.
5 Quis enim se quamlibet iniquo mari non auderet credere te nauigante?
Omnium, ut dicitur, accepto nuntio nauigationis tuae una uox et hortatio
fuit: 'Quid dubitamus? Quid moramur? Ipse iam soluit, iam prouehi-
tur, iam fortasse peruenit. Experiamur omnia, per quoscumque fluctus
eamus. Quid est quod timere possimus? Caesarem sequimur.'

15 Nec fefellit opinio uestrae felicitatis, siquidem, ut ex ipsorum relatione
comperimus, ad tempus ipsum tantae se dorso maris nebulae miscuerunt,
ut inimica classis apud Vectam insulam in speculis atque insidiis conlocata
ignorantibus omnino hostibus praeteriretur, ne uel moraretur impetum
2 quamuis non posset obsistere. Iam uero quod idem ille uestro auspi-
cio inuictus exercitus, statim atque Britanniae litus inuaserat, uniuersis
nauibus suis iniecit ignes, quinam alii nisi diuinitatis uestrae monitus im-
3 pulerunt? Aut quae alia ratio persuasit nullum praesidium fugae reseruare
nec uereri dubia bellorum nec Martem, ut dicitur, putare communem,
nisi quod uestri contemplatione constabat de uictoria non posse dubitari?
4 Non illi tunc uires, non humana robora sed uestra numina cogitauerunt.
Proposito qualicumque proelio certam sibi spondere fortunam non tam
5 est fiducia militum quam felicitas imperatorum. Ipse ille autem signifer
nefariae factionis cur ab eo litore quod tenebat abscessit, cur classem
portumque deseruit, nisi quod te, Caesar inuicte, cuius imminentia uela
6 conspexerat, timuit iam iamque uenturum? Vtcumque cum ducibus tuis
maluit experiri quam praesens maiestatis tuae fulmen excipere, demens
qui nesciebat, quacumque fugeret, ubique uim uestrae diuinitatis esse, ubi
uultus uestri, ubi signa colerentur.

16 Te tamen ille fugiens incidit in tuorum manus, a te uictus a tuis ex-
2 ercitibus oppressus est. Denique adeo trepidus et te post terga respiciens
et in modum amentis attonitus properauit ad mortem, ut nec explicarit
aciem nec omnes copias quas trahebat instruxerit, sed cum ueteribus illius
coniurationis auctoribus et mercennariis cuneis barbarorum tanti appara-
3 tus oblitus inruerit. Adeo, Caesar, etiam hoc rei publicae tribuit uestra
felicitas, ut nemo fere Romanus occiderit imperio uincente Romano.

1 Sequana amnis *Haupt*, in Sequanam uis *w*: sequa nam nisi *M Bert* 3 quae iam *scripsi*: quaedam *M* uidebantur *Puteolanus*: -atur *M* (ut uidebatur *Thörnell*) 4 directus *w* 20 ⟨suas⟩ uires *Klotz* 23 abcessit *M*, *corr. X2* classum *M*, *corr. X2 w* 27 fugeret *Bert*: fugerat *M* (*corr. cod. Napocensis*) 32 illius *Puteolanus*: illis *M Bert*

Omnes enim illos, ut audio, campos atque colles non nisi taeterrimorum
hostium corpora fusa texerunt. Illa barbara aut imitatione barbariae 4
olim cultu uestis et prolixo crine rutilantia, tunc uero puluere et cruore
foedata et in diuersos situs strata, sicuti dolorem uulnerum fuerant secuta
iacuerunt, atque inter hos ipse uexillarius latrocinii, cultu illo quem uiuus
uiolauerat sponte deposito et uix unius uelaminis repertus indicio. Adeo 5
uerum sibi dixerat morte uicina, ut interfectum se nollet agnosci.

Enimuero, Caesar inuicte, tanto deorum immortalium tibi est addicta 17
consensu omnium quidem quos adortus fueris hostium sed praecipue in-
ternecio Francorum, ut illi quoque milites uestri qui per errorem nebulosi,
ut paulo ante dixi, maris abiuncti ad oppidum Londiniense peruenerant,
quidquid ex mercennaria illa multitudine barbarorum proelio superfuerat,
cum direpta ciuitate fugam capessere cogitarent, passim tota urbe con-
fecerint et non solum prouincialibus uestris in caede hostium dederint
salutem sed etiam in spectaculo uoluptatem. O uictoria multiiuga et 2
innumerabilium triumphorum, qua Britanniae restitutae, qua Franco-
rum ⟨uires⟩ penitus excisae, qua multis praeterea gentibus in coniura-
tione illius sceleris deprehensis imposita est necessitas obsequendi, ⟨qua⟩
denique ad perpetuam quietem maria purgata sunt! Gloriare tu uero, 3
Caesar inuicte, alium te orbem terrarum repperisse, qui Romanae poten-
tiae gloriam restituendo naualem addidisti imperio terris omnibus maius
elementum. Confecisti, inquam, bellum, Caesar inuicte, quod cunctis 4
impendere prouinciis uidebatur, tamque late uagari et flagrare poterat
quam late omnis Oceanus et mediterranei sinus adluunt.

Neque enim, si metu uestri lues illa solis Britanniae uisceribus intabuit, 18
idcirco nescimus quanto se alias furore iactasset, si fiduciam peruagandi
qua patebat habuisset. Nullo siquidem certo fine montium aut fluminum 2
terminabatur quem dispositae limitis custodiae tuerentur, sed ubique, ua-
nis licet ob uirtutem felicitatemque uestram, magnis tamen terroribus
imminebat, qua iacent maria quaque uenti ferunt. Recursabat quippe in 3
animos illa sub diuo Probo paucorum ex Francis captiuorum incredibilis
audacia et indigna felicitas, qui a Ponto usque correptis nauibus Grae-
ciam Asiamque populati nec impune plerisque Libyae litoribus appulsi

2 illa *M*: ita illa *Bert*, illa inquam *Liuineius* 4 fedata *X*: fydata *H*(*M?*) strata *M*: tracta *Bert* 5 cultu *X2 w*: culto *M* 6 uelaminis *M*, *om. Bert* 9 internecio *Cusp*: interuectio *M Bert* (-nectio *w*) 11 Londonense *Bert* 13 confecerint *w*: -erunt *M* 14 solum *Bert*: solam *M* dederint *w*: -erunt *M* 17 uires *hic add. w*, gentes *ante* Francorum *Puteolanus*, *om. M* 18 qua *add. Burkhard*, *om. M* 25 lues *X2 w*: luis *M* 29 ob *Aem. Baehrens*, motibus apud *w*: uob *H*: uobis X 32 qui a *cw*: quia *M*

ipsas postremo naualibus quondam uictoriis nobiles ceperant Syracusas
et immenso itinere peruecti Oceanum qua terras inrumpit intrauerant,
atque ita euentu temeritatis ostenderant nihil esse clausum piraticae de-
4 sperationi, quo nauigiis pateret accessus. Itaque hac uictoria uestra non
Britannia solum seruitute est liberata, sed omnibus nationibus securi-
tas restituta quae maritimo usu tantum in bello adire periculi poterant
5 quantum in pace commodi consequuntur. Nunc secura est, ut de la-
tere Gallico taceam, quamuis paene conspicuis litoribus Hispania, nunc
Italia nunc Africa nunc omnes usque ad Maeotias paludes perpetuis
6 curis uacant gentes. Nec idcirco minoribus gaudiis feruntur dempti
periculi merito quod experiundi necessitate caruerunt, sed hoc ipsum
et in administratione [uel] prouidentiae uestrae et in refectione fortunae
impensius gratulantur, quod tanta illa uis nauticae rebellionis in uestigiis
7 suis concidit. Atque ipsam Britanniam, quae sedem tam diuturno sceleri
praebuisset, constat uictoriam uestram sola sui restitutione sensisse.

19 Merito igitur statim atque ad litus illud exoptatus olim uindex et
liberator appuleras, obuius sese maiestati tuae triumphus effudit, exsul-
tantesque gaudio Britanni cum coniugibus ac liberis obtulerunt, non te
ipsum modo, quem ut caelo delapsum intuebantur, sed etiam nauis il-
lius quae tuum numen aduexerat uela remigiaque uenerantes, paratique
2 te ingredientem stratis sentire corporibus. Nec mirum si tanto gaudio
ferebantur post tot annorum miserrimam captiuitatem, post uiolatas con-
iuges, post liberorum turpe seruitium tandem liberi tandemque Romani,
3 tandem uera imperii luce recreati. Siquidem praeter illam clementiae ue-
strae pietatisque famam, quae communi gentium uoce celebratur, in ipso,
Caesar, tuo uultu uidebant omnium signa uirtutum: in fronte grauitatis, in
4 oculis lenitatis, in rubore uerecundiae, in sermone iustitiae. Quae singula
ut respectantes agnouerant, laetitiae clamoribus concinebant; uobis se,
uobis liberos suos, uestris liberis omnis generis sui posteros deuouebant.

20 Nos quidem certe, o perpetui parentes et domini generis humani, hoc
a dis immortalibus omni uotorum nuncupatione deposcimus, ut liberi
nepotesque nostri et si qua omnibus saeculis erit duratura progenies, cum

2 irrumpit *w*: irrupit *M Bert*   3 ostenderant *X2 alii*: obscenderant *M*   9 omnes *w*: omnis *M*   Meotias *w*: mecias *M Bert*   10 feruntur *w*: ferunt *M*   11 merito *Kronenberg*, metu *w* (dempto ... metu *Puteolanus*): meri *M*   12 uel *add. M, om. Bert, del. w*   in refectione *Aem. Baehrens*, in effectione *Gruter*, in feliciore (fortuna) *w*: infectione *M*   fortunae *X2*: -na *M*   13 nauticae *X2 w*: -ci *M*   17 maiestati *w*: -tis *M*   25 celebratur *Itali* (*cod. Paris. lat. 7805*): -abatur *M Bert*   28 agnouerant *corrector cod. Bruxellensis*, aduert- *w*: adnou- *M*: aduen- *Bert*   29 omnis *edd.*, omnes *w*: omnibus *M*   30 certe *Liuineius*: certo *M*

uobis tum etiam his quos educatis atque educabitis dedicentur. Quid
enim melius posteris nostris optare possumus quam quo fruimur ipsi?
Tenet uno pacis amplexu Romana res publica quidquid uariis temporum 2
uicibus fuit aliquando Romanum, et illa quae saepe ueluti nimia mole
diffluxerat magnitudo tandem solido cohaesit imperio. Nihil ex omni 3
terrarum caelique regione non aut metu quietum est aut armis domitum
aut pietate deuinctum. Et ex aliis quidem partibus aliqua restant, quae, si
uoluntas uel ratio rerum desiderent, possitis adquirere; ultra Oceanum
uero quid erat praeter Britanniam? Quae a uobis ita reciperata est ut illae 4
quoque nationes terminis eiusdem insulae cohaerentes uestris nutibus
obsequantur. Nulla progrediendi causa superest nisi si, quod Natura 5
uetuit, fines ipsius quaerantur Oceani. Omnia, inquam, inuictissimi
principes, uestra sunt quae digna sunt uobis, et inde est quod consulere
singulis aequaliter licet, cum uniuersa teneatis.

Itaque sicuti pridem tuo, Diocletiane Auguste, iussu deserta Thraciae **21**
translatis incolis Asia compleuit, sicut postea tuo, Maximiane Auguste,
nutu Aruiorum et Treuirorum arua iacentia Laetus postliminio restitutus
et receptus in leges Francus excoluit, ita nunc per uictorias tuas, Constanti
Caesar inuicte, quidquid infrequens Ambiano et Bellouaco et Tricassino
solo Lingonicoque restabat, barbaro cultore reuirescit. Quin etiam illa, 2
cuius nomine mihi peculiariter gratulandum, deuotissima uobis ciuitas
Aeduorum ex hac Britannicae facultate uictoriae plurimos, quibus illae
prouinciae redundabant, accepit artifices, et nunc exstructione ueterum
domorum et refectione operum publicorum et templorum instauratione
consurgit. Nunc sibi redditum uetus illud Romanae fraternitatis nomen
existimat, cum te rursus habeat conditorem. Dixi, Caesar inuicte, prope 3
plura quam potui sed pauciora quam debui, ut iustissima mihi causa sit
propitio numine tuo et nunc desinendi et saepe dicendi.

5 diffluxerat *Acidalius*: difluxerant *M* (defl- *X1*, defluxerat *w*)   12 quaerantur *X2 w*: -atur *M*   13 digna sunt *Bert*: sunt digna *M*   15 tu O *H*   iussu *w*: ius suppleuit *M*: iussu impleuit *Bert*   16 tuo *X2*: tu O *M*   17 nutu *om. Bert*   Aruiorum *M*: Neruiorum *w*   18 Constanti *Cusp*: -tine *M*   19 Trigassino *M*, *corr. Langius*   20 restabat baro *M* (barbaro *w*): restababat baro *Bert*   28 Finit quartus *M*

IX (IV)

⟨EVMENII PRO INSTAVRANDIS SCHOLIS ORATIO⟩

1 Certum habeo, uir perfectissime, non quidem te, qui semper in omni genere dicendi maxima facultate uiguisti, sed circumstantium plerosque mirari, quod ego, qui ab ineunte adulescentia usque in hunc diem numquam isto in loco dixerim et, quantulumcumque illud est quod labore ac diligentia uideor consecutus, exercere priuatim quam in foro iactare maluerim, nunc demum sero quodam tirocinio ad insolitum
2 mihi tribunal adspirem; a quo ego me fateor, quamquam mihi sedes ista iustitiae et ⟨ad⟩ agendum et ad dicendum amplissima uideretur, diffisum tamen ingenio meo antehac afuisse et hoc ipso in tempore, quamuis diuersissimum a contentione litium genus orationis habiturum, conscientiae trepidatione reuocari.

2 Ne quid igitur aut opinioni hominum dubium relinquam aut interpretationi ex hac postulatione quam de restituendis patriae meae Maenianis mihi sumendam potius quam cuiquam delegandam putaui, maius de me
2 aliquid quam posse me sentio uidear promittere, contestatum esse initio dicendi apud audientes uolo temporarium me dicendi munus atque id ipsum meis studiis peculiariter commodare, non ad incognitam mihi

2 Incipit quintus *M* (Eumenii oratio pro scholis instaurandis coram V. P. Galliarum praeside habita *suppleuit cod. Vpsaliensis*) 4 uir perfectissime] V. P. *M* (*ut alibi*) 9 iactare *X2*: lactare *M* 10 aspicerem *H* (*corr. h*) 11 ad *add. wp* (*cf. c. 8.2*), *om. M* 12 afuisse *h*: abf- *Bert Itali*: aff- *M* 13 habiturum et *Bert* (ex *Liuineius*) 16 ex *M*: et *Liuineius*, ne ex *Thörnell* 17 aut maius *Aem. Baehrens* 19 munus obiisse *Klotz*

sectam forensium patronorum alienae laudis cupiditate transire. Neque 3
enim tanta me aut neglegentia aut confidentia tenet, ut nesciam quanta sit inter hanc aciem fori et nostra illa secreta studiorum exercitia diuersitas. Ibi armantur ingenia, hic proeliantur; ibi prolusio, hic pugna committitur.
Hic plerumque uelut sudibus et saxis, illic semper telis splendentibus dimi- 4
catur. Hic sudore et quasi puluere sordidus, illic insignis ornatu laudatur orator, ut, si uterque experiundi causa officia commutent, alium quidam tubarum sonus et strepitus armorum, alium quaedam triumphi ⟨scaena⟩ deterreat.

Scio [haec] inquam haec, uir perfectissime, neque me sciens fallo; et **3**
idcirco tantum abest ut me relictis docendi praecipiendique rationibus aptum atque idoneum putem, ut hoc ipsum, quod uel uno die atque una de re
in foro dicam, ueniam magis possim sperare quam gloriam. Quamquam 2
in hac oratione, uir perfectissime, loci tantummodo insolentia, non dicendi nouitate perturber, siquidem id postulo quod non modo contradicendo nemo audeat impedire, sed omnes potius quibus diuina principum liberalitas, quibus urbis istius restitutio, quibus optimarum artium celebratio grata atque iucunda est, summo gaudio et fauore suscipiant, ut Maenianae illae scholae quondam pulcherrimo opere et studiorum frequentia celebres et inlustres iuxta cetera quae instaurantur opera ac templa repa-
rentur. Ita quantum mihi trepidationis adfert locus, tantum releuat causa 3
dicendi. Quam quidem ego, uir perfectissime, duas in partes arbitror 4
diuidendam, ut prius disseram quam sit ex usu et officio opus illud ad pristinam magnificentiam reformari, deinde qua ratione id possit sine sumptu publico, ex largitione quidem principum maximorum, sed tamen cum aliquo meo erga patriam studio et amore procedere.

Ante omnia igitur, uir perfectissime, diuinae imperatorum Cae- **4**
sarumque nostrorum prouidentiae singularique in nos beneuolentiae huius quoque operis instauratione parendum est, qui ciuitatem istam et olim fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriatam et tunc demum grauissima clade perculsam, cum latrocinio Batauicae rebellionis obsessa auxilium Romani principis inuocaret, non solum pro admiratione meritorum sed etiam pro miseratione casuum attollere ac recreare uoluerunt, ipsamque

7 quidam *Itali* (*cod. Paris. lat. 7841*): quidem *M*: quaedam *Bert* 8 tubarum *h X2*: turbarum *M* quaedam *M*: quidem *X2* scena *w*: quedam *M* (*om. X2*): quiddam *Bert* 10 haec *prius del. Aem. Baehrens, alterum X2* 12 hoc ipsum *M Bert*: hoc ipso *Puteolanus*, ob hoc ipsum *Aem. Baehrens, 'deest quiddam' Liuineius* 18 et fauore *om. Bert* 28 in nos *w*: annos *M* 29 quoque *w*: quo *M* 31 Batauice *M*: Bagaudicae *Liuineius* 32 inuocaret *Gruter*: irrogaret *M Bert* (*rectene?*)

ruinarum eius magnitudinem immortalibus liberalitatis suae monimentis
dignam iudicauerunt, ut tanto esset inlustrior gloria restitutorum quanto
2 ipsa moles restitutionis immanior. Itaque maximas pecunias et totum, si
res poscat, aerarium non templis modo ac locis publicis reficiundis sed
3 etiam priuatis domibus indulgent; nec pecunias modo sed etiam artifices
transmarinos et ex amplissimis ordinibus prouinciarum incolas nouos et
deuotissimarum hiberna legionum, quarum inuicta robora ne in his qui-
dem quae nunc cum maxime gerunt bellis requirunt, ut commodis nostris
studio gratiae hospitalis operentur et resides aquas et nouos amnes ueluti
aridis fessae urbis uisceribus infundant.

5 Ex quo manifestum est eos qui coloniam istam tot tantisque opibus
totius imperii erigere atque animare statuerunt, uel praecipue sedem il-
lam liberalium litterarum uelle reparari, cui peculiarem frequentiam ho-
2 nestissimae iuuentutis inlustrato studiorum honore prouiderint. Cui enim
umquam ueterum principum tantae fuit curae ut doctrina atque eloquen-
tiae studia florerent quantae his optimis et indulgentissimis dominis generis
3 humani? Quos ego, quod ad uotum pietatemque pertinet, liberorum no-
strorum parentes appellare non dubito; qui nobilissimam istam indolem
Galliarum suarum interitu summi doctoris orbatam respicere dignati, suo
potissimum iudicio praeceptorem ei moderatoremque tribuerunt, et inter
illas imperatorias dispositiones, longe maioribus summae rei publicae gu-
bernandae prouisionibus occupatas, litterarum quoque habuere dilectum,
4 neque aliter quam si equestri turmae uel cohorti praetoriae consulendum
foret, quem potissimum praeficerent sui arbitrii esse duxerunt, ne hi quos
ad spem omnium tribunalium aut interdum ad stipendia cognitionum
sacrarum aut fortasse ad ipsa palatii magisteria prouehi oporteret, uel-
uti repentino nubilo in mediis adulescentiae fluctibus deprehensi, incerta
dicendi signa sequerentur.

6 In quo ego, uir perfectissime, nihil laudi meae tribuo; sed domini
nostri Constanti, uere principis iuuentutis, incredibilem erga iuuentutem
Galliarum suarum sollicitudinem atque indulgentiam mirari satis nequeo,
2 qui honorem litterarum hac quoque dignatione cumulauit ut me filio
potius meo ad pristina mea studia aditum molientem ipsum iusserit
disciplinas artis oratoriae retractare, et hoc ipsi palatio parentis sui munus
inuexerit ut mediocrem quidem pro ingenio meo naturaque uocem,

1 liberalitatis *Puteolanus*: libertatis *M* 7 in *om. Bert* 9 resides *M*: reduces *Liuineius* 12 illum *M, corr. X2 w cod. Napocensis* 15 doctrinae *X2* 19 interitu *cw*: -tus *M* 21 summae *w*: summa *M Bert* rei p. *X2 w*: re p. *M* 30 Constanti *M*: -tini *Bert*: -tii *cw* iuuentutis *d*: uiuentis *M* 33 pristina *h X2*: -num *M*

caelestia tamen uerba et diuina sensa principum prolocutam, ab arcanis
sacrorum penetralium ad priuata Musarum adyta transtulerit; non utique 3
quia mihi, quem (quod sine inuidia dixerim) tanta dignatione respicit
quanta pro summis honoribus debet sufficere sapienti, uellet aliquid
imposita ista professione detrahere, sed ut professioni ipsi ex eo honore
quem gessi adderet dignitatem. Cui igitur est dubium quin diuina illa 4
mens Caesaris, quae tanto studio praeceptorem huic conuentui iuuentutis
elegit, etiam locum exercitiis illius dedicatum instaurari atque exornari
uelit, cum omnes omnium rerum sectatores atque fautores parum se
satisfacere uoto et conscientiae suae credant, si non ipsarum quas appetunt
gloriarum templa constituant?

Inde est quod Atheniensis humanitas aram Misericordiae instituit, **7**
quod Romani ducis animi magnitudo templum Virtutis et Honoris.
Quarum enim artium siue animi adfectionum magnis hominibus inge- 2
neratus ardor fuerit, earum etiam consecrata exsistere ad posteros moni-
menta uoluerunt. Aedem Herculis Musarum in circo Flaminio Fuluius 3
ille Nobilior ex pecunia censoria fecit, non id modo secutus quod ipse
litteris et summi poetae amicitia duceretur, sed quod in Graecia cum esset
imperator acceperat Heraclen Musageten esse, id est comitem ducemque
Musarum, idemque primus nouem signa, hoc est omnium, Camenarum
ex Ambraciensi oppido translata sub tutela fortissimi numinis consecrauit,
ut res est, quia mutuis opibus et praemiis iuuari ornarique deberent,
Musarum quies defensione Herculis et uirtus Herculis [et] uoce Musarum.

Credo igitur, tali Caesar Herculius et aui Herculis et Herculi patris **8**
instinctu tanto studium litterarum fauore prosequitur, ut non minus ad
prouidentiam numinis sui existimet pertinere bene dicendi quam recte
faciendi disciplinas, et pro diuina intellegentia mentis aeternae sentiat 2
litteras omnium fundamenta esse uirtutum, utpote continentiae mode-
stiae uigilantiae patientiae magistras. Quae uniuersa cum in consue-
tudinem tenera aetate uenerunt, ⟨ad⟩ omnia deinceps officia uitae et
ad ipsa quae diuersissima uidentur militiae atque castrorum munia con-
ualescunt. Ideoque his omnis industriae atque omnis laudis nutricibus aut, 3
ut uerius loquar, matribus cum praeceptorem Caesar Herculius declarare
dignatus sit, necesse est etiam sedem propriam cupiat reformari ut, cum

4 uelle tali quid *M, corr. X2 w* 7 Cesarisque *M, corr. X2 w* 8 exercitiis *X2*, -tio *w*: -tis *M* illi *w* 15 fuerit *M*: fuit *hc* 17 quod *M*: quo *Eyssenhardt* 18 summi *Bert hw*, summa *X2*: summe *M* Graecia *X2 w*: Crecia *M* 19 Musagetem *M* 21 tutela *X2 w*: tetala *M* 23 et Musarum *w* et (*1°*) *om. Bert* et (*2°*) *om. X2, del. hw* 24 Herculi *M*: Herculii *Puteolanus*, -lis *w* 29 magistras quae *X2 w*: -trasque *M* 30 ad *add. w* (*cf. c. 1.2*), *om. M*

ad antiquam firmitatem cultumque reparata sit, multo hic iustius et uerius
nuncupetur aedes Herculis atque Musarum.

9 Et sane, uir perfectissime, interest etiam gloriae quam tanti principes
tot uictoriis ac triumphis merentur, ut ingenia quae canendis eorum uir-
tutibus excoluntur non intra priuatos parietes sed in publica ostentatione
2 et in ipso urbis istius ore uegetentur. Quid autem magis in facie uultuque
istius ciuitatis situm est quam haec eadem Maeniana in ipso transitu
aduenientium huc inuictissimorum principum constituta? Qui cum se
occursu laetae iuuentutis adfici non solum liberalitate quam ipsi tribuunt
sed etiam litteris quibus me ad institutionem eius cohortantur ostendant,
quanto plus capient uoluptatis cum reparatum uideant ipsum conciliabu-
3 lum iuuentutis? Ad hoc, uir perfectissime, opus istud reddit inlustrius et
cum ipsorum Caesarum, tum etiam omnium hominum adspectui promp-
tius, quod praecipuo est loco positum quasi inter ipsos oculos ciuitatis,
4 inter Apollinis templum atque Capitolium. Quo magis est etiam sacro-
sancta sedes utriusque lateris ueneranda confinio utriusque [late] numinis
instauranda respectu, ne fana longe omnium in hac urbe pulcherrima
labes media deformet, praesertim cum mihi uideatur ipse ille qui Maeni-
ana haec primus exstruxit idcirco ea illic potissimum conlocasse, ut ueluti
cognato uicinorum sibi numinum tenerentur amplexu, cum augustissima
tecta litteris dedicata inde Athenarum conditrix Minerua conspiceret,
hinc Apollo medius Camenarum.

10 Igitur ibi maxime et oportet et fas est exercere iuuentutis ingenia,
ubi tam propinqua sunt numina amica doctrinae, ubi ex proximo iuuat
mens diuina sapientiam et carminum deus uocem et uerecundiam uirgo
2 perpetua et prouidentiam praescius futurorum. Ibi adulescentes optimi
discant, nobis quasi sollemne carmen praefantibus, maximorum prin-
cipum facta celebrare (quis enim melior usus est eloquentiae?), ubi ante
aras quodammodo suas Iouios Herculiosque audiant praedicari Iuppiter
3 pater et Minerua socia et Iuno placata. Satis me uerborum fecisse arbitror,
uir perfectissime, de eo quod mihi ad dicendum prius constitueram, quam
sit ex usu atque officio instaurari opus illud studiis quibus optimi principes
maxime fauent dedicatum, in ipsa ciuitatis fronte positum, celeberrimis
templis utrimque coniunctum.

3 principes *h*: -pis *M* (uictorie ac triumphi *w*) 9 laetae] lete *H alii* 10 institutionem *X2 w cod. Napocensis*: stitutionem *M* 16 late *ex uoce* lateris *male iterata M*, *del. Gruter* 19 ut *w*: et *M* 20 numinum *X2 w*: numerum *M* 22 hinc *X2 w*: hin *M* 28 ubi] quam ut *w*

Nunc, quod in secundum eundemque ⟨potiorem⟩ locum distuli, **11**
quemadmodum id sine sumptu publico et cum laude sacrae largitionis fieri
possit ostendam. Salarium me liberalissimi principes ex huius rei publi- 2
cae uiribus in sexcenis milibus nummum accipere iusserunt, non quoniam
non amplius tribuere commodis meis uellent, in quem multo maiora et
prius et postea praemia contulerunt, sed ut trecena illa sestertia, quae
sacrae memoriae magister acceperam, in honore priuati huius magisterii
addita pari sorte geminarent. Hoc ego salarium, quantum ad honorem 3
pertinet, adoratum accipio et in accepti ratione perscribo; sed expensum
referre patriae meae cupio, et ad restitutionem huius operis, quoad usus
poposcerit, destinare. Cuius uoluntatis meae ratio etsi adserenda non est,
tamen sub hac tua humanitate et circumstantium exspectatione qua me
audiri sentio aliquatenus prosequenda est.

Nam primum omnium in hoc ego maximos censeo fructus praemio- **12**
rum, ut digni quibus tribuantur habeamur; siquidem ipse usus pecuniae
bonis malisue artibus partae promiscus et uilis est, honestis uero rationibus
posse adquirere summum, etiamsi quaestum remiseris, lucrum est. Neque 2
enim Syrus mercator aut Deliacus aut Indicus ad uberrima ista compen-
dia laudis adspirat, sed rarae atque inter paucissimos opes sunt contentae
meritis conscientiae. Quippe hoc ipso praemii gloria continetur, ne id
cupiditate quaerendi adfectasse uideamur. Quod hoc uno adsequi pos-
sumus, si pro accepto ducamus oblatum, ut industriae sit ad sumendi
copiam peruenire potuisse, continentiae praeterisse.

An si fortissimi uiri in sacris certaminibus summo labore atque etiam **13**
uitae periculo solam uocem praeconis et coronae testimonium petunt,
ego uerba illa diuina caelestesque litteras, quibus mihi tanti principes
instituendam iuuentutem commendare dignati sunt, non ultra omnium
uocum potentiam uenerabundus accipiam, non ultra omnes laureas co-
lam? Quas ego, uir perfectissime,—tamenetsi hanc quoque mihi ueniam 2
tribuas oportet. Neque enim fas ipsius epistulae sacrae commemora-
tionem solam sine obsequio recitationis inducere, ut ea perlecta magis

1 eundemque *del. Gruter*; '*deest quiddam, fortasse* potiorem' *Liuineius*; grauem *add. Aem. Baehrens*, priuatum *Brakman* 4 nummum *w*: numinum *M* 8 honorem *Thörnell* 9 perscribo *h Cusp*: prescribo *M Bert* 14 ego *M*: ego arbitror *w*, existimo *W. Baehrens* censeo *haesitabundus scripsi*: sese *M*: esse *w editores* praemiorum puto *Puteolanus* 15 habeantur *w* 16 promiscus *W. Baehrens*: -cuus *M* 22 ad sumendi *Liuineius*: assumendi *M* 23 continentiae *Puteolanus*: -tia *M* 28 potentiam] praeconium *Acidalius* laureas *X2 w*: -am *M* 29 *ante* tamenetsi *aliqua deesse putat Eyssenhardt*

eluceat quantum me studium par sit impendere non ipsis modo litteris sed
etiam et templis ac sedibus litterarum.
14 [*Exemplar sacrae epistulae.*] 'Merentur et Galli nostri ut eorum liberis,
quorum uita in Augustodunensium oppido ingenuis artibus eruditur, et
ipsi adulescentes, qui hilaro consensu meum Constanti Caesaris ex Italia
reuertentis suscepere comitatum, ut eorum indoli consulere cupiamus.
2 Proinde quod aliud praemium his quam illud conferre debemus, quod
3 nec dare potest nec eripere Fortuna? Vnde auditorio huic, quod uidetur
interitu praeceptoris orbatum, te potissimum praeficere debuimus, cuius
eloquentiam et grauitatem morum ex actus nostri habemus admini-
4 stratione compertam. Saluo igitur priuilegio dignitatis tuae hortamur ut
professionem oratoriam repetas atque in supra dicta ciuitate, quam non
ignoras nos ad pristinam gloriam reformare, ad uitae melioris studium
adulescentium excolas mentes, nec putes hoc munere ante partis ali-
quid tuis honoribus derogari, cum honesta professio ornet potius omnem
5 quam destruat dignitatem. Denique etiam salarium te in sescenis milibus
nummum ex rei publicae uiribus consequi uolumus, ut intellegas meritis
tuis etiam nostram consulere clementiam. Vale, Eumeni carissime nobis.'
15 Ita non uidetur tibi, uir perfectissime, hac tantorum principum ex-
hortatione non solum meus ex otio iacens ad pristinas artes animus at-
tolli, uerum etiam ipsi quodammodo ueterum scholarum parietes et tecta
2 consurgere? Quod enim tantum carmen Amphioni, quae tanta plectro
fidibusque dulcedo quam secuta quondam saxa perhibentur, ut ducen-
tibus subuecta modulis et ad interualla carminum resistentia sponte mu-
rum uelut arte construerent, quanta in his imperatorum et Caesarum
litteris inest ad omnis animorum impetus effectusque rerum ciendos uis
3 atque permotio? Qui quod iubere possunt suadere dignantur et, cum
uel tacitas eorum ac uultu tenus significatas uoluntates summi patris se-
quatur auctoritas, cuius nutum promissionem confirmantis totius mundi
tremor sentit, ipsi tamen ultro imperandi potestatem cohortandi huma-
4 nitate conciliant. Quin etiam laudibus incitant, grauitatem morum di-
cendi facultatem sibi probatam et cognitam praedicantes, palatini honoris
5 priuilegium oratoriae professioni saluum et incolume seruantes. Quibus
ego diuinae benignitatis inlecebris, etiamsi omni sensu ante caruissem,

1 eluceat *hcw*: eludeat *M* 2 et *del. h* 3 Ex. sac. ep. *in margine H* 4 Augusto clunensium *M*, *corr. Itali* 5 hilari *X2 w* Constantii *X2 w* 16 sexcenis *Liuineius*: sescentis *M* 18 consulere *Aem. Baehrens*, -luisse *w*, constare *Liuineius*: constituere *M* 19 exhoracione *H*, *corr. cod. Napocensis* 25 construerent *X2*: -ret *M* 26 ad omnes *h Puteolanus*: a dominis *M* 28 uultetenus *M*, *corr. h* 29 promissionem confirmantis *Brakman*: -nemque firmantis *M*

ad quamuis profecto intellegentiam mouerer ac ducerer, siquidem tan-
tos principes unum hominem tanta laude decorare non est oratorem
admonere sed facere.
Quid igitur mihi cum numerata pecunia? Immo quid cum ullis opibus **16**
aut Midae regis aut Croesi aut ipsius qui auro dicitur fluxisse Pactoli, cum
diuina haec testimonia omnibus diuitiis atque ipsis deorum praemiis an-
teponam? Nisi forte Pythiados illius excellentem Socratis sapientiam 2
uaticinatae aut magnificentius carmen uidetur aut uerius quam quod
Ioui Herculique pronuntiant, quorum ne nutus quidem possunt, non
modo dicta, reuocari. Quamobrem, ut dixi, uir perfectissime, sescena 3
illa, quantum ad honorem spectat, accipi oportet; re autem atque usu
delego patriae et ipsi potissimum operi in quo studia nostra celebranda
sunt. Videor enim mihi id quod sacris litteris continetur, ut saluo honoris 4
mei priuilegio doceam, hoc manifestius atque inlustrius retenturus ut me
dignum talibus aeternorum principum iudiciis probem amore rei pub-
licae. Equidem ipsos patriae deos testor tanto me ciuitatis istius amore 5
flagrare ut, quocumque oculos circumtuli, ad restitutionem operum sin-
gulorum ita gaudio ferar ut spiritum identidem meum pro illorum salute
deuoueam, quorum iussu opibusque reparantur.
Sed tamen hoc quod mihi ornandae professionis meae causa tributum **17**
est huic me praecipue sentio debere monimento. Etenim si bello parta
Marti dicantur, si mari quaesita Neptuno, si messes Cereri, si Mercurio
lucra libantur, si item rerum omnium ⟨fructus⟩ ad cultum referuntur
auctorum, ubi fas est docendi praemia consecrare nisi in sede dicendi?—
praesertim cum mihi ultra communem cum ceteris studiorum religionem 2
etiam proprius quidam sit erga Maeniana illa ex maiorum meorum recor-
datione dilectus. Quamuis enim ante ingressum pueritiae meae intermissa 3
fuerit eorum exercendis studiis frequentatio, tamen illic auum quondam
meum docuisse audio, hominem Athenis ortum, Romae diu celebrem,
mox in ista urbe perspecto ⟨et⟩ probato hominum amore doctrinae atque
huius ipsius operis ueneratione detentum. Cuius ego locum in quo, ut 4

1 intelligentiam *h X2 w*: -encia *M* ac ducerer *Cusp*: adducerer *M* 5 Crysi *M* dicitur *X2*, creditur *w*: cutitur *M* 6 deorum *h*: eorum *M* 8 uaticinantis *w* 9 Iouii Herculiique *Cusp* 10 sexcena *Liuineius*: sescenta *M* 11 oportet re *Gruter*, oportet ea *w*: oportere *M Bert* autem *M*: at *Bert* atque *Puteolanus*: autque *M*: aut *Bert* 13 ut *Liuineius*: ita *M* 21 monimento *h*: -ta *M* 23 fructus '*fortasse*' *Liuineius*, primitiae *Rittershusius*, commoda *add. Aem. Baehrens*, *om. M* 24 in se dedicendi *H* 26 quidam *Bert*: quidem *M* (*corr. Itali*) 27 intermissa *wp*: termissa *M* 28 exercendis studiis *Liuineius*: -di -dii *M* 30 perspecto *del. h*; et *add. Liuineius*, *om. M* hominum *M*: omnium *Liuineius*

referunt, maior octogenario docuit, si ab isto uenerabili sene (te, Glauce,
appello praesentem quem uidemus, non ciuitate Atticum sed eloquio)
recoli ornarique perfecero, ipsum mihi uidebor ad uitam tali professionis
5 suae successione reuocasse. Quod quidem ego meum erga honorem do-
mus ac familiae meae studium non confiterer, uir perfectissime, nisi si ipsis
imperatoribus Caesaribusque nostris gratum esse confiderem ut publicam
eorum in restituendo orbe pietatem pro suo quisque captu in renouandis
suorum uestigiis aemuletur.

18 Quis enim nunc sit animo tam humili, tam abiecto, tam ab omni
appetitione laudis alieno ut non et quantulamcumque memoriam suorum
excitare et sibi aliquid secundae opinionis cupiat adquirere, cum uideat
omnia quae priorum labe conciderant hac felicitate saeculi resurgentia,
tot urbes diu siluis obsitas atque habitatas feris instaurari moenibus, incolis
2 frequentari; quod in Aegaeo mari semel contigit ut, quae operta fluctibus
uagabatur, repente insula Delos exsisteret, eius nunc simile tot orientibus
undique ciuitatibus, tot insulis ad humanos cultus quasi renascentibus
3 euenire? Nisi forte non grauior Britanniam ruina depresserat quam
si superfuso tegeretur Oceano, quae profundissimo poenarum gurgite
liberata ad conspectum Romanae lucis emersit, aut haec ipsa quae modo
desinit esse barbaria non magis feritate Francorum uelut hausta desiderat
4 quam si eam circumfusa flumina et mare adluens operuisset. Nam
quid ego alarum et cohortium castra percenseam toto Rheni et Histri
et Eufratae limite restituta? Qua ueris autumniue clementia tot manu
positae arbores conualescunt, quo calore solis tot depressae imbribus
segetes resurgunt, quot ubique muri uix repertis ueterum fundamentorum
5 uestigiis excitantur! Adeo, ut res est, aurea illa saecula, quae non diu
quondam Saturno rege uiguerunt, nunc aeternis auspiciis Iouis et Herculis
renascuntur.

19 Sed enim, uir perfectissime, inter omnia quae uirtute principum ac
felicitate recreantur, sint licet fortasse alia magnitudine atque utilitate po-
tiora, nihil est tamen admirabilius hac liberalitate quam fouendis honoran-
2 disue litterarum studiis impartiunt. Quippe, ut initio dixi, nulli umquam
antehac principes pari cura belli munia et huiusmodi pacis ornamenta
3 coluerunt. Diuersissimus enim ad utramque sectam deflexus est, dispar
natura mentium et discrepans in electione iudicium; ipsorum denique

1 Glauce *Rhenanus*: Clauce *M* 2 Acticum *X1*, *unde* accitum *w* 3 tali *om. Bert* 5 si *del. hw* 6 nostris *w*: nostrum *M* 7 restituenda urbe *h* 12 hac *h X2 w*: hanc *M* 14 operta *w*, apertis *h*: opertis *M* 16 insulis *w*: -las *M* 17 euenire *X2 w*: -irem *M* 18 '*fortasse* Poenarum' *Liuineius* 20 deciderat *w*, desederat *Liuineius*

utrisque artibus praesidentium numinum dissoni monitus habitusque dis-
similes. Quo magis horum noua et incredibilis est uirtus et humanitas, qui 4
inter tanta opera bellorum ad haec quoque litterarum exercitia respiciunt
atque illum temporum statum quo, ut legimus, Romana res plurimum
terra et mari ualuit, ita demum integrari putant, si non potentia sed etiam
eloquentia Romana reuirescat.

Detur ergo, uir perfectissime, illa mihi ab optimis uirtutum omnium **20**
dominis tributa largitio huic operi doctrinae atque eloquentiae dedicato
ut, quemadmodum cetera uitae nostrae commoda apud auxiliatores
eorum deos colimus, ita singularem eorundem erga litteras dignationem
in antiqua litterarum sede celebremus. Videat praeterea in illis porticibus 2
iuuentus et cotidie spectet omnes terras et cuncta maria et quidquid
inuictissimi principes urbium gentium nationum aut pietate restituunt aut
uirtute deuincunt aut terrore deuinciunt. Siquidem illic, ut ipse uidisti,
credo, instruendae pueritiae causa, quo manifestius oculis discerentur
quae difficilius percipiuntur auditu, omnium cum nominibus suis locorum
situs spatia interualla descripta sunt, quidquid ubique fluminum oritur et
conditur, quacumque se litorum sinus flectunt, qua uel ambitu cingit
orbem uel impetu inrumpit Oceanus.

Ibi fortissimorum imperatorum pulcherrimae res gestae per diuersa **21**
regionum argumenta recolantur, dum calentibus semperque uenientibus
uictoriarum nuntiis reuisuntur gemina Persidos flumina et Libyae arua
sitientia et conuexa Rheni cornua et Nili ora multifida; dumque sibi ad 2
haec singula intuentium animus adfingit aut sub tua, Diocletiane Auguste,
clementia Aegyptum furore posito quiescentem aut te, Maximiane inuicte,
perculsa Maurorum agmina fulminantem aut sub dextera tua, domine
Constanti, Batauiam Britanniamque squalidum caput siluis et fluctibus
exserentem aut te, Maximiane Caesar, Persicos arcus pharetrasque cal-
cantem. Nunc enim, nunc demum iuuat orbem spectare depictum, cum 3
in illo nihil uidemus alienum. Habes, uir perfectissime, studii ac uoti mei 4
professionem. Abs te peto ut eam litteris tuis apud sacras aures prosequi
non graueris, siquidem maximus ac paene solus fructus est recta cupi-
entium, ut uoluntas eorum ad diuinam tantorum principum scientiam
perferatur.

1 numinum *Cusp*: nominum *M* monitus *M*: motus *h*, sonitus *w* 8 dedicato *h*: -ata *M* 14 deuincunt *M Bert* deuinciunt *cod. Carolirahensis*: deuincunt *M* 15 pueritiae *cod. Vat. lat. 1775*: periciae *M* 18 qua *M*: quo *Bert* 24 affingit *Puteolanus*, afficit *w*: adfincit *M* 25 Aegyptum *Puteolanus*: egipto in *M* 26 perculsam (-sa *X2*) aurorum *M*, *corr. h alii* 28 Maxiane *H* 34 Finitus quintus *M*

VII (VI)

⟨INCERTI PANEGYRICVS MAXIMIANO ET CONSTANTINO DICTVS⟩

1 Dixerint licet plurimi, multique dicturi sint, ea quibus omnia facta
uestra summarumque uirtutum merita laudantur, sacratissimi principes
Maximiane, uelis nolis semper Auguste, et Constantine oriens impera-
tor, mihi tamen certum est ea praecipue isto sermone complecti quae
sunt huius propria laetitiae, qua tibi Caesari additum nomen imperii et
2 istarum caelestium nuptiarum festa celebrantur. Cetera enim in rem pub-
licam uestra beneficia possunt multis occasionibus diuersorum temporum
praedicari: huic uoto propria nunc debetur oratio, quod semel factum
3 futurum est sempiternum. Equidem scio gaudentium studia nunc ita
toto orbe florescere, quacumque Fama ultra naturam qua fingitur dis-
cursus uolucres mutuata et plus quam mille uocibus sonora percrebuit, ut
4 omnium nationum gratulationibus consecretur. Quid rebus humanis con-
tingere potuit aut nobilius ad gloriam aut certius ad salutem, quam quod
pristinae uestrae concordiae perpetuaeque pietati hoc quoque pignus ac-
cessit, summorum nominum artissima coniunctione uenerabile, ut im-
5 peratori filiam conlocauerit imperator? Sed tamen nos oportet omnes
homines exsultatione superare, qui hoc tantum rei publicae bonum prae-
sentes intuemur, et ipsa uultuum uestrorum contemplatione sentimus ita
uos, ita non dexteras tantum sed etiam sensus uestros mentesque iunxisse
ut, si fieri possit, transire inuicem in pectora uestra cupiatis.

2 Incipit tercius *M* 4 dixerint *h*: -runt *M* 9 festa *X2 w*: feste *M* 15 quid enim *Puteolanus* 16 aut (*1°*) *X2*, uel *w*: ut *M* 18 uenerabale *H* 21 uultuum *w*: uultum *M*

Quid enim aut tu carius dare aut tu carius accipere potuisti, cum hac 2
adfinitate uestra et tibi, Maximiane, per generum iuuenta renouata sit et
tibi, Constantine, per socerum nomen imperatoris accreuerit? Maximas 2
itaque uobis, aeterni principes, publico nomine gratias agimus, quod sus-
cipiendis liberis optandisque nepotibus seriem uestri generis prorogando
omnibus in futurum saeculis prouidetis, ut Romana res olim diuersis
regentium moribus fatisque iactata tandem perpetuis domus uestrae radi-
cibus conualescat, tamque sit immortale illius imperium quam sempiterna
suboles imperatorum. Haec est uera pietas, haec uoluptas conseruandi 3
generis humani, exemplum dare gentibus ad matrimonia studiosius ex-
petenda et liberos educandos, ut substituendis successionibus singulorum
nihil obsit unumquemque esse mortalem, cum immortalis sit omnium in
posteritate res publica. Quare si leges eae quae multa caelibes notauerunt, 4
parentes praemiis honorarunt, uere dicuntur esse fundamenta rei publi-
cae, quia seminarium iuuentutis et quasi fontem humani roboris semper
Romanis exercitibus ministrarunt, quod huic uestro in rem publicam me-
rito possumus dignum nomen adscribere? Qui non plebeio germine sed 5
imperatoria stirpe rem publicam propagatis ut, quod millesimo anno post
Vrbem conditam euenisse tandem gratulabamur, ne mutatoria per nouas
familias communis salutis gubernacula traderentur, id ex omnibus duret
aetatibus, imperatores semper Herculii.

Quemnam igitur utriusque uestrum praeconii ac uenerationis or- 3
dinem faciam? Adhuc enim de amborum in hanc necessitudinem con-
gruentibus uotis communiter dixi. Et te quidem sentio, senior Auguste, 2
maiestate praecedere, te sequi, iunior imperator. Sed profecto sicut tuo,
Constantine, socero ante est conciliata diuinitas quam ab eo pignus ipsi
carissimum postulares, ita nunc quoque in hac gratulatione prius illa
dicenda sunt quae in te considerans tantus iste et paterni et tui auctor
imperii laetatus est quod petisti. O diuinum tuum, Maximiane, iudicium, 3
qui hunc tibi iure adoptionis nepotem, maiestatis ordine filium etiam
generum esse uoluisti, diui, inquam, Constantii filium, in quem se prima
illius iuuenta transfudit, in cuius ore caelestes illius uultus Natura signauit,
qui adspectum illius ad deorum concilia translati adhuc desiderantibus

12 omnium in *Bert*: omni *M* (omnium *X2*) 13 ee que *w*, he que *X2*: eque *M* 15 roboris *Gruter*: corporis *M* 17 plebeio germine *Liuineius*: plebeia gemina *M* (germina *X2 wp*) 18 imperatoriam stirpem *w* rem publicam *Itali* (*cod. Paris. Lat. 7841*): reip. (*ita*) *M* 20 ex *M*: exin *Aem. Baehrens*, *del. Novák* 21 Herculii *w*, -lei *p*: -li *M* 22 quem *Bert* 24 uotis *Langius*: uobis *M* 26 ante te conciliata ciuitas *Bert* quam *Langius*: cum *M* 27 postulares ita *c*, -lasti ita *w*: -lare sit an *M* 31 diui inq. Constantii *X2 w*: diuini inq. Constanti *M*

4 nobis sufficit pro duobus! Neque enim forma tantum in te patris, Constantine, sed etiam continentia, fortitudo, iustitia, prudentia sese uotis gentium ⟨re⟩praesentant.

4 Quomodo enim magis continentiam patris aequare potuisti quam quod te ab ipso fine pueritiae ilico matrimonii legibus tradidisti, ut primo ingressu adulescentiae formares animum maritalem, nihil de uagis cupiditatibus, nihil de concessis aetati uoluptatibus in hoc sacrum pectus admitteres, nouum iam tum miraculum, iuuenis uxorius? Sed, ut res est,
2 mente praesaga omnibus te uerecundiae obseruationibus imbuebas, talem postea ducturus uxorem, fortitudinem autem illius iam tum in principiis consecutus [est]. Multa ille Francorum milia, qui Batauiam aliasque cis Rhenum terras inuaserant, interfecit depulit cepit abduxit; tu iam ab ipsis eorum regibus auspicatus es, simulque et praeterita eorum scelera punisti
3 et totius gentis lubricam fidem timore uinxisti. Liberauit ille Britannias
4 seruitute; tu etiam nobiles illic oriundo fecisti. Plurimas ille barbaras nationes uictoria domuit, uenia mitigauit; tibi cunctis hostibus alacritatis tuae terrore compressis interim deest materia uincendi.

5 Iustitiam uero patris atque pietatem sic imitaris et sequeris, ut omnibus ad te confugientibus diuersamque opem aut contra aliorum iniurias aut pro suis commodis postulantibus quasi legata patris uidearis exsoluere, idque ipsum coram gaudeas praedicari, quidquid tu iuste ac liberaliter fe-
2 ceris, filium Constantii necessario praestitisse. Nam quid ego de prudentia dicam, qua te paene credimus fore ipso patre potiorem?—qui ueteres illos Romanae rei publicae principes, superiorem Africanum Pompeiumque Magnum aetatis cursum uirtute praeuectos, tam mature sumpto uincis
3 imperio, tantarumque rerum sustines molem incipiente uirtute. Gesseris enim licet multa fortiter, multa sapienter, cum per maximos tribunatus stipendia prima conficeres, sentias necesse est tantae auspicia fortunae imperator adulescens. Quamquam quid ego in te aetatis tuae potius quam grauitatis nomen usurpo? Cuius tanta maturitas est ut, cum tibi pater imperium reliquisset, Caesaris tamen appellatione contentus exspectare malueris ut idem te qui illum declararet Augustum. Siquidem ipsum imperium hoc fore pulchrius iudicabas, si id non hereditarium ex successione creuisses, sed uirtutibus tuis debitum a summo imperatore meruisses.

3 repraesentant *suadentibus numeris scripsi*: praesentant *M*   10 principiis *X2 w*: -pis *M*   11 est *seclusi*: es *w*   16 uictoria *Puteolanus*, -riis *Aem. Baehrens*, uictor *X2* (uictor edomuit *w*): uictores *M*   22 praestitisse *Langius*: -stitisti *M*   25 praeuectos *Langius*: prou- *M*

Neque enim dubium quin tibi mature sacrum istud fastigium diuinae **6**
potestatis adstrueret qui te iam olim sibi generum, etiam ante ⟨quam⟩ petere posses, sponte delegerat. Hoc enim, ut audio, imago illa declarat 2
in Aquileiensi palatio ad ipsum conuiuii posita adspectum, ubi puella iam diuino decore uenerabilis sed adhuc impar oneri suo, sustinet atque offert tibi etiam tum puero, Constantine, galeam auro gemmisque radiantem et pinnis pulchrae alitis eminentem, ut te, quod uix ulla possunt habitus ornamenta praestare, sponsale munus faciat pulchriorem. Fortunatus pic- 3
tor ille, quisquis fuit, et quamuis Apellen ipsum ⟨ipsumque⟩ Parrhasium scientia uicerit, materia tamen imaginis quam arte felicior! Quamquam 4
enim ipsi ferant difficillimam esse praecipuae cuiusque formae imitationem, quia certis sui notis cito deformitas exprimatur, similitudo autem pulchritudinis tam sit ardua quam rara est pulchritudo, non tamen tan- 5
tum ille cepit laboris ex ore uestro diuinas species transferendo quantum uoluptatis hausit comminus uos intuendo, inspiciendo sollicite, et curiose ab hilaritate illius aetatis uultus immobiles et serios exigendo, promendo denique amoris uestri tacita praesagia ut, quod inuicem uobis uerecundia negabat, libere uos in imagine cerneretis.

Sed profecto hoc iam tunc, Maximiane, diuina mente praesumpseras; **7**
hoc, cum ferret aetas, ut rogareris optaueras, cum tibi in illa iucundissima sede laetitiae harum nuptiarum gaudia praestinabas, ut simul illam paruulam et hunc intuendo crescentem diu fruereris exspectatione uoti quod hac coniunctione firmasti. Quid enim competentius, quid prouidentia 2
tua dignius facere potuisti, quam ut eius filio, quem tibi pridem et adfinitate adscieueras et maiestate sociaueras, nunc ex intimis adfectibus traderes summi pignus imperii? Haec est tua, Maximiane, inter omnes 3
principes propria largitio. Alii diuitias aut honores aut ipsa etiam imperia, 4
sed sola donarunt; tu, animo maiore quam ceteri, pariter indulges et quod pietas tua habet carissimum et quod fortuna praecipuum. Nec 5
tamen miranda ista in te est, Maximiane, animi magnitudo, in quem di immortales tanta congesserunt et naturae bona et ornamenta fortunae ut, quamuis maxima largiaris, ita penes te sint omnia, quasi ea solus obtineas. Vt enim ille qui omnes aquas caelo et terris praebet Oceanus 6
semper tamen in motibus suis totus est, ita tu potes imperium, Maximiane, donare, non potes non habere. De quo ego, cum ad id loci uenero, ita 7

2 quam *add. w, om. M*   4 Aquileiensi *d*, -legiensi *w*: Aquilensi *M*   9 ipsumque *add. Puteolanus*, ipsum *Löfstedt, om. M*   12 autem *Liuineius*: tamen *M*, *del. Novák*   16 promendo *Puteolanus*: promerendo *M*   17 ut *w*: aut *M*   19 tunc *M*: tum *Bert*   21 praedestinabas *Puteolanus*   32 sint *Rhenanus*: sunt *M*

dicam, ut fortasse quibusdam uidear audacior, ueritas tamen meae erga te
deuotionis appareat.

8 Nunc enim sequitur ut, quoniam uirtutes tuas, Constantine Auguste,
socero praedicaui, tu quoque (licet optime scias) tamen audias quanti te
2 principis ornet adfinitas. Hic est qui nomen acceptum a deo principe
generis sui dedit uobis, qui se progeniem esse Herculis non adulationibus
3 fabulosis sed aequatis uirtutibus comprobauit. Hic est qui in ipso ortu
numinis sui Gallias priorum temporum iniuriis efferatas rei publicae ad
4 obsequium reddidit, sibi ipsas ad salutem. Hic, quod iam falso traditum de
antiquis imperatoribus putabatur, Romana trans Rhenum signa primus
5 barbaris gentibus intulit. Huius cum fratre rursus ac saepius expeditio-
nibus domita Germania aut boni consulit ut quiescat aut laetatur quasi
6 amica si pareat. Tu ferocissimos Mauritaniae populos inaccessis montium
7 iugis et naturali munitione fidentes expugnasti recepisti transtulisti. Te
primo ingressu tuo tanta laetitia, tanta frequentia populus Romanus
excepit ut, cum te ad Capitolini Iouis gremium uel oculis ferre gestiret,
8 stipatione sui uix ad portas Vrbis admitteret. Te rursus uicesimo anno
imperatorem, octauo consulem, ita ipsa amplexu quodam suo Roma
uoluit detinere, ut uideretur augurari iam et timere quod factum est.
9 ⟨Factum est⟩ enim, imperator aeterne, in quo uno querelam rei publicae
paene meruisti.

9 Audi doloris nostri liberam uocem, siquidem etiam di ipsi, quod
plerumque humanas res neglegant, dum querimur ignoscunt, quibus aliud
fortasse curantibus grandines ruunt, terrae dehiscunt, urbes hauriuntur.
Quae non illis [hauriuntur] uolentibus, sed aut aliorsum adspicientibus aut
2 fatali rerum urgente cursu uidentur accidere. Tale est, imperator, quod
omnibus nobis incluso gemitu maerentibus facere uoluisti, non quidem tu
rei publicae neglegentia aut laboris fuga aut desidiae cupiditate ductus,
sed consilii olim, ut res est, inter uos placiti constantia et pietate fraterna
ne, quem totius uitae summarumque rerum socium semper habuisses, in
alicuius facti communitate desereres neue illius, uiderit quali, certe nouae
3 laudi cederes. Verum longe diuersa in⟨ter⟩ uos erat causa declinandi
aut sustinendi laboris; quamquam, etiamsi totam excusationem aetatis
4 adferres, sic quoque tibi rei publicae curis non erat abnuendum. An si
maximus quisque natu gubernator uectoribus est certissimus ad salutem,

1 uidear *X2 w*: uideor *M* 4 quanti *Cusp*: quam *M* 5 acceptum *w*, quod accepit *Puteolanus*: accepit *M* 10 putabatur *M*: uidebatur *Bert* 13 Maritanie *M*, *corr.* *X1* 20 factum est *alt. add. w*, *om. M* 22 etiam *om. X2* 25 hauriuntur *del.* *Acidalius* 31 neue *Liuineius*: ne uel *M* 32 inter uos *Acidalius*, in uobis *Langius*: in uos *M* 35 uectoribus *M*: uictoris *Bert*

non is est optimus qui usu peritissimus imperator? Aut te umquam,
Constantine, liberi nostri nepotesque patientur, uel cum ad summam
perueneris senectutem, rei publica uela contrahere quae tam felicibus
uentis etiam iuuenis impleueris? Sed tamen utcumque fas fuerit eum 5
principem, quem anni cogerent aut ualitudo deficeret, receptui canere,
te uero, in quo adhuc istae sunt integrae solidaeque uires, hic totius
corporis uigor, hic imperatorius ardor oculorum, immaturum otium
sperasse miramur. Quid enim aliud participi maiestatis tuae dare potuit 6
ueniam quietis quam ut tu imperio succederes pro duobus?

Sed profecto exegit hoc ipsa uarietas et natura fortunae, cui nihil **10**
mutare licuerat, dum uos imperium teneretis, ut illa uiginti annorum con-
tinua felicitas interuallo aliquo distingueretur; aut etiam di immortales
probare uoluerunt tibi innixam stetisse rem publicam, cum sine te stare
non posset. Quamquam in istis quidem partibus non caruit pristina firmi- 2
tate, ibi uero paene funditus corruit unde [ut] tu, Maximiane, discesseras:
adeo illic plurimum habuerat stabilitatis adserta, ubi deserta maxime
uacillauit. Non aliter enim quam solet terra uentis aut aquis subter im- 3
missis interuulsa sui soliditate nutare, ita cuncta Italia atque ipsa Roma
subducta repente qua sustentata fuerat dextera tua contremuit ac paene
consedit. Quod ego cursim transeo; cur enim uel recordemur aduersa, 4
cum uideamus omnia tuo reditu restituta? Fecit enim Roma ipsa pro 5
maiestate nominis sui ut ostenderet posse se etiam imperatoribus impe-
rare. Abduxit exercitus suos ac tibi reddidit et, cum ad sedandos animos
auctoritatem priuati principis attulisses, supplices tibi manus tendens uel
potius queribunda clamauit:

'Quousque hoc, Maximiane, patiar me quati, te quiescere; mihi liber- **11**
tatem adimi, te usurpare tibi inlicitam missionem? An, quod diuo Augusto 2
post septuaginta aetatis, quinquaginta imperii annos non licuit, tam cito
licuit tibi? Ideone te mihi ille, cuius tot aras tot templa tot nomina colo, 3
Hercules dedit, ut tu in suburbano otiis cedens usum dicatae mihi uirtutis
amitteres? Redde te gubernaculis meis et, quoniam tranquillo mari 4
portum intrare properasti, uade per fluctus mei quidem amore sollicitus
sed tua maiestate securus. Et tamen per te tibi steterit, ⟨si⟩ iniuriam in
mei restitutione patieris. Imperasti pridem rogatus a fratre, rursus impera
iussus a matre.' O caelestem, imperator aeterne, pietatem tuam quae 5

5 receptu hicanere *M*, *corr. w* 15 ut *del. w* 16 maxime *X2 w*: -ima *M* 19 susten-tata *w*: sustenta *M* 20 cur enim *X2 w*: enim cur *M* 23 exercitus *X2*: ex eroctus *M* 25 queribunda *X2 w*: que tribunda *M* 30 Hercules *X2*: -lis *M* cedens *scripsi*: sedens *M*, *quo retento* ociosus *Puteolanus*, otio *W. Baehrens* 32 uade *w*: ualde *M* 33 si *add.* *Acidalius*, *om. M*

6 tuum illum animum semper inuictum sola uicit! Non potuisti resistere
sanctae illius parentis imperio, et inuitus licet paruisti et te illis uigiliis
7 illisque curis, quas uiginti annis expertus fueras, reddidisti. Quibusnam
tu, domina gentium, potes compensare beneficiis hoc tui imperatoris
obsequium?—qui tanto usu sciens quantus sit imperandi labor, propter te
non utitur illa quam degustauerat uoluptate, tantumque rei publicae onus
8 suscipit post quietem. Facilius fuerat iugiter imperasse: quamuis enim
magnum laborem consuetudo non sentit, intermissa desiderant nouas
uires.

12 Quanta opus fuit tibi, imperator aeterne, prouidentia, quanta auc-
toritate ut subsidia rei publicae iacentia erigeres, exanimata recreares,
2 dilapsa conligeres? Mirabamur te post imperium esse priuatum; multo
3 magis mirum est imperium ferre post otium. Solus hoc, ut dicitur, potuit
deus ille, cuius dona sunt quod uiuimus et uidemus, ut habenas male
creditas et currum deuio rectore turbatum reciperet rursumque dirigeret.
4 Cuius simile tu, imperator, etiam facile fecisti. Neque id mirum: non
enim a te recessit imperium, et priuatus licet dici uelles, inhaesit tibi
5 ingenita maiestas. Omnes exercitus uestri omnesque prouinciae requi-
escere te post tanta opera utcumque aequo animo tulerunt, imperare
6 desisse numquam crediderunt. Quid enim putas tibi, Maximiane, Iouem
ipsum respondisse, cum tu ingenti animo diceres 'Recipe, Iuppiter, quod
commodasti'? Hoc profecto respondit: 'Non mutuum istud tibi tradidi
7 sed aeternum; non recipio sed seruo.' Statim igitur ut praecipitantem [ut]
rem publicam refrenasti et gubernacula fluitantia recepisti, omnibus spes
8 salutis inluxit. Posuere uenti, fugere nubes, fluctus resederunt, et sicubi
adhuc in longinquioribus terris aliqua obuersatur obscuritas aut residuus
undarum pulsus immurmurat, necesse est tamen ad tuos nutus dilucescat
et sileat.

13 Dixi pro ratione temporis, sacratissimi principes, ea quae in uobis
inuicem, ut facitis, admirari et amare debetis. Restat ut ipsa illa quae
separatim de uirtutibus uestris locutus sum, sicut huic uoto congruit, in
2 sermonis fine coniungam. Di immortales! quanta Romano imperio
3 renouastis, quae iam, ut res est, cesserant uetustati! Maximiano aeterno
imperatori Constantinus imperator nouus plus coepit esse quam filius.

2 inuitus *X2*: inuictus *M* 3 curiis *H* 11 iacentia *Cusp, om. M* 15 currum *Jaeger*: cursum *M* (-su *X2*) rectore *Bongarsius*: uectore *M* 16 non *Schenkl*, numquam *Acidalius*: cum *M* 19 tulerint *Liuineius* 23 ut *alt del. wp* 25 et *Puteolanus*, et iam *Aem. Baehrens*: etiam *M Bert* 27 ad *w*: aut *M* 32 sermonis *om. Bert*

Fauet ille crescenti, adest iste seniori; perpetuis profecto pietatis stirpibus
adfinitas ista coalescat, quae semper summos in re publica uiros ad
concordiam copulauit. Etenim si quamuis dissidentes familias Gracchi et 4
Corneliae matrimonium reduxit in gratiam, si pro diuo Augusto Actiacam
uictoriam tantummodo gener Agrippa confecit, quid sperandum est cum
sempiternam patris ac filii caritatem etiam nuptiarum foedus adstrinxerit?
Quod si P. Scipio bellum Punicum suscepit adulescens ipsum postea 5
superaturus Hannibalem, si Marius a factione Sullana Vrbem recepit
senex, idque magno interuallo temporum euenisse memorabile est, quam
facile nunc omnis metus ponet Romana res publica, quae defenditur
coniuncti imperii duabus aetatibus pariterque utitur uirtute iuuenis et
maturitate senioris!

Te, pater, ex ipso imperii uertice decet orbem prospicere communem **14**
caelestique nutu rebus humanis fata decernere, auspicia bellis gerendis
dare, componendis pacibus leges imponere; te, iuuenis, indefessum ire per
limites qua Romanum barbaris gentibus instat imperium, frequentes ad
socerum uictoriarum laureas mittere, praecepta petere, effecta rescribere.
Ita eueniet ut et ambo consilium pectoris unius habeatis et uterque uires 2
duorum. O felix in imperio et post imperium felicior! Audis enim profecto 3
haec et uides, diue Constanti, quem curru [et] paene conspicuo, dum
uicinos ortus repetit occasu, Sol ipse inuecturus caelo excepit. Quanto 4
nunc gaudio poteris, quanta uoluptate perfrueris, cum talem hunc filium
tuum, qui te primus patrem fecit, in imperii tui possessionem idem pater,
idem socer, idem imperator induxerit! Haec est tua praeter omnes diuos 5
propria immortalitas quam uidemus: filius similis adspectu, similis animo,
par imperii potestate. Inuiderint licet nobis, nihil tamen auferre domui 6
tuae Fata potuerunt: nec Maximiano filius qualis tu eras, nec Constantino
pater deest. Quin etiam ut omnibus modis tua necessitudo renouetur, 7
rursus hic socer, rursus hic gener est, ut beatissimus imperator semper
ex tua subole nepotibus augeatur.

1 crescenti *w*: -tis *M* seniori *w*: senior *M* pietatis *w*: -tatibus *M* 3 Gracci *w*, Graci *X2*: Greci *M* 8 mari usa *M, corr. X2* Sillana *w*: Syllanam *M* 17 uictoriam *Bert* 20 et (2°) *del. w* 21 uicinos *Rhenanus*: -no *M* 22 potiris *w cod. Napocensis* 23 in *Bert, om. M* 28 renouetur *X2 w*: remouetur *M* 30 Finit tercius *M*

VI (VII)

⟨INCERTI PANEGYRICVS CONSTANTINO AVGVSTO DICTVS⟩

1 Facerem, sacratissime imperator, quod paulo ante mihi plerique
suaserunt ut, quoniam maiestas tua hunc mediocritati meae diem in ista
ciuitate celeberrimum ad dicendum dedisset, de eo ipso ducerem sermonis
exordium, nisi me ab hoc duplex ratio reuocaret, considerantem neque
mediae aetatis hominem ostentare debere subitam dicendi facultatem [di-
cendi] neque ad aures tanti numinis quicquam nisi diu scriptum et saepe
2 tractatum adferri oportere. Nam qui apud imperatorem populi Romani
3 dicit ex tempore, quantum sit non sentit imperium. Huc accedit quod
iam satis multi sunt qui me putant nimium multa dicturum, idque, ut
arbitror, non ex ingenio meo, quod mediocre est, sed ex laudum tuarum
copia metiuntur. Quorum ego exspectationem inuitus licet fallam breui-
tate dicendi. Reuera enim cogitaueram plura quae dicerem, sed malo
4 orationem meam ⟨breuem esse⟩ quam respui. Itaque primum illud com-
pendium faciam quod, cum omnes uos, inuictissimi principes, quorum
concors est et socia maiestas, debita ueneratione suspiciam, hunc tamen
quantulumcumque tuo modo, Constantine, numini dicabo sermonem.
5 Vt enim ipsos immortales deos, quamquam uniuersos animo colamus,

2 Incipit secundus *M* 5 mea edium *M, corr. h X2 w* 6 ducerem *h*: ducere *M* 8 dicendi *del. hwp* 9 nisi *h, om. M* 10 tractatum *Bert*: tractum *M (corr. h X2)* 15 mallo *M, corr. hp* 16 meam quam respui *M Bert*; *'procul dubio curte, sed quem hiatum sine libris non expleam' Liuineius* breuem esse *add. w*, compendio claudi *p*; me *post* quam *h* 17 quod cum *M*: non quod *Bert* 18 suspiciam *Rhenanus*: suscipiam *M* 19 tuo *hwp*: tu *M* 20 animo *hw*: -mos *M*

interdum tamen in suo quemque templo ac sede ueneramur, ita mihi fas esse duco omnium principum pietate meminisse, laudibus celebrare praesentem.

A primo igitur incipiam originis tuae numine, quod plerique adhuc **2**
fortasse nesciunt, sed qui te amant plurimum sciunt. Ab illo enim diuo 2
Claudio manat in te auita cognatio, qui Romani imperii solutam et
perditam disciplinam primus reformauit, immanesque Gothorum copias
Ponti faucibus et Histri ore proruptas terra marique deleuit, utinam
diuturnior recreator hominum quam maturior deorum comes. Quamuis 3
igitur ille felicissimus dies proxima religione celebratus imperii tui natalis
habeatur, quoniam te isto habitu primus ornauit, iam tamen ab illo
generis auctore in te imperii fortuna descendit. Quin immo ipsum patrem 4
tuum uetus illa imperatoriae domus praerogatiua prouexit, ut iam summo
gradu et supra humanarum rerum fata consisteres, post duos familiae tuae
principes tertius imperator. Inter omnes, inquam, participes maiestatis 5
tuae hoc habes, Constantine, praecipuum, quod imperator es ⟨natus⟩,
tantaque est nobilitas originis tuae ut nihil tibi addiderit honoris imperium
nec possit Fortuna numini tuo imputare quod tuum est, omisso ambitu
et suffragatione.

Non fortuita hominum consensio, ⟨non⟩ repentinus aliquis fauoris **3**
euentus te principem fecit: imperium nascendo meruisti. Quod quidem 2
mihi deorum immortalium munus et primum uidetur et maximum, in
lucem statim uenire felicem et ea quae alii uix totius uitae laboribus conse-
quuntur iam domi parta suscipere. Quamuis enim magna sit et admiranda 3
felicitas quae stipendiis in ordinem meritis et militiae gradibus emensis
ad fastigium istud maiestatis ascendit, et solis uirtutis nixa radicibus ad
tantum potentiae robur inualuit—quod quidem etiam tu, quantum per
aetatem licuit, consecutus es et, quamuis te super omnes adquirendae
gloriae moras Fortuna posuisset, crescere militando uoluisti et adeundis
belli periculis ac manu cum hostibus etiam singulari certamine conserenda
notiorem te gentibus reddidisti, cum non posses esse nobilior;—magnum,
inquam, est abs se profectum ad maxima peruenire; longe tamen aliud 4
est niti per ardua et iuga montium petere ⟨de⟩ plano, aliud ipsa ortus
sui sublimitate fultum uerticem tenere fortunae, et quae summa sunt non
sperare sed habere.

2 pietatem *H (corr. h)* 4 numine *M*: limine *Haupt* 13 impetratoriae *H* 14 et *h X2 w*: e *M* 16 natus *hic add. W. Baehrens, post* quod *Liuineius, om. M* 18 omissis *Bert* 20 non (2°) *add. X2 w, om. M* uentus *Bongarsius* 25 ordine emeritis *Acidalius* 29 fortuna posuisset *h*: fortune potuisset *M* 32 inquam *M*: quidem *Bert* ab *X1* 33 petere e *h* (de *W. Meyer*): patere *M*

4 Sacrum istud palatium non candidatus imperii sed designatus intrasti,
2 confestimque te illi paterni lares successorem uidere legitimum. Neque
enim erat dubium quin ei competeret hereditas quem primum imperatori
filium fata tribuissent. Te enim tantus ille et imperator in terris et in caelo
deus in primo aetatis suae flore generauit toto adhuc corpore uigens, illa
praeditus alacritate ac fortitudine quam bella plurima, praecipue campi
3 uidere Vindonii. Inde est quod tanta ex illo in te formae similitudo
4 transiuit, ut signante Natura uultibus tuis impressa uideatur. Idem enim
est quem rursus in te colimus aspectus, eadem in fronte grauitas, eadem in
oculis et in ore tranquillitas. Sic est index modestiae rubor, sic testis sermo
5 iustitiae. Accipe, imperator, ancipitem nostrorum sensuum confessionem:
dolet quod Constantius excessit a nobis sed, dum te cernimus, illum
6 excessisse non credimus. Quamquam quid ego illum excessisse dico, cuius
immortalia facta uiuunt et in ore omnium hominum oculisque uersantur?

5 Quis enim, non dico reminiscitur, sed quis non adhuc quodam modo
2 uidet quantis ille rebus auxerit ornaritque rem publicam? Qui adscitus
imperio primo aduentu suo innumerabili hostium classe feruentem ex-
clusit Oceanum, exercitum illum qui Bononiensis oppidi litus insederat
terra pariter ac mari saepsit, cum reciprocos aestus illius elementi iactis
inter undas uallis diremisset ut, quorum portas fluctus adluerat, mare ei
3 quod tangerent perdidissent. Qui eodem exercitu uirtute capto, clementia
conseruato, dum aedificandis classibus Britanniae reciperatio compara-
tur, terram Bataviam sub ipso quondam alumno suo a diuersis Francorum
gentibus occupatam omni hoste purgauit, nec contentus uicisse ipsas in
Romanas transtulit nationes, ut non solum arma sed etiam feritatem
4 ponere cogerentur. Nam quid ego de receptione Britanniae loquar? ad
quam ita quieto mari nauigauit ut Oceanus ille tanto uectore stupefactus
caruisse suis motibus uideretur, ita peruectus ut non comitata illum sit sed
praestolata uictoria.

6 Quid de misericordia dicam qua uictis temperauit? Quid de iustitia
qua spoliatis amissa restituit? Quid de prouidentia qua sociis sibi iunctis
se eiusmodi iudicem dedit ut seruitutem passos iuuaret recepta libertas,

4 tantus *Aem. Baehrens*: tantum *M* 5 toto adhuc toto *M Bert*: toto *alt. om. X2, del. w* 7 uidere *hw*: uideris *M Bert* (uidonis *uel* uindonis *X2*) Vindonii *Arntzen pater*, Sydonii *hw*: idonei *M* 11 ancipitem *h X1*: accipitem *H* (*M?*): accipientem *Bert*, accipe *X2* 12 dolet *M Bert*: dolemus *hw* illum *h X2 w*: illud *M* 16 ornaueritque *Bert* 18 exercitumque *Cusp* 19 aestus *Liuineius*, cursus *w*: sensus *M Bert* iactis *w*: iactus *M* 20 alluerat *Langius*: allueret *M* ei *Ellis*, etiam *Liuineius, del. w*: et *M* 23 Vatauiam *M, corr. Puteolanus* 25 Romana *Aem. Baehrens* (*collato viii 1. 4*) 31 amissa *X2*: omissa *M* uinctis *H* (*an X, non liquet*) 32 se *w*: si *M* iudicem *w*: iudic *M*

culpae conscios ad paenitentiam reuocaret impunitas? Quid loquar rur- 2
sus intimas Franciae nationes iam non ab his locis quae olim Romani
inuaserant sed a propriis ex origine sui sedibus atque ab ultimis barbariae
litoribus auulsas, ut in desertis Galliae regionibus conlocatae et pacem
Romani imperii cultu iuuarent et arma dilectu? Quid commemorem
Lingonicam uictoriam etiam imperatoris ipsius uulnere gloriosam? Quid 3
Vindonissae campos hostium strage completos et adhuc ossibus opertos?
Quid immanem ex diuersis Germanorum populis multitudinem, quam 4
duratus gelu Rhenus inlexerat ut ⟨in⟩ insulam, quam diuortio sui idem am-
nis amplectitur, pedestri agmine ausa transmittere repente laxato flumine
clauderetur et dimissis statim obsessa nauigiis ita se dedere cogeretur ut,
quod difficilius est, sorte communi eligeret ex se quos captiuitati traderet,
relatura cum reliquiis suis infamiam proditionis suorum.

Dies me ante deficiat quam oratio, si omnia patris tui facta uel hac 7
breuitate percurram. Cuius etiam suprema illa expeditio non Britan-
nica tropaea, ut uulgo creditum est, expetiuit, sed dis iam uocantibus
ad intimum terrarum limen accessit. Neque enim ille tot tantisque re- 2
bus gestis non dico Calidonum aliorumque Pictorum siluas et paludes,
sed nec Hiberniam proximam nec Thylen ultimam nec ipsas, si quae
sunt, Fortunatorum insulas dignabatur adquirere sed, quod eloqui ne-
mini uoluit, iturus ad deos genitorem illum deorum ignea caeli astra
refouentem prospexit Oceanum, ut fruiturus exinde luce perpetua iam
uideret illic diem paene continuum. Vere enim profecto illi superum 3
templa patuerunt, receptusque est consessu caelitum Ioue ipso dexteram
porrigente. Quin immo statim sententiam rogatus cui imperium de-
cerneret, dixit ut decebat Constantium Pium: manifeste enim sententia
patris electus es, imperator. Quod quidem ita nos dicere cum ueritas 4
iubet, tum pietati tuae, ut uideo, gratissimum est. Sed cur tantummodo
priuatis tuis adfectibus blandiamur, cum omnium deorum fuerit illa sen-
tentia, et quidem iam pridem auctoritate perscripta, quamuis tunc pleno
sit firmata consilio? Iam tunc enim caelestibus suffragiis ad salutem rei 5

1 conscios *Bert w*: conscio *M* 3 sui *Schonhouius et Pulmannus*: suis *M* 6 quid *w*: quin *M* 7 Vindonis se *M* completos (*ita X2 w*) et *Liuineius*: -to sed *M* 9 illexerat *Langius*: illuxerat *M* in *add. Thörnell, om. M* 11 dimissis *Acidalius*: dem- *M* 12 ex se quos *Acidalius*, et ex aequo se *Liuineius*, e. e. a. quos *Arntzen iunior*: et exequos *M Bert* 13 reliquiis *Liuineius*: -quis *M* 14 deficiet *w* 16 trophea ut *w*: trope aut *M* creditum *w*: cretum *M Bert* 20 nemini *w*: nomini *M* 21 fluctibus suis *ante* ignea *add. Cusp* 22 fruiturus *Bert*, fructurus *Puteolanus*: futurus *M* 24 consessu *w*: concessu *M* caelitum *Liuineius*: celi. Tum *M Bert* 26 decebat *Bert w*: dicebat *M* 27 es *wp*: est *M* 28 tantum non *Bert* 30 prescripta *Bert*

publicae uocabaris, cum ad tempus ipsum quo pater in Britanniam trans-
fretabat classi iam uela facienti repentinus tuus aduentus inluxit, ut non
aduectus cursu publico sed diuino quodam aduolasse curriculo uidereris.
8 Non enim ulla Persarum Cydonumue tela tam certis iactibus destinata
fixerunt quam tempestiuus patri tuo terras relicturo comes adfuisti om-
nesque illius curas quas praesaga et tacita mente uoluebat praesentiae
2 tuae securitate laxasti. Di boni, quanta Constantium Pium etiam in
excessu suo felicitate donastis! Imperator transitum facturus in caelum
uidit quem relinquebat heredem. Ilico enim atque ille terris fuerat
exemptus, uniuersus in te consensit exercitus, te omnium mentes oculique
signarunt et, quamquam tu ad seniores principes de summa re publica
quid fieri placeret rettulisses, praeuenerunt studio quod illi mox iudicio
3 probauerunt. Purpuram statim tibi, cum primus copiam tui fecit egressus,
milites utilitati publicae magis quam tuis adfectibus seruientes iniecere
lacrimanti; neque enim fas erat diutius fleri principem consecratum.
4 Diceris etiam, imperator inuicte, ardorem illum te deposcentis exercitus
fugere conatus equum calcaribus incitasse. Quod quidem, ut uerum
5 audias, adulescentiae errore faciebas. Quis enim te Cyllarus aut Arion
posset eripere quem sequebatur imperium: illa, inquam, illa maiestas quae
Iouis sublata nutu nec Iridi deum nuntiae sed pinnis commissa Victoriae
tam facile te continata est quam cito ad terras caelo missa perueniunt?
6 Sic modestiam tuam atque pietatem et differendi imperii conatus ostendit
et rei publicae felicitas uicit.
9 O fortunata et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quae Con-
2 stantinum Caesarem prima uidisti! Merito te omnibus caeli ac soli bonis
Natura donauit, in qua nec rigor est nimius hiemis nec ardor aestatis, in
qua segetum tanta fecunditas ut muneribus utrisque sufficiat et Cereris
et Liberi, in qua nemora sine immanibus bestiis, terra sine serpentibus
noxiis, contra pecorum mitium innumerabilis multitudo lacte distenta et
3 onusta uelleribus; certe, quod propter uita diligitur, longissimae dies et
nullae sine aliqua luce noctes, dum illa litorum extrema planities non
attollit umbras noctisque metam caeli et siderum transit adspectus, ut sol

5 aduenisti *Bert* 6 quas *w*: quam *M* uoluebat *w*: uolebat *M* 7 Constantinum *H* (*nondum correctus*) *X1* 10 consensit *Cusp*: -scendit *M Bert* 11 rei publicae *w* 12 retulisses *M* 13 primum *w* 18 audias *d*: audies *M* Cyllarus *d*: Gyllarus *M* 19 quae *del. Novák* 20 Iouis sublata *Strömberg*, I. subiecta *Puteolanus*, I. firmata *Thörnell*: Ioui subrata *M* pinis *M Bert* 21 continuata *Bert*, comitata *w* 24 nunc *M*: una *Acidalius* Constantium *X1*: Constinum *H* 28 terra *w*: terras *M* 30 quod *Puteolanus*, quidem quod *Cusp*, quidem qua *Aem. Baehrens*: quidem *M Bert* 31 illorum *Bert*

ipse qui nobis uidetur occidere ibi appareat praeterire. Di boni, quid 4
hoc est quod semper ex aliquo supremo fine mundi noua deum numina
uniuerso orbi colenda descendunt? Sic Mercurius a Nilo, cuius fluminis
origo nescitur, sic Liber ab Indis prope consciis solis orientis deos se gen-
tibus ostendere praesentes. Sacratiora sunt profecto mediterraneis loca 5
uicina caelo, et inde propius a dis mittitur imperator ubi terra finitur.
Imperatoris igitur filius et tanti imperatoris, et ipse tam feliciter adep- **10**
tus imperium, quomodo rem publicam uindicare coepisti? Ignobilem,
credo, aliquam barbarorum manum, quae repentino impetu et improuiso
latrocinio ortus tui auspicia temptasset, adfecisti poena temeritatis? Reges 2
ipsos Franciae, qui per absentiam patris tui pacem uiolauerant, non du-
bitasti ultimis punire cruciatibus, nihil ueritus gentis illius odia perpetua
et inexpiabiles iras. Cur enim ullam reputet iustae seueritatis offensam 3
imperator qui quod fecit tueri potest? Tuta clementia est quae parcit 4
inimicis et sibi magis prospicit quam ignoscit; te uero, Constantine, quan-
tumlibet oderint hostes, dum perhorrescant. Haec est enim uera uirtus,
ut non ament et quiescant. Cautior licet sit qui deuinctos habet uenia per-
duelles, fortior tamen est qui calcat iratos. Renouasti, imperator, ueterem 5
illam Romani imperii fiduciam, quae de captis hostium ducibus uindictam
morte sumebat. Tunc enim captiui reges cum a portis usque ad forum 6
triumphantium currus honestassent, simul atque in Capitolium currum
flectere coeperat imperator, abrepti in carcerem necabantur. Vnus Perses 7
ipso Paulo, qui dedentem se acceperat, deprecante legem illius seueritatis
euasit; ceteri omnes in uinculis luce priuati aliis regibus dedere documen-
tum ut mallent amicitiam colere Romanam quam exasperare iustitiam.
Adeo et hoc boni confert poena hostibus inrogata, ut non solum inimici
ferocire non audeant sed etiam amici impensius reuereantur.
Inde igitur est, imperator, pax ista qua fruimur. Neque enim iam **11**
Rheni gurgitibus, sed nominis tui terrore munimur. Quamlibet ille aut
arescat aestu aut resistat gelu, neutro hostis audebit uti uado. Nihil enim 2
tam insuperabili uallo Natura praecludit quod non penetret audacia,
cui aliqua conandi spes relinquatur; ille est inexpugnabilis murus, quem
exstruit fama uirtutis. Sciunt posse Franci transire Rhenum, quos ad 3
necem suam libenter admittas, sed nec uictoriam possunt sperare nec

5 mediterraneis *Rhenanus*: dii terraneis *M* 6 proprius *H* 9 aliquam *w*: aliquem *M* manumque *M*, m. quae *w* 14 tuta *Liuineius*, stulta *Acidalius*: tua *M* 22 Perses *Langius*: pro se *M* 23 qui dedentem *Bert w*: quid edentem *M* 29 Rheni iam (*om.* enim) *Bert* sed *X2 w*: et *M* 30 arescata estu *M*, *corr. X2 w* 33 uirtutis *p*: uirtuti *M*

ueniam. Quid ipsos maneat, ex regum suorum cruciatibus metiuntur,
ideoque tantum abest ut amnis illius transitum moliantur, magis ut coepto
4 ponte desperent. Vbi nunc est illa ferocia, ubi semper infida mobilitas?
Iam ne procul quidem Rhenum audetis accolere, et uix securi flumina
5 interiora potatis. Contra hinc per interualla disposita magis ornant
limitem castella quam protegunt. Arat illam terribilem aliquando ripam
inermis agricola, et toto nostri greges bicorne mersantur. Haec est tua,
Constantine, de Ascarici Merogaisique supplicio cotidiana atque aeterna
uictoria omnibus quondam secundis proeliis anteponenda: semel acie
6 uincitur, sine fine documento. Cladem suam, quamuis multi pereant,
uulgus ignorat; compendium est deuincendorum hostium duces sustulisse.

12 Vt tamen omnibus modis barbarorum immanitas frangeretur, nec
sola hostes regum suorum supplicia maererent, etiam immissa Bructeris
2 uastatione fecisti, imperator inuicte. In quo prima consilii tui fuit ra-
tio quod exercitu repente traiecto inopinantes adortus es, non quo aperto
Marte diffideres ut qui palam congredi maluisses, sed ut illa natio perfugiis
3 siluarum et paludum bellum solita frustrari fugae tempus amitteret. Caesi
igitur innumerabiles, capti plurimi; quidquid fuit pecoris, raptum aut tru-
cidatum est; uici omnes igne consumpti; puberes qui in manus uenerunt,
quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiae nec ferocia seruituti, ad poenas
4 spectaculo dati saeuientes bestias multitudine sua fatigarunt. Hoc est, im-
perator, fretum esse uirtute sua atque fortuna, hoc est non pacem emere
parcendo sed uictoriam quaerere prouocando.

13 Insuper etiam Agrippinensi ponte faciundo reliquiis adflictae gentis
insultas, ne umquam metus ponat, semper horreat semper supplices
manus tendat, cum tamen hoc tu magis ad gloriam imperii tui et ornatum
limitis facias quam ad facultatem, quotiens uelis, in hosticum transeundi,
quippe cum totus armatis nauibus Rhenus instructus sit et ripis omnibus
2 usque ad Oceanum dispositus miles immineat. Sed pulchrum tibi uidetur
(et re uera pulcherrimum est) ut Rhenus ille non solum superioribus
locis, ubi aut latitudine uadosus aut uicinia fontis exiguus, sed etiam
ibi nouo ponte calcetur ubi totus est, ubi iam plurimos hausit amnes
quos hic noster ingens fluuius et barbarus Nicer et Moenus inuexit, ubi
iam immani meatu ferox et aluei unius impatiens in sua cornua gestit

2 coepto ponte *Cusp* (*cf. c. 13.5*), comperta potestate (*ita Rhenanus*) *Livineus*: coempta ponte *M Bert* 4 accolere *Langius*: attollere *M* (oculos *ante* audetis *add. w*) 7 inermus *H* 8 dea sacari cimero gaisique *M* (*alius aliter corr. Itali*): de Ascarici *Langius*, Merogaisique *W. Baehrens* 15 es *wp*: est *M* 17 paludium *H* 18 fuit *Puteolanus*: fuerit *M* raptum *Aem. Baehrens*: captum *M* 24 reliquiis *w*: -quis *M* 27 hosticum *Bert w*: hosti cum *M*

excedere. Seruit profecto, Constantine, ipsa rerum natura numini tuo, 3
cum in illa gurgitum altitudine tantarum molium fundamenta iaciuntur
fidam et stabilem firmitatem habitura. Iunxerit licet quondam Hellesponti 4
angustias classe conexa Persarum rex potentissimus: temporarius ille
transitus fuit. Simili nauium continuatione Baianum sinum strauerit ab
Augusto tertius Caesar: delicata fuit illa uectatio principis otiosi. Hoc
opus et difficile factu et usu futurum est sempiternum. Certe quidem 5
iam tibi in exordio sui hostium mouit obsequia, qui pacem supplices
petiuerunt, nobilissimos obsides obtulerunt. Ex quo nemo dubitat quid
perfecto ponte facturi sint qui iam seruiunt inchoato.

Talibus te pro utilitate ac dignitate publica rebus intentum auerterunt 14
in se noui motus eius hominis quem successibus tuis maxime fauere decuis-
set. De quo ego quemadmodum dicam adhuc ferme dubito et de nutu
numinis tui exspecto consilium. Quamlibet enim merito pietatis tuae 2
questibus arguatur, debet tamen sibi uox priuata moderari, praesertim
cum eum qui tibi ex tantis beneficiis tuis et tanto necessitudinum fauore
ingratus exstiterit adhuc contemplatio tui cogat ut quamuis irati reuerean-
tur. Quid faciam igitur ut tam profunda uulnera suspensa manu tractem? 3
Vsurpabo nimirum illa communia omnium facinorum patrocinia, quae
tamen plerumque etiam a sapientibus adseruntur, neminem hominum
peccare nisi fato et ipsa scelera mortalium actus esse fortunae, contra
autem deorum munera esse uirtutes. Gratulare, Constantine, naturae 4
ac moribus tuis quod te talem Constantius Pius genuit, talem siderum
decreta formarunt, ut crudelis esse non possis. Illum autem non credo, 5
cum uenturus in lucem optionem uitae qua uteretur acciperet, sortem
incurrisse fugiendam, quae multis hominibus iniustum et postremo ipsi
uoluntarium ferret exitium. Vt enim alia mittam, hoc ipsum nonne fati 6
necessitas tulit, ut ille pietati tuae hanc referret uicem, quem tu ab Vrbe
pulsum, ab Italia fugatum, ab Illyrico repudiatum tuis prouinciis, tuis
copiis, tuo palatio recepisti?

Quid, oro, sibi uoluit, quid optauit? Vt quid amplius adipisceretur 15
his quae a te fuerat consecutus? Cui tu summa et diuersissima bona,

3 fidem *H nondum correctus* 8 ostium *H* 9 petiuerunt *Novák*: petierunt *M* 11 te pro *Puteolanus*, porro te *w*: pro te *M* 16 fauore *Cusp*, fonte *w*: fore *M* 17 existerit *M, corr. w* contemplatio tui *Liuineius*, -tus tui *W. Baehrens*, contemplari *w*: contemplatui *M* reuereantur *Liuineius*, -amur *Acidalius*: reuereat *M* (ut quasi ira referueat *w*) 22 uirtutem gratulare *X2* (uirtutes *p*): uirtulare *M* 23 genuit *Klotz*: genuerit *M*, *quo retento* formarint *w* 30 recepisti *Cusp*: cepisti *M* 31 quid (*1°*) *X2 w*: quod *M* 32 cui *X2*, quin *w*: qui *M*

priuatum otium et regias opes, dederas, cui digredienti ad anulos sederas,
cui impensius etiam quam tibi occurrere obsequia nostra mandaueras,
cuius omnibus iussis sic statueras oboedire ut penes te habitus, penes
2 illum potestas esset imperii. Quisnam ille tantus fuit non ardor potentiae
(quid enim te imperante non posset?) sed error iam desipientis aetatis, ut
3 tot natus annos grauissimas curas et bellum ciuile susciperet? Nullis, ut res
est, fortunae muneribus explentur quorum cupiditates ratio non terminat,
atque ita eos felicitas ingrata subterfluit ut semper pleni sperum, uacui
4 commodorum, praesentibus careant dum futura prospectant. At enim
diuinum illum uirum qui primus imperium et participauit et posuit consilii
et facti sui non paenitet nec amisisse se putat quod sponte transcripsit,
felix beatusque uere quem uestra tantorum principum colunt obsequia
5 priuatum. Sed et ille multiiugo fultus imperio et uestro laetus tegitur
umbraculo, quos scit ex sua stirpe creuisse et glorias uestras iuste sibi
6 uindicat. Hunc ergo illum, qui ab eo fuerat frater adscitus, puduit imitari,
huic illum in Capitolini Iouis templo iurasse paenituit. Non miror quod
etiam genero peierauit.

16 Haec est fides, haec religio Palatini sacrarii deuota penetralibus, ut
lente et cunctanter, iam scilicet cum illis belli consiliis, itinere confecto,
consumptis copiis mansionum ne quis consequi posset exercitus, repente
intra parietes consideret purpuratus et bis depositum tertio usurparet im-
perium, litteras ad sollicitandos exercitus mitteret, fidem militum praemio-
rum ostentatione turbare temptaret, secure scilicet usurus exercitu quem
2 uenales manus habere docuisset. Quo quidem illius errore declaratum
est, imperator, quantus te militum tuorum amor complecteretur, qui
te omnibus donis quae ille promiserat, omnibus honorum oblationibus
3 praetulerunt. Rara illa uirtus continentiae uix a paucis sapientiae prae-
ceptoribus, tamen aliquando seruata, propter te, Constantine, omnium
hominum est facta communis, nec solum hi quos ratio litterae uitae quies
mitigauit, sed etiam ille militarium ardor animorum respectu tui lucra
4 contempsit. Fuerint aliqui exercitus alacritate ac uiribus tui similes: tibi
5 uni contigit exercitum habere sapientem. Multi olim fortasse praui duces,
armis impares, largitione certarunt, sed breuis eorum fuit et caduca popu-
6 laritas, quos facile uicit quisquis imitatus est. Hic firmus, hic aeternus est
rei publicae custos quem ipsum per se milites amant, cui non blandita nec
7 uendita seruit adulatio sed simplex et sincera deuotio. Dona tua, Con-

1 ad anulos sederas *quid sibi uelit nescimus*: anulos dederas *w* 15 illum *X2*: eum *M* eo *Thörnell*, ipso *Aem. Baehrens*: illo *M* 23 turbaret emptaret *M*, *corr. X2* 24 quo *w*: quod *M* 26 te *X*: e te *H* (*corr. h*) 28 tamen *X2 w*: tam *M* 29 hii *w*: hiis *M* litterariae uitae quiesque *w*

stantine, manifeste sunt grata militibus, sed hoc gratiora quod tua sunt.
Quaecumque porrigis manu tua fiunt acceptiora. Quam nemo tecum 8
potest hac ambitione contendere! Insuperabile genus est largitionis, cum
ipse militi praemium est imperator. Itaque tribuis tu quidem exercitibus 9
tuis etiam plura quam cupiunt, sed tuum te magis nomen, tua de memo-
ria patris auctoritas, tua aetatis gratia, tua denique ista uenerabilis forma
commendat.

Pulchrum enim, di boni, et caeleste miraculum imperator adulescens, **17**
in quo illa quae iam summa est fortitudo adhuc tamen crescit, in quo hic
fulgor oculorum, haec ueneranda pariter et grata maiestas praestringit
simul et inuitat adspectus. Talem Magnum illum regem, talem Thessalum 2
uirum mente concipio, quorum summa uirtus pulchritudini coniuncta
celebratur. Non frustra enim doctissimi uiri dicunt Naturam ipsam 3
magnis mentibus domicilia corporum digna metari, et ex uultu hominis
ac decore membrorum colligi posse quantus illos caelestis spiritus intrarit
habitator. Itaque te cum ingredientem milites uident, admirantur et 4
diligunt, sequuntur oculis, animo tenent, deo se obsequi putant, cuius
tam pulchra forma est quam certa diuinitas.

Statim igitur ut foedum illud facinus audierant, ultro a te proficis- **18**
cendi signum petiuerunt; cum uiatica dares, id ipsum sibi moram facere
plusque iam se quam sufficeret ex largitionibus tuis habere dixerunt.
Inde arreptis armis portas petiuerunt, tot dierum iter a Rheno usque ad 2
Ararim sine ulla requie peregerunt indefessis corporibus, animis flagran-
tibus, crescente in dies ardore uindictae quanto propius accederent. Tum 3
quidem tua, imperator, cura, qua refouendis eorum uiribus a Cabillo-
nensi portu nauigia prouideras, festinantibus paene non placuit. Segnis
ille et cunctabundus amnis nunquam fuisse tardior uidebatur; carinis
tacite labentibus et ripis lente recedentibus stare se, non ire clamabant.
Tum uero usum pedum manibus aggressi incubuere remigiis et natu- 4
ram fluminis urguendo uicerunt, et tandem eluctati Araris moras uix
ipso Rhodano fuere contenti; parum illis uidebatur concitus ruere, minus
solito Arelate properare. Quid multa? Confitendum est, imperator: cum 5
hoc tuo uigore corporis, hoc mentis ardore laborasti interdum ut quem
ducebas sequereris exercitum. Tanto enim omnes impetu ferebantur 6
ut, cum illum Arelate deserto comperissent abisse Massiliam, confestim
nauibus euolarent effusoque cursu non iam Rhodani curricula sed ipsa

4 tuis exercitibus *Bert* 6 tua (2°) *M*: tuae *Bert* 24 tum *Puteolanus*: cum *M* 25 ac ab illonensi *M corr. X2 w* 26 pene *c*, preire *w*: prene *M*

7 quodammodo uentorum flabra praeuerterent. Tantus illos incenderat
amor numinis tui ut, quamuis scirent oppugnandam esse munitissimam
ciuitatem, sufficere sibi crederent peruenire.

19 Massilia enim, ut audio, in profundum mare prominens et munitis-
simo accincta portu, in quem angusto aditu meridianus refluit sinus, solis
mille quingentis passibus terrae cohaeret, qua firmissimus et turribus fre-
2 quens murus opponitur. Quippe olim Graecos Italosque illuc conuenas,
cum artibus ingenioque pollerent, etiam ipse docuit locus omnia quae
bello usui forent largius in eam partem quae adiri posset impendere, cum
3 Natura in ceteris sumptum operis remisisset. Itaque illam tum graui fato
Caesari portas pro duce seniore claudentem terra marique admotis ma-
chinis, aggeribus exstructis, naualibus proeliis saepius oppugnatam quam
territam uix obsessio diuturna patefecit, cum tamen Graeculi magistratus
et ipsum Caesarem et mox duces eius et copias non tam uiribus suis quam
4 moenibus reppulissent. At enim nunc primo tuo, imperator, aduentu
primoque impetu exercitus tui nihil eiusdem Massiliae altitudo muro-
rum, nihil creberrimae turres, nihil loci natura remorata est, quominus
5 et portum caperes et urbem continuo, si uelles. Quippe tanta fiducia
murum omnem milites inuaserant, ut statim sine dubio ascensuri fuissent,
nisi in parandis quas admouerant scalis coniecturam oculorum sublimitas
6 fefellisset. Sic quoque multi scalarum breuitate decepti, quod supererat
ascensui, extentis corporibus aequabant, et succedentium humeris sub-
leuati iam interualla pinnarum uncis manibus inuaserant. Adeo nihil
periculi in uindictae exsecutione metuebant, ut sibi non murum scandere
sed ex aequo congredi uiderentur.

20 Sed o singularem tuam, Constantine, pietatem et sua semper offi-
cia etiam inter arma seruantem! Signum receptui dedisti et uictoriam
distulisti, ut omnibus tibi liceret ignoscere, ne quid atrocius faceret miles
2 iratus quam clementiae tuae natura pateretur. In quo licet optimi im-
peratoris sollicitudine caueris ut inducti in fraudem milites paenitendi
tempus acciperent atque ultro ueniam precarentur, nos tamen qui mi-
tissimos tuos sensus intuemur (nihil est enim tam perspicuum quam in
pectore tuo bonitas) illi te intellegimus pepercisse, quem, si prima copiam
3 habuisset inruptio, eripere ferro nemo potuisset. Ita quod ad pietatem

1 flabra *Liuineius*, flamina *d*: flaua *M* 4 promines *H* 5 mediterraneus *Liuineius*
13 patefecit *X2 w*: -facit *M* 15 nunc *Gruter*, in *Rhenanus*, uero *Liuineius*, *del. w*: num *M*
Bert 18 uelles *Langius*: uelis *M* 21 sed sic *Bert* 22 extemptis *H* subleuati *X2 w*:
-asti *M* 24 in uindictae *X2 w*: inuindicate *M* 28 ne *M*: neu *Liuineius* 34 ferro
Bert Cusp: ferre *H*: fere *X*

tuam pertinet, imperator, et illum et omnes quos receperat reseruasti.
Sibi imputet quisquis uti noluit beneficio tuo nec se dignum uita iudicauit,
cum per te liceret ut uiueret; tu, quod sufficit conscientiae tuae, etiam
non merentibus pepercisti. Sed (ignosce dicto) non omnia potes: di te 4
uindicant et inuitum.

Quod quidem nobis semper optandum est ut prosperos habeas etiam 21
ultra tua uota successus, qui omnem spem in gremio maiestatis tuae
ponimus et tuam ubique praesentiam, quasi dari possit, expetimus. Ecce 2
enim, dum a limite paulisper abscesseras, quibus se terroribus barbarorum
perfidia iactauerat, scilicet dum sibi illa proponunt: quando perueniet?
quando uincet? quando fessum reducet exercitum? cum repente audito
reditu tuo uelut attoniti conciderunt, ne tuum pro re publica uotum am-
plius quam unius noctis cura tetigisset. Postridie enim quam accepto illo 3
nuntio geminatum itineris laborem susceperas, omnes fluctus resedisse,
omnem quam reliqueras tranquillitatem redisse didicisti, ipsa hoc sic ordi-
nante Fortuna ut te ibi rerum tuarum felicitas admoneret dis immortalibus
ferre quae uoueras, ubi deflexisses ad templum toto orbe pulcherrimum,
immo ad praesentem, ut uidisti, deum. Vidisti enim, credo, Constan- 4
tine, Apollinem tuum comitante Victoria coronas tibi laureas offerentem,
quae tricenum singulae ferunt omen annorum. Hic est enim humanarum
numerus aetatum quae tibi utique debentur ultra Pyliam senectutem.
Et—immo quid dico 'credo'?—uidisti teque in illius specie recognouisti, 5
cui totius mundi regna deberi uatum carmina diuina cecinerunt. Quod 6
ego nunc demum arbitror contigisse, cum tu sis, ut ille, iuuenis et laetus
et salutifer et pulcherrimus, imperator. Merito igitur augustissima illa 7
delubra tantis donariis honestasti, ut iam uetera non quaerant. Iam om-
nia te uocare ad se templa uideantur praecipueque Apollo noster, cuius
feruentibus aquis periuria puniantur, quae te maxime oportet odisse.

Di immortales, quando illum dabitis diem, quo praesentissimus hic 22
deus omni pace composita illos quoque Apollinis lucos et sacras aedes
et anhela fontium ora circumeat? Quorum scaturigines leni tepore ne-
bulosae adridere, Constantine, oculis tuis et osculis sese inserere uelle
uideantur. Miraberis profecto illam quoque numinis tui sedem et calentes 2
aquas sine ullo soli ardentis indicio, quarum nulla tristitia est saporis aut
halitus, sed talis haustu et odore sinceritas qualis fontium frigidorum.

1 deceperat *Acidalius* 9 ali mite *M*, *corr. X2 w* 12 ne *M*: me *Bert* 15 ordinante
Cusp: ornante *M* 17 ferre *w*: fere *M* uoueras *w Cusp*: uocaueras *M* 20 tricenum
Puteolanus, -cenorum *w*: triceno *M* 30 aedes *M*: hedes *Bert*: sedes *Puteolanus*
31 anhela *Puteolanus*: hanella *M* circummeat *M*, *corr. X2 w* tepore *Puteolanus*: tempore *M*

3 Dabis et illic munera, constitues priuilegia, ipsam denique patriam meam
4 ipsius loci ueneratione restitues. Cuius ciuitatis antiqua nobilitas et
quondam fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriata opem tuae maiestatis
exspectat, ut illic quoque loca publica et templa pulcherrima tua libera-
litate reparentur, sicut hic uideo hanc fortunatissimam ciuitatem, cuius
natalis dies tua pietate celebratur, ita cunctis moenibus resurgentem ut
se quodammodo gaudeat olim corruisse, auctior tuis facta beneficiis.
5 Video circum maximum aemulum, credo, Romano, uideo basilicas et
forum, opera regia, sedemque iustitiae in tantam altitudinem suscitari
6 ut se sideribus et caelo digna et uicina promittant. Quae certe omnia
sunt praesentiae ⟨tuae⟩ munera. Quaecumque enim loca frequentissime
tuum numen inlustrat, in his omnia et hominibus et moenibus et mu-
neribus augentur; nec magis Ioui Iunonique recubantibus nouos flores
terra summisit quam circa tua, Constantine, uestigia urbes et templa
7 consurgunt. Ideoque hoc uotis meis sufficit ut patriam meam uideas
ducente pietate, quia statim erit restituta si uideris.

23 Sed enim ista felicitas uiderit an adhuc meae debeatur aetati. Interim
quoniam ad summam uotorum meorum tua dignatione perueni, ut hanc
meam qualemcumque uocem diuersis otii et palatii officiis exercitam in
tuis auribus consecrarem, maximas numini tuo gratias ago tibique, quod
superest, commendo liberos meos praecipueque illum iam summa fisci
patrocinia tractantem, in quem me totum transtulit pietas, cuius felix
2 seruitus, si quando respexeris, maxime tuae conueniet aetati. Ceterum
quod de omnibus liberis dixi, lata est, imperator, ambitio; praeter illos
enim quinque quos genui, etiam illos quasi meos numero quos prouexi
ad tutelam fori, ad officia palatii. Multi quippe ex me riui non ignobiles
fluunt, multi sectatores mei etiam prouincias tuas administrant. Quorum
successibus laetor omniumque honorem pro meo duco et, si forte hodie
3 infra exspectationem mei dixero, in illis me confido placuisse. Si tamen
hoc quoque mihi tuum numen indulserit, ut ex hac oratione non elo-
quentiae, quod nimium est, sed quantulaecumque prudentiae et deuotae
tibi mentis testimonium referam, cedant priuatorum studiorum ignobiles
curae; perpetua mihi erit materia dicendi, qui me probauerit, imperator.

2 ueneratione *X2 w*: -onem *M* 5 sicut hic *M*: sicuti *Liuineius* fortissimam *Bert* 11 praesentiae *Liuineius, addito* tuae: praesentia *M* (tua *add. Puteolanus*) *fort.* praesentis dei 12 illustrat *X2*: -trant *M* 13 Iunonique *Bert*, et Iunoni *X2*: Iunoni *M* 16 pietate *w*: -atem *M* 19 palatii *w*: -ati *M* officii *H* 26 ex me riui non *Cusp*: ex meri uino *M* (ex meri humo *X2*): ex mea riuo *Bert*: *signa desperationis appingit w, tandem deuictus* 33 Finit secundus *M*

V (VIII)

⟨INCERTI GRATIARVM ACTIO CONSTANTINO AVGVSTO⟩

Si Flauia Aeduorum tandem aeterno nomine nuncupata, sacratis- 1
sime imperator, commouere se funditus atque huc uenire potuisset, tota
profecto coram de tuis in se maximis pulcherrimisque beneficiis una uoce
loqueretur, tibique restitutori suo, immo (ut uerius fatear) conditori, in
ea potissimum ciuitate gratias ageret, cuius eam similem facere coepisti.
Sed quoniam id non potest (gestit animo quod natura non patitur), cla- 2
moresque suos, quibus cotidie laudes tuas tollit in caelum, exaudiri a te
non sinit interiecta longinquitas [sua], id quod fieri decebat, gaudiorum
patriae meae nuntium sponte suscepi, ut essem iam non priuati studii
litterarum sed publicae gratulationis orator. Volui enim, sacratissime 3
imperator, cum in illo aditu palatii tui stratum ante pedes tuos ordinem
indulgentiae tuae uoce diuina porrectaque hac inuicta dextera subleuasti,
numini tuo gratias agere. Nec mihi uerba quamuis imparato defuissent; 4
quis enim aut praeparare se ad beneficia tam insperata potuisset, aut ab
tanta gratulatione cohiberet? Sed habui rationem loci ac temporis, ne 5
meus ille ardor animi studiumque dicendi tibi quidem (quod mihi ad im-
mortalitatem sufficeret) probaretur, sed propter adsistentium paucitatem

2 Incipiunt Panegirici diuersorum uii *M*: Inc. primus dictus Constantino *add. w* 4 sacratissime] sac' *H*: sacer *X* 7 fateor *H* 9 quod *ante* gestit *transp. Galletier*, etsi animo gestit *Gruter; an* gestit enim? 10 suos *wp*: tuos *M* 11 sua *suadentibus et sententia et numeris seclusi* 12 essem *wp*: esse *M* 13 uolui *H Cusp*: nolui *X* sac. (*ita*) *H*: sacer *X* 14 stratum *H*: statum *X* (stantem *w*) 16 imparato *Liuineius*: -ata *M* 18 cohibere *p*

minus quam te dignum esset iret in populos, et te uno die de salute nostra
multa tractantem moraretur oratio, quae pro magnitudine meritorum
tuorum festinare non posset.

2 Nunc itaque cum in hac urbe, quae adhuc adsiduitate praesentiae tuae
prae ceteris fruitur (habebit enim felicitatis aemulam Flauiam nostram),
totus tibi amicorum tuorum comitatus et omnis imperii apparatus adsistat,
[ac] cum omnes homines omnium fere ciuitatum aut publice missi aut pro
se tibi supplices adsint, dicam, imperator, ea quae libenter agnoscas, et
2 ceteri nobis indulta non crederent nisi te agnoscente dixissem. Primum
est autem, sacratissime imperator, in agendis gratiis ostendere id quod
indultum sit non fortuitae felicitatis sed iustae fuisse clementiae. Nam
cum omnes homines etiam non indigentes iuuare boni sit principis, tum
3 praecipue bene meritis et grauiter adfectis subuenire sapientis est. Quod
cum ostendero non tam studio praedicandae patriae meae quam officio
demonstrandae prouidentiae tuae, tum potissime beneficiorum tuorum
4 magnitudinem [tuam] prosequar maiore uoto quam ingenio. Quaenam
igitur gens toto orbe terrarum in amore Romani nominis Aeduis se
postulet anteponi? Qui primi omnium inter illas immanes et barbaras
Galliae gentes plurimis senatus consultis fratres populi Romani appellati
sunt et, cum a ceteris Rhodano ad Rhenum usque populis ne pax quidem
posset nisi suspecta sperari, soli etiam consanguinitatis nomine gloriati
5 sunt; et nuper, ut media praeteream, diuum Claudium parentem tuum
ad recuperandas Gallias soli uocauerunt et ante paucissimos annos, quod
maxime praedicandum, plurima patris tui beneficia partim rebus effecta
perceperunt, partim animo significata laetantur.

3 Fuit olim Sagyntos foederata, sed cum iam taedio Punici belli nouare imperium omnis cuperet Hispania. Fuit amica Massilia; protegi se maiestate Romani gratulabatur. Imputauere se origine fabulosa in Sicilia Mamertini, in Asia Ilienses. Soli Aedui non metu territi, non adulatione compulsi, sed ingenua et simplici caritate fratres populi Romani crediti sunt appellarique meruerunt; quo nomine praeter cetera necessitudinum uocabula et communitas amoris apparet et dignitatis aequalitas.

1 populos et *Liuineius*: populo sed *M* 5 ceteris *w cod. Napocensis*: ceteras *M* (praeter cet. *Novák*) 6 assistat *Aem. Baehrens*, -tit et *Puteolanus*, -tat et *Liuineius*: assistat ac (at *X*) *M* 8 et *Puteolanus*: ut *M* 12 etiam *w*: coram *M* cura non indignos *uel* cura (*an* curarum?) indigentes *Rittershusius* 13 afflictis *Acidalius* (*coll. c. 5.1*) 14 ostendero *Bert w*: -dere *M* 16 tuam *ante* prosequar *H*, *post* pros. *X*, *om. Bert* 17 Aeduis se *hwp*: eduisse *M* 18 immanas *H* (*corr. h*) 20 ab Rhodano *Liuineius* 27 sed protegi *Liuineius* 28 *ante* Romani *add.* populi *Aem. Baehrens* (Romana *X*); *cf. iv 38.3* 29 Illienses *M*, *corr. Puteolanus*

Deinde cum finitimae nationes ipsi illi Romanae fraternitatis nouae glo- 2
riae inuidentes et usque in perniciem sui odiis incitatae Germanos sibi
auxiliarios dominos inuocassent, princeps Aeduus ad senatum uenit,
rem docuit, cumque idem oblato consessu minus sibi uindicasset quam
dabatur, scuto innixus perorauit, impetrata ope Romanum exercitum 3
Caesaremque cis Rhodanum primus induxit. Semita enim Galliae usque
ad id temporis Transalpina Gallia nominabatur; sed enim Aedui totum
istud quod Rheno Oceano Pyrenaeis montibus Cottiis Alpibus continetur
Romano imperio tradiderunt, hibernis hospitaliter praebitis, suppeditatis
largiter commeatibus, armis fabricandis pedestribus, equitum copiis auxi-
liantibus. Ita in unam pacem sociatis omnibus Celtarum Belgarumque 4
populis eripuere barbaris quidquid iunxere Romanis.

4 Dicet aliquis 'Vetera ista'. Sunt, et quidem hoc sanctiora quod uetera.
Bonis enim meritis cum aetate dignitas et pondus accedit; atque ut magno
natu parentes magis magisque in dies ueneramur et colimus, fratrum
uero aequalitas et liberorum suboles blandiore licet leuiore tamen animos
tangit adfectu, ita beneficia antiqua grauiora sunt, quamuis praesentia
suauiora uideantur. Sed tamen si illa uetustate obsoleuerunt, quid haec 2
recentia quae pueri uidimus? Attende, quaeso, quantum sit, imperator,
quod diuum Claudium parentem tuum ad recuperandas Gallias primi
sollicitauerunt, exspectantesque eius auxilium septem mensibus clausi, et
omnia inopiae miseranda perpessi, tum demum inrumpendas rebellibus
Gallicanis portas reliquerunt, cum fessi obseruare non possent. Quod 3
si uotis et conatibus Aeduorum fortuna fauisset atque ille rei publicae
restitutor implorantibus nobis subuenire potuisset, sine ullo detrimento
Romanarum uirium, sine clade Catalaunica compendium pacis reconci-
liatis prouinciis attulisset fraternitas Aeduorum. Ob haec igitur merita et 4
(recentia et) prisca diuus pater tuus ciuitatem Aeduorum uoluit iacentem
erigere perditamque recreare, non solum pecuniis ad caldaria largiendis
et lauacris quae corruerant exstruendis sed etiam metycis undique transferendis, ut esset illa ciuitas prouinciarum uelut una mater, quae reliquas urbes quodammodo Romanas prima fecisset.

1 nouae *Goetze*: non *M* 3 inuocassent *X2 w*: -set *M* 4 cumque idem *Liuineius*: cum quidem *M* consessu *H Bert Cusp*: consensu *X* 7 enim *M*: tum *Liuineius* 8 Cottiis *Aem. Baehrens*: cunctis *M* 10 ped. equitumque *Langius*, ped. et equitum *Cl. Puteanus*, *ante* ped. *distinctione posita* 18 obsoluerunt *H* 19 quantum *Aem. Baehrens*, -ti *Puteolanus*: -ta *M* 24 uotis *Markland*: uobis *M* 28 rec. et *hic addendum docent numeri*, et rec. *post* prisca *add. Novák*, *om. M* 29 caldaria *Rittershusius*: calendaria *M* 30 etiam *H*: et *X* metycis *H*: meticis *X Bert*: metoecis *Rhenanus* 32 prima *w*: primas *M*

5 Dixi quam bene meritis Aeduis subueneris, imperator; sequitur ut
dicam quam grauiter adflictis. Qui locus nimium quantum plus mihi
suppeditaret orationis, si fas esset audiente te rebus tristioribus immorari.
2 Vt igitur in praedicandis patriae meae ⟨meritis⟩ uerecundia modum fecit
ne adroganter insurgerem, ita in commemorandis eiusdem malis et meus
dolor et tuarum aurium consuetudo cohibebit. Nihil enim libenter audis,
3 nisi quo pro tuis gratuleris. Sed tamen quaeso, imperator, iniunge pa-
tientiam sensibus tuis ut, quemadmodum praestantes scientia medici non
aspernantur uulnera inspicere quae sanant, ita nunc tu paulisper audias
Aeduorum labores quos sustulisti. Neque enim potes sine experimento
4 misericordiae ad laudem clementiae peruenire. Iacebat illa ciuitas non
tam moenium ruinis quam uirium defectione prostrata, ex quo eam noui
5 census exanimarat enormitas. Nec tamen iuste queri poterat, cum et
agros qui discripti fuerant haberemus et Gallicani census communi for-
6 mula teneremur, qui fortunis nemini possumus comparari. Quo magis,
imperator, clementiae tuae gratias agimus, qui remediis sponte concessis
fecisti ut, quod non poteramus iure petere, iuste obtinuisse uideamur.

6 Habemus enim, ut dixi, et hominum numerum qui delati sunt et
agrorum modum, sed utrumque nequa⟨qua⟩m, hominum segnitia ter-
raeque perfidia. Vnde enim nobis Remus aut Neruius aut ipse ille de
proximo Tricassinus ager aut arator, quorum reditus cum labore con-
2 tendunt? Quamquam merito quiuis [si] ignoscat ipsis cultoribus, quos
piget laborare sine fructu. Siquidem ager qui numquam respondet im-
pendiis ex necessitate deseritur, etiam inopia rusticanorum, quibus in
aere alieno uacillantibus nec aquas deducere nec siluas licuit excidere.
3 Ita quidquid olim fuerat tolerabilis soli aut corruptum est paludibus aut
4 sentibus impeditum. Quin etiam ipse ille pagus Arebrignus inani fertur
inuidia, cuius in uno loco uitium cultura perspicua est; nam retro cetera
5 siluis et rupibus inuia securarum sunt cubilia bestiarum. Illa autem quae
subiecta et usque Ararim porrecta planities fuit quidem, ut audio, ali-

4 predicandis hic aliquid deesse ut laudibus uel meritis patrie X_1 (hic ... uel *del.* *w*); laudibus *ante* patriae add. X_2, meritis *post* meae *W. Baehrens*   7 quo *w* (*post* pro *Liuineius*), quod *Rittershusius*: quos *M*   11 miseriae *Liuineius*   12 menium *Bert*: minyum *M* ruinis *Modius*: romanis *M Bert*   13 examinarat *H* (*corr. h*) enormitas *Cusp*: acerbitas *M*   14 discripti *Aem. Baehrens*: descripti *M*   15 comparari *Bert*: equari *M*   19 nequaquam *scripsi*: nequam *M*   21 reditus *Rhenanus*: redditus *M*   22 si *seclusit w*   23 respondet *w*: -dent *M*   26 quicquid *X*: quid qui *H* corrumptum *H*   27 impeditum X_2 *w*, -tur X_1: impedimentum *H* feritur *Cellarius*   28 in uno *H Bert Cusp*: in *X*: in imo *Liuineius*, infimo *Aem. Baehrens*   30 et usque *h X*: eras que *H* Ararim porrecta *X* (-ri X_1, *corr.* *w*): Arar inporrecta *H*

quando iucunda, cum per singulorum fines continua cultura procursus
fontium fossis patentibus euehebat; nunc autem interclusis uastitate mea-
tibus, quidquid humilitate sua fuerat uberius, in uoraginum stagna conuer-
sum. Ipsae denique uineae, quas mirantur ignari, ita uetustate senuerunt 6
ut culturam iam paene non sentiant. Radices enim uitium, quarum iam 7
nescimus aetatem, milies replicando congestae altitudinem debitam scro-
bibus excludunt, et ipsam propaginem non abditam sed obtectam produnt
imbribus eluendam et solibus perurendam. Nec possumus, ut Aquitanis 8
aliisque prouinciis familiare est, nouis uitibus locum ubique metari, cum
supra saxa perpetua sint, infra humilitas pruinosa.

Nam quid ego de ceteris ciuitatis illius regionibus loquar, quibus in- 7
lacrimasse te ipse confessus es? Vidisti enim non, ut per agros aliarum 2
urbium, omnia fere culta aperta florentia, uias faciles, nauigera flumina
ipsas oppidorum portas adluentia, sed statim ab eo flexu, e quo retrorsum
uia ducit in Belgicam, uasta omnia, inculta squalentia muta tenebrosa,
etiam militaris uias ita confragosas et alternis montibus arduas atque prae-
cipites, ut uix semiplena carpenta, interdum uacua transmittant. Ex quo 3
saepe accidit ut obsequia nostra tarda sint, cum paruarum frugum nobis
difficilior sit euectio quam ceteris plurimarum. Quo magis, imperator, 4
pietati tuae gratias agimus, qui cum scires internum regionum nostrarum
habitum atque adspectum tam foedum tamque asperum, tamen illo de-
flectere et urbem illam sola opis tuae exspectatione uiuentem inlustrare
dignatus es. Boni principis est libenter suos uidere felices, sed melioris 5
inuisere etiam laborantes. Di immortales! Quisnam ille tum nobis inluxit 6
dies (iam enim ad praedicanda remedia numinis tui ordine suo peruenit
oratio), cum tu, quod primum nobis signum salutis fuit, portas istius urbis
intrasti! —quae te habitu illo in sinum reducto et procurrentibus utrimque
turribus amplexu quodam uidebantur accipere.

Miratus es, imperator, unde se tibi tanta obuiam effunderet multi- 8
tudo, cum solitudinem ex uicino monte uidisses. Omnes enim ex agris

2 fossis *Galletier*, uallibus *Puteolanus*: uallis *M*   3 uoraginum *w*, -nem et *Puteolanus*, -nes et *W. Baerhens*: uoragine *M*   5 radices *w*: -cis *M*   6 miles *X* (*corr. w*)   7 abditam *Aem. Baehrens*: debitam *M*   10 sint *X*: sunt *H*   16 uias ita *Haupt*: uia sit ac *M Bert* arduas *Haupt*: ardiis *H*: arduis *X* (ardui aditus *w*)   17 transmittant *w*: -tat *M*   18 paruarum *M*: paucarum *Langius*   19 *Post* plurimarum *add*. Horum locorum, imperator, ingenium est huiusmodi, ut te eorum aspectum non horruisse loco sit summi beneficii, recreasse uero plane non hominis sed diuinum opus omnes fatebuntur, nos proprie beneuolentia colemus sempiterna *Chassenaeus 'e uetere MS, ut apparet, Philippi Bruneti', teste Liuineio*   20 internum r. n. habitum *Haupt*: itinerum (*del. Acidalius*) r. n. aditum *M*   24 inmortales *Liuineius*: $\overline{\text{mm}}$ *M Bert* (boni X_2 *wp*)   25 suo peruenit *H Bert*: super uenit *X*   29 es *X*: est *H*

omnium aetatum homines conuolauerunt, ut uiderent quem superstitem
2 sibi libenter optarent. Quod enim ad propagandos ⟨annos⟩ aliorum
principum sollemni uerborum more iuratur, tibi, Constantine, soli ultra
omnium nostrum fata uicturo securi uouemus, cui tam longa aetas pro-
3 pria debetur. Magna est profecto uis post diuturnam aegritudinem atque
maestitiam surgentium gaudiorum. Caluit in nobis ultra uires animus ad
laetitiam, et quodam praesagio uenturae felicitatis elati tanta ⟨te⟩ exsulta-
tione suscepimus, quasi iam indulgentiam quam daturus eras haberemus.
4 Exornauimus uias quibus in palatium peruenitur, paupere quidem su-
pellectili, sed omnium signa collegiorum, omnium deorum nostrorum
simulacra protulimus, paucissima clarorum instrumenta modulorum per
5 compendia saepius tibi occursura pro⟨duximus⟩. Diuites nos crederet
qui ueritatem studio aestimaret. Sed enim prouidentiam tuam latere
non potuit quamuis bene dissimulata paupertas: intellexisti officiosam et
honestam inopum uanitatem.

9 Sponte nos ad numinis tui aditum uocare, sponte adfari, sponte
2 quid opis desideraremus interrogare dignatus es. Haec sunt, imperator,
uera beneficia quae non precibus efflagitata sed ex uoluntaria tua boni-
tate proueniunt et citra ullam petendi molestiam adipiscendi uoluptatem
3 dederunt. Neque enim parui negotii est imperatorem totius orbis pro
se peculiariter rogare, sub tantae maiestatis adspectu perfricare frontem,
uultum componere, confirmare animum, uerba concipere, intrepidanter
4 dicere, apte desinere, exspectare responsum. Has omnes difficultates,
imperator, uerecundiae nostrae remisisti, non solum ultro percontando
quid remedii posceremus sed etiam tibi ipsi suggerendo quae nos tace-
bamus, dum nos iacentes ad pedes tuos clementissimo attollis adfatu.
5/6 Vidimus misericordiam tuam umentibus oculis eminentem. Ibant per
haec ora lacrimae nobis salutares, tibi gloriosae; et nos inuicem iam do-
lore discusso flebamus gaudio. Nam sicut agros diuturno ardore sitientes
expetitus uotis imber ubertat, ita lacrimae tuae pectora nostra gaudiis in-
rigabant ut, quamuis nefas esset te flente laetari, uinceret tamen gratulatio
religionem, cum lacrimae illae pietatis essent indices non doloris.

1 aetatum *X*: etantum *H* 2 sibi *X*: si *H* ad *om. Bert* 2–3 *'Hic aliquid deest, forsan repondendum* annos' *Rhenanus*: dies *post* principum *add. w, om. M* 3 sollennium *Bert* 5 debeatur *X* 6 sugencium *H* uires *H Bert*: uires nostras *X* 7 te *add. Puteolanus, om. M* 11 protulimus *M Bert, del. Jaeger* 12 produximus *exempli gratia scripsi*: protulimus *M* (*del. Liuineius*) 16 uocare *w*: -res *M Bert* 17 opis *Langius*: opus *M* 21 peculiater *H* subs *H* aspectu *Acidalius*, affatu *Liuineius*: affectu *M* 22 intrepidanter *Acidalius*: trepidanter *X*: -antem *H* 24 remisisti *Puteolanus*: rennuisti *H*, renuisti *X* ultra (*corr. w*) percunctando *X*

Et haec quidem nobis ad summam gratulationem sufficere potuissent, 10
etiamsi remediorum nostrorum spem distulisses et, quibus nos opibus
leuaturus esses, dubium reliquisses. Sed tam prompta in te est natura
bonitatis, ut quod pia mente conceperis statim uoce declares. Sic ingenui 2
largique fontes ut ubique prosint ire festinant; sic celeriter in terras caelo
missa perueniunt; sic denique diuina illa mens, quae totum mundum
hunc gubernat, quidquid cogitauit ilico fecit. In quo tamen, imperator, 3
si consilium alicuius amici callidioris admitteres, esset quod fortasse repre-
henderet: nimium te scilicet facile ea quae sis tributurus aperire, et sine
ullo artificio cito promere quae sperari diu debeant. Nescis, imperator,
tua commendare beneficia; praestandi celeritate occupas tempus optandi.
Sed enim indulgentiae celeritate uicisti, imperator, ipsa elementa quibus 4
animamur et uiuimus. Diu uenturi hominis partus optatur; diu uagitus
inconditi locuturam differunt uocem; diu fruges hiemps cohibet, uer elicit,
aestas rore solidat calore maturat: tu nobis uitam pariter totam dedisti, tu
fructus meritorum tuorum statim nos metere et in conditis referre iussisti.
Releuaturus censum definisti numerum, reliqua debita remissurus quan- 5
tum deberemus interrogasti. Quae interrogatio manifesta promissio fuit;
nam cum is qui omnia potest quid sibi debeatur interrogat, non curiose
percontatur ut sciat, sed liberaliter cupit audire quantum remittat.

Separate igitur utrumque dicam; neque enim quasi per saturam con- 11
fundenda sunt tanta beneficia. Septem milia capitum remisisti, quintam
amplius partem nostrorum censuum, et tamen an sufficeret hoc nobis
saepius requisisti. O nos utrumne uerecundos nimium dicam an satis 2
gratos, qui reticuimus, haesimus, indulgentiae tuae ample fluenti modum
fecimus? Plus adhuc praestare cupiebas, si ausi fuissemus exposcere.
Quantum sit hoc, imperator, beneficium, quam necessarium nobis, quam 3
utile etiam deuotionis officiis, non queo satis dicere. Remissione ista
septem milium capitum uiginti quinque milibus dedisti uires, dedisti opem,
dedisti salutem, plusque in eo consecutus es quod roborasti quam recidisti
in eo quod remisisti. Quater tantum tibi firmum certumque redditum est, 4
id quod irrito petebatur, siquidem desperatio perferendi debiti etiam id
quod dari poterat inhibebat, nec erat ratio conandi, cum non esset spes ulla
complendi. O diuinam, imperator, tuam in sananda ciuitate medicinam! 5

4 declares *Bert*: -ras *M* (*corr. X2 w*) 8 callidioris *om. Bert* 14 uere licita estas flore solidat calor ematurat *M*, *plerumque corr. w* (*primus* rore, *sed ante* aestas *Haupt*) 16 condis *Bert* 17 debita *del. Rittershusius* 20 percunctatur *X* 21 utrumque *w*, de utroque *Cusp*: utroque *M*: utraque *Bert* 22 quintam *M Bert*: quartam *c* 30 est *H* (*corr. cod. Napocensis*) 31 quater tantum *M*: quartum *Bert*: quatinus *X1*

Sicut aegra corpora et onerata stupentium torpore membrorum resecata
aliqua sui parte sanantur, ut imminuta uigeant quae exaggerata torpebant,
ita nos nimia mole depressi leuato onere consurgimus.
12 Nescit taxare indulgentiam tuam qui te putat septem milia capitum
2 sola donasse: donasti omnia quae stare fecisti. Quamquam enim adhuc
sub pristina sarcina uacillemus, tamen leuior uidetur quia uicino ⟨fine⟩
3 perfertur; exonerandi praesumptio dat patientiam sustinendi. Certe et
nunc liberi parentes suos cariores habent et mariti coniuges non grauate
tuentur et parentes adultorum non paenitet filiorum, quorum onera sibi
remissa laetantur. Ita omnium pietas olim fessa respirat, et suos quemque
4 iuuat numerare securum, cum plures adiuuant obsequia paucorum. Quo
magis spe futuri temporis eleuamur, recreatur animus securitate praeteriti,
remissisque reliquis nihil est quod respectandum timendumque sit, quod
5 aliquid uirium uenturis pensitationibus neget. Ita duorum temporum,
quae sunt maxima, molestia liberati sumus; unum atque id minimum
6 breui labore transigimus. Nam cum praeteritum tempus pro modo suo
longum, futurum autem infinitum sit, praesens tempus breue et semper
in partem utramque mutabile, cum et praeterito relinquatur et transeat
in futurum, unus hic annus prope sensum non habet difficultatis duo-
rum temporum indulgentiis coartatus et quasi terminus quidam positus
felicitati utriusque confini, quae nos et praeterito liberos facit et in futuro
securos.
13 Quinque annorum nobis reliqua remisisti! O lustrum omnibus lustris
felicius! O lustrum quod merito hanc imperii tui aequauit aetatem! Nobis
ergo praecipue te principem di immortales creauerunt, quibus singulis
2 haec est nata felicitas, ex quo tu imperare coepisti. Quinquennalia tua
nobis, sed iam perfecta, celebranda sunt. Illa enim quinto incipiente
suscepta omnibus populis iure communia, nobis haec propria quae plena
3 sunt. Praeclara fertur Catonis oratio de lustri sui felicitate. Iam tunc enim
in illa uetere re publica ad censorum laudem pertinebat, si lustrum felix
condidissent, si horrea messis implesset, si uindemia redundasset, si olivueta
4 larga fluxissent. Quid ergo nos conuenit gratulari de hoc indulgentiae tuae

1 stupentium *M*: tumentium *Eyssenhardt* 6 fine *add. Pichon*: uicino perfertur *M*: nemo praefertur (*ita Bert.?*) *Puteolanus* 9 onera *X*: hnera *H* 14 neget *Liuineius*: necet *M* (*utrumque suspectum*) 16 tempus *del. W. Baehrens* 17 tempus *del. Liuineius* 19 difficultatis *Puteolanus*: -cultas *M* 21 et (*del. Liuineius*) utriusque confinii *Puteolanus*, in utriusque confinio *Galletier*: et utrumque confinii *M* 25 immortales *Liuineius* (*cf. c. 7.6*), nostri *w*: m̄m̄ *M*: numinum *Bert* singulis *M*: singularis *Gruter* 27 set iam *Aem. Baehrens*: etiam *M* 31 condidissent *Liuineius*: -set *M* 32 larga, *non* large *M*; oliuitas larga fluxisset *coll. iii 22.1 Rittershusius*

lustro?—lustro quo, licet nulla frugum cessarit ubertas, fecisti tamen ut
omnia largiora uideantur fuisse quam fuerint. Valet enim nos tantum 5
habuisse quantum debere desiuimus, ualet plena fuisse horrea, plenas
cellas, cum in nullis reliquis haereamus. Hoc nobis est ista largitio, quod 6
Terra mater frugum, quod Iuppiter moderator aurarum; quidquid illi
parcius dederant, nobis tamen ex beneficio tuo natum est.
Quaenam toto orbe terrarum auri argentique metalla tam larga sunt, **14**
quis Tagus quisue Pactolus tanto fluxit auro, quantum liberalitate tua
consecuti sumus? Non enim maioris esset muneris abs te accepisse.
Quin immo quanto est durius extorqueri quod proprium fuerit quam non 2
adquirere quod fuerit alienum, tanto dulcior est remissa soluendi neces-
sitas quam lucrandi optata commoditas. Quam multi, imperator auguste, 3
quos inopia latitare per saltus aut etiam in exsilium ire compulerat, ista
remissione reliquorum in lucem exeunt, in patriam reuertuntur, desinunt
pristinam accusare pauperiem, desinunt odisse agrorum suorum steri-
litatem, resumunt animos, operi praeparantur, culturam melioribus ad-
nituntur auspiciis, reuisunt domos, referunt uota templis! Praesertim 4
cum tu omnium nostrorum conseruator adueneris et ille quasi maiestatis
tuae comes et socius, flagrabit tota ciuitas, gaudiis perstrepet et, cum
proficisceris, fortasse retinebit. Dabis enim ueniam, amoris nostri contu-
meliam feres. Omnium sis licet dominus urbium, omnium nationum, nos 5
tamen etiam nomen accepimus tuum: iam non antiquum Bibracte, quod
hucusque dicta est Iulia Polia Florentia, sed Flauia est ciuitas Aeduorum.

1 nulla *M*: illa *Aem. Baehrens* 9 esset *Cl. Puteanus*: est *M* 10 quanto *Puteolanus*: tanto *M* 13 ire compulerat *w*: recompulerat *M* 14 desinunt ... desinunt *w*: -nant ... -nant *M* 18 nostrum *Liuineius* ille quasi *Liuineius*: quasi ille *M Bert* 22 Bribracte *M*, *corr. Itali* 23 Finit primus *M* *Finem orationis deesse credidit Scriuerius*

XII (IX)

⟨PANEGYRICVS⟩ DICTVS CONSTANTINO FILIO CONSTANTII

1 Vnde mihi tantum confidentiae, sacratissime imperator, ut post
tot homines disertissimos, quos et in Vrbe sacra et hic rursus audisti,
dicere auderem, nisi nefas esse ducerem et commissi cuiusdam sacrilegii
religionem uererer si is, qui semper res a numine tuo gestas praedicare
solitus essem, haec tanto maiora pristinis silentio praeterirem, per quae
2 non pars aliqua seruata sed uniuersa sibi est res publica restituta? Neque
enim ignoro quanto inferiora nostra sint ingenia Romanis, siquidem la-
tine et diserte loqui illis ingeneratum est, nobis elaboratum et, si quid forte
commode dicimus, ex illo fonte et capite [et] facundiae imitatio nostra de-
3 riuat. Sed quamuis conscius mihi infirmitatis ingenitae et inchoati potius
studii quam eruditi, cohibere me silentio nequeo, quominus de recuperata
Vrbe imperioque Romano [et] tandem ex diuturna conuulsione solidato
et ipse aliquid coner effari, ut inter tantos sonitus disertorum mea quoque
4 uox tenuis exaudita uideatur. Etenim si in rebus bellicis ipsisque proeliis
non solum tubae ac litui sed etiam Spartanae tibiae incentiuum aliquod
feruntur habuisse (credo quia magnos animos paruo licet modulo suf-
ficit incitari), cur ego in me de tuo fauore diffidam, ut sermonem meum
5 studio potius tui cultus quam suis uiribus metiaris? Experiar igitur, ut
possum, quamquam oppletis auribus tuis, ut sic dixerim, insusurrare, sine
aemulandi fiducia cupidus imitandi.

2 Hic (Panegyricus *X1*) dictus est (*om. X1*) Constantino filio Constantii *M* (*in H resecuit bibliopega*) 5 rursus hic *Bert* 7 predicares *H* (*corr. h*) 11 nobis *cw*: nomen bis *M* 12 et *del. w* 15 et *del. h*

Ac primum illud adripiam quod credo adhuc neminem ausum fuisse, **2**
ut ante de constantia expeditionis tuae dicam quam de laude uictoriae.
Transacto enim metu aduersi ominis et offensione reuocata, utar liber- 2
tate erga te nostri amoris, quem tunc inter metus et rei publicae uota
suspendimus. Tene, imperator, tantum animo potuisse praesumere, ut 3
bellum tantis opibus, tanto consensu auaritiae, tanta scelerum contagione,
tanta ueniae desperatione conflatum quiescentibus cunctantibusque tunc
imperii tui sociis primus inuaderes! Quisnam te deus, quae tam prae- 4
sens hortata [est] maiestas ut, omnibus fere tuis comitibus et ducibus
non solum tacite mussantibus sed etiam aperte timentibus, contra consilia
hominum, contra haruspicum monita ipse per temet liberandae Vrbis
tempus uenisse sentires? Habes profecto aliquod cum illa mente diuina, 5
Constantine, secretum, quae delegata nostri diis minoribus cura uni se
tibi dignatur ostendere. Alioquin, fortissime imperator, sic quoque cum
uiceris redde rationem. Rhenum tu quidem toto limite dispositis ex- 6
ercitibus tutum reliqueras, sed hoc maiores pro te suscepimus metus quod
nobis potius quam tibi consulebas, nostramque pacem magis quam bellum
quod aggrediebare firmaueras.

Ne tu, imperator, nimio nostri amore nescisti ad securitatem nobis **3**
uere prouidere, qui non omnia tecum arma mouisti, cum tua conser-
uatio salus nostra sit. Et quid opus erat ipsi Rheno instructis et militibus 2
et classibus, quem iam pridem barbaris nationibus uirtutis tuae terror
obstruxerat? An ostentare uoluisti diligentiam tuam, diuisis copiis inter
custodiam pacis et belli? Aut etiam iactanter et gloriose probare liberan-
dae Vrbi te sufficere cum paucis? Vix enim quarta parte exercitus contra 3
centum milia armatorum hostium Alpes transgressus es, ut appareret pe-
nitus considerantibus (id quod nos fugit tui amore trepidantes) non dubiam
te sed promissam diuinitus petere uictoriam. Duxerat magnum Seuerus 4
exercitum, et hostem suum perfidia desertus armauerat; maiores postea
copias Maximianus admouerat, et ipse transfugis circumcisus uidebatur
prospere refugisse. Ipse denique qui pater illius credebatur discissam ab
umeris purpuram detrahere conatus senserat in illud dedecus sua fata
transisse. Mille et sexaginta annis contractas ex toto orbe diuitias mon- 5
strum illud redemptis ad ciuile latrocinium manibus ingesserat. Ad hoc 6
aliena matrimonia, innocentium capita cum bonis passim donando usque

3 metu *w*, motu *h*, nutu *X2*: mutu *M* ominis *Puteolanus*: hominis *M* offensione (*ita w*) reuocata *W. Baehrens*: offensio reuocati *M* 5 tantum] an tantum *Bert* (*fort. uoluit* animo tantum) 9 est *respuunt numeri* 12 aliquod *Liuineius*: -quid *M* 16 reliqueris *Bert* 20 prouidere *X2 w*: prouide *M* 22 quem *X2*: que *M* 27 tui *w*, in *X2*: ui *M*

ad mortem deuotionis obstrinxerat parricidas; omnes aut insidiatos sibi aut
palam aliquid pro libertate conatos poenis adfecerat, armis oppresserat.
7 Et inter haec utebatur eius urbis maiestate quam ceperat, totam Italiam
conductis ad omne facinus satellitibus oppleuerat.

4 Haec omnia, imperator, cum cogitares scires uideres, nec te paterna
grauitas nec tua natura temerarium esse pateretur, dic, quaeso, quid
2 in consilio nisi diuinum numen habuisti? An illa te ratio ducebat (sua
enim cuique prudentia deus est), quod in tam dispari contentione non
poterat melior causa non superare et, innumerabiles licet ille copias pro
3 se obiceret, pro te tamen Iustitia pugnabat? Vt enim omittam illa quae
non decet comparari, quod erat ille Maximiani suppositus tu Constantii Pii
filius; ille despectissimae paruitatis, detortis solutisque membris, nomine
ipso abusiua appellatione mutilato, tu (quod sufficit dicere) tantus ac talis;
4 ut haec, inquam, omittam, te, Constantine, paterna pietas sequebatur,
illum, ut falso generi non inuideamus, impietas; te clementia, illum
crudelitas; te pudicitia soli dicata coniugio, illum libido stupris omnibus
contaminata; te diuina praecepta, illum superstitiosa maleficia; illum
denique spoliatorum templorum, trucidati senatus, plebis Romanae fame
necatae piacula, te abolitarum calumniarum, te prohibitarum delationum,
5 te conseruati usque homicidarum sanguinis gratulatio. In tam diuersa
causarum ratione diuino consilio, imperator, (hoc est, tuo) non militum
multitudinem sed partium merita numerasti.

5 Magnus Alexander, cum praeter Macedonas suos cunctae Graeciae
uniuerso Illyrico innumerabilem dilectum posset indicere, numquam
tamen maiores quadraginta milium copias duxit, inhabile regenti ratus
2 quidquid excederet, et turbam potius quam exercitum. Tu uero etiam
minoribus copiis bellum multo maius aggressus es, tanto scilicet propria
3 tua uirtute potior quanto ille numero instructior. Et ille quidem contra
leues Medos et imbelles Syros et Parthorum arma uolatica et Asiaticos
optantes mutare seruitium rem gessit proelii unius euentu: tibi uincendi
erant milites (pro nefas!) paulo ante Romani, armis omnibus more
primae classis armati et pro facinorum conscientia numquam nisi morte
4 cessuri. Probauit hoc prima obstinatio eorum qui, sub ipsis Alpium
iugis munitissimum licet muro ac situ tenentes oppidum, ausi fuerunt

1 mortis deuotionem *Liuineius* 10 pugnabat *Liuineius*: -aret *M Bert* 12 paruitatis *w*: prauitatis *M* 13 mutilat O tu *M, corr. X2 w* 20 conseruati usque *dubitanter scripsi* (*collato post Willelmum Lubbe c. 20.4* gladios ne *e.q.s.*), p. R. conseruati atque *Acidalius*, conseruati orbis atque *Arntzen iunior*: conseruatio atque *M* (absque *H nondum correctus*) 25 millibus *Liuineius* iratus *H* (*corr. h*) 27 maius *Itali* (*cod. Vat. Lat. 1775*): magis *M* 34 munitissimum *Liuineius*: -mo *M*

te imminente resistere ac portas claudere; non credentes illi quidem,
ut audio, ipsum te adesse (quis enim crederet tam cito a Rheno ad 5
Alpes imperatorem cum exercitu peruolasse?), sed tamen qui non solum
praesenti numini tuo uerum etiam nuntiato nomini cedere debuissent.
Luerunt igitur ilico dementiae suae poenas, cum oblatam sibi a clementia 6
tua ueniam recusassent. Neque enim uallo fossaque obsessio inchoata
est, nec cuniculis agendis nec machinis admouendis nec incutiendo ariete
temptati quassatique sunt muri, sed statim iniectae faces portis, scalae
propugnaculis, nec solum fundis eminus telisque missilibus sed hastis
gladiis. Ita res simul coepta et patrata, iunctusque rebellibus fuit conatus
et exitus.

Gomphos, urbem Thessaliae, quoniam abnueret obsequium, C. Cae- **6**
sar uno die sustulit. Sed ille Graeculos homines adortus est, tu Subalpinos;
ille solos incolas, tu etiam militare praesidium; ille non potuit captos a di-
reptione defendere, tibi licuit clementiam tuis uictoribus imperare. Sed 2
illa quidem Gomphensium clades documento ceteris fuit; tibi paulo post
alia in Taurinatibus campis pugna pugnata est, non trepidantibus ex uic-
toria tua rebellibus sed iratis, incensisque ad ulciscendum animis quos
fortunae inclinatio restringere debuisset, nec uero temere ac passim uagis
hostibus ut facile palantes caederentur, sed acie in cunei modum structa, 3
descendentibus retro in altitudinem lateribus quae, si cum prima auide
confligeres, reflexa impeditos certamine circumirent. Sed tu id prouidens 4
praemissis utrimque qui obuiam irent et simul, si quid insidiarum late-
ret, excuterent, ipse offirmato illo capite deiecto totaque acie in fugam
uersa tanto maiorem in processu stragem edidisti quanto amplioribus
subsidiis instructa constiterat. Ita usque ad Taurinatium muros fusi cae- 5
sique obseratasque nancti portas ab incolis etiam corporum suorum mole
clauserunt.

Quid tibi aliud sperare potuisti, miles infelix, turpissimo illi tunc **7**
deuote prodigio? Iam enim non insulto sed doleo. Constantinum tu 2
tantum sanguinis fundere coegisti, cui, quia salutem uestram a uobis
impetrare non licuit, paene displicuit ipsa uictoria. At non Taurinati- 3

4 cedere *w*: credere *M* 5 igitur *del. w* 6 uallo *Puteolanus*: bello *M* 9 solum *M*: subitum *Leo* (*haud scio an praeter necessitatem in tali materia*); ita *continuata sententia in* ista *mutat Walter* missilibus *w*: -busque *M* 12 Gonphos *M, corr. Itali* 13 adhortus *H* 15 sed *M*: et *Gruter* 16 Gomph- *cw*: Gonph- *M* 17 grauior *ante* pugna *add. w* 19 restinguere *Cusp* 22 confligeres *Persson*: -ret *M* circumirent *Aem. Baehrens*: -ret *M* 23 premissis *X2*, premisisti *w*: premissi *M* quid *cw*: quis *M* 24 deiecto totaque *Novák*: deiectaque *M* 25 quanto *X2 w*: tanto *M* 29 turpissimo *cw* -mos *M*

bus neque ceteris Italiae ciuitatibus idem animus fuit, qui te, imperator,
4 exsultantes gaudio certatim ad se uocauerunt. Missae ab omnibus lega-
tiones, oblati undique commeatus, ut appareret quam diu desiderassent
5 cui se tam prompte bello adhuc restante committerent. Qui fuit dies
ille quo Mediolanum ingressus ⟨es⟩! Quae gratulatio principum ciuitatis,
qui plausus populi! Quae securitas intuentium te matrum te uirginum,
quamque duplici fructu fruebantur, cum pulcherrimi imperatoris formam
6 uiderent et licentiam non timerent! Ostentare se omnes et tripudiare sine
ullo de reliquiis belli metu, et auspicium uictoriae tuae pro consumma-
7 tione metiebantur: non Transpadana prouincia uidebatur recepta, sed
Roma. Quis enim crederet tantis successibus tuis ullum obstaculum fore,
quominus omnes exercitus se clementiae tuae traderent, cum uirtutis ex-
8 perimentum nouissent? Muros ui ceperas, acie palam uiceras; quis tam
demens uidebatur ut aut obsideri auderet aut congredi, praesertim cum tu
dies aliquot Mediolani resistens tempus omnibus sibi consulendi dedisses,
ut de te sperare ⟨praesumerent⟩?

8 Sed enim aerumnosa illa et iam pridem media aetate nostra ciuili
sanguine maculata Verona maximo hostium exercitu tenebatur, acer-
rimis ducibus pertinacissimoque praefecto, scilicet ut, quam coloniam
2 Cn. Pompeius aliquando deduxerat, Pompeianus euerteret. O misera-
bilem Veronensium calamitatem, quos non tam tua quam intestina satelli-
tum pressit obsidio! Quippe Athesis ille saxis asper et gurgitibus uerticosus
et impeditu ferox oppugnatione prohibebat, omnemque retro regionem
3 inuehendis copiis tutam defensamque praestabat. Quod tamen ne diutius
hostem iuuaret prouidentia tua factum est, cum superioribus in locis,
qua lenior amnis et ignari hostes erant, exercitus parte proiecta, ancipiti
periculo clausos obsessosque omissa spe morae experiri armis coegisti,
adeoque omnes ⟨qui⟩ eruptionem temptauerant cecidisti, ut ipse dux
cum parte copiarum ad arcessenda auxilia muris excesserit, maiorem

4 tam *Cusp*: etiam *M* 5 es *add. w, om. M* 6 u. quamque *scripsi*, u. quam *Puteolanus*, uirginumque *Bert*, u. quae *c*: u. quaeque *M* 9 reliquiis *Bert w*: -quis *M* 14 cum tu *X2 w*: tu cum *M* 15 omnibus sibi *Cusp*: sibi omnibus *M* dedisses *w*: -set *M* 16 sperare *M*: -re liceret *w*, -rent *Puteolanus (parum gratis numeris utrumque)*, -re praesumerent *ex. gr. scripsi* 17 et iam pridem *Bert X*: etiam pridiem *H (corr. h)* 20 Gn. *M* 22 Athesis *Itali*, Atesis *(ut uid.) X2*: Atexis *M* asper *om. Bert* 23 impetu *X2 wp* oppugnationem *(inuitis numeris) X2* 24 inuehendis *Liuineius*: in *(om. X2)* euehendis *M Bert* 26 lenior *H Itali*: leuior *(ut uid.) X* proiecta *M*: trai- *Virdungus* 27 obmissa spe more *w*: obmissos *(ita Bert)* pemora *M* experiri *X2 w*: experi *M* 28 qui eruptionem tentauerant *w*, qua eruptio tentata erat *Liuineius*: eruptio tentauerat *M* ipse dux cum *corrector cod. Bruxellensis*, dux ipse cum *w*: ipse cum dux *M*

miser adducturus exercitum ut maiore comitatu cladis occideret. Quo 4
quidem tempore praecipua apparuit tua, imperator, cura simul et animi
magnitudo, qui redeunti illi minore exercitu congredi quam obsidionem
intermittere maluisti, ne respirare clausis aut effugere aut imminere tergo
liceret.

Et primo quidem, ut audio, aciem instruxeras duplicem; mox prouiso **9**
aduersarium numero explicari statim in frontem ordines et extendi latius
arma iussisti, ex tuo animo nimirum animos tuorum omnium metiens,
quamuis grauius inde pondus infringi posse impetu pauciorum. Laudare 2
me existimas, imperator, cuncta quae in illo proelio feceris? Ego uero
iterum queror. Prospexeras omnia, disposueras uniuersa, summi impera- 3
toris officia compleueras: cur ipse pugnasti, cur te densissimis hostium
globis miscuisti, cur salutem rei publicae in pericula tanta misisti? An 4
nescire nos putas quod, dum nimio raperis ardore, in media hostium
tela deueneris et, nisi uiam tibi caedibus aperuisses, spem totius generis
humani et uota deceperas? Toto quippe impetu ferebare, torrenti similis 5
amni quem abruptae radicitus siluae et conuulsa funditus saxa seque-
rentur. Quid tibi est, imperator, cum inferiore fortuna? Illos pugnare 6
fas est quibus suo cuiusque fato aut uincendum est aut cadendum: tu,
cuius ex uita omnium fata pendent, ad ullum discrimen accedas? Inter
tot tela gladiosque uersere? Quis hoc a te exigit? Aut quis pati possit ut
quidquam in te belli casibus liceat? Deceat te, imperator, hostem ferire?
Immo non decet laborare.

Spectauit ex edito monte Xerses nauale certamen; Augustus aliud **10**
agens uicit apud Actium; fuit etiam qui sublatus in scalas inuicem nexas
concurrentes eminus uidit exercitus, ut nec interesset periculo et adesset
euentui. Ignaua, inquies, sunt haec exempla—sed tuta, grauiorque 2
metus est periculi tui quam laetitia uictoriae. An non ipsi te, caesis 3
fugatisque hostibus interfectoque etiam ipso eorum duce, comites et
tribuni corripuere lacrimantes, amplexique illud tuum anhelum pectus,
cruentas manus et quidquid de sanguine profundae caedis emerserat
hinc atque inde clamarunt: 'Quid egeras, imperator? In quae nos
fata proieceras, nisi te diuina uirtus tua uindicasset? Quae haec est
impatientia? Aut quo tibi manus nostras, si uersa uice pugnas ipse

7 aduersariorum *X2 w* 9 laudare *X2 w*: -ari *M* 11 uniuersa *M*: omnia *Bert* 15 deueneras *Itali (cod. Paris. lat. 8556)* 16 toto *M*: tanto *Eyssenhardt* 18 quid ... fortuna *hic posuit Acidalius, ante* Toto quippe *M* 19 suo *X2 w*: suos *M* 20 nullum *Itali (cod. Vat. lat. 1775)* nec inter *w* 24 spectauit *Langius*, spectans *X2*, spectat *w*: specta *M* 28 an *c*: at *M* 29 interfectoque *w*: -tisque *M*

4 pro nobis?' Haec ego non dicerem, imperator, neque ab aliis dicta
memorarem, nisi beneficio tuae lenitatis tutior esset nostra in uerbis
5 quam tua in armis audacia. Noua enim quadam uarietate naturae
confusoque uirtutum temperamento, idem es et in proeliis ferocissimus
et parta securitate mitissimus.

11 Cum enim dato obsessis tempore paenitendi Aquileiam quoque de
legatis eorum supplicibus recepisses, cunctique se tibi dedissent quos
obsidendo seruaueras, ignouisti omnibus et uitam quam desperauerant
2 reddidisti. Et quidem iussisti arma deponere ut multo tutius uictoris
pietate tegerentur; ut tamen pertinaciae suae merita sentirent, corripi
eos uincirique iussisti non ad supplicium sed ⟨ad⟩ uitam, ne conscientiae
timore diffugerent grauiterque delinquerent conseruarique iterum non
3 mererentur, si seruati non fuissent. Sed unde tanto hominum numero tot
uincula quae continere militares et paulo ante armatas manus possent?
4 Stupere milites qui perducendos susceperant et custodiae curam abnuere
et prorsus nescire quid facerent; ipsi etiam qui tibi in consilio erant,
ipse etiam praefectus haerere, cum tu diuino monitus instinctu de gladiis
eorum gemina manibus aptari claustra iussisti, ut seruarent deditos gladii
sui quos non defenderant repugnantes.

12 O pulcherrimum et qui omnium oculis subici debuisset triumphum
uirtutis et clementiae tuae! Cuius enim potentiae fuit hostibus arma
deripere, eius humanitatis deditos ad impunitatem sui adligare atque
ita uincire ut eos ferri illius quod contra te gesserant cotidie paeniteret.
2 Gladius ille, quem in te distrinxerat hostis infestus, ipse domini sui manus
3 tenuit, et paratus ad caedem custos factus est ad salutem. Magnus
poeta, dum bellorum toto orbe surgentium discursum apparatumque
describit, 'Et curuae' inquit 'rigidum falces ⟨conflantur in ensem⟩.' Triste
nimium tempus illud, cum instrumenta cultui pecudum praeparata in
4 caedem hominum uerterentur. At nunc rigidi illi mortiferique mucrones
in salutaria uincla curuantur, et exarmatum hominem non interimunt sed
coercent, deditosque hostes gladii sui conlisi obtunsique tutantur, qui nihil
illis prodesse integri acutique potuerunt.

4 es et *Bert w*: esset *M* 7 eorum *Liuineius*: eorum ac *M* dedidissent *Itali* (*cod. Paris. lat. 7840*) 8 obsidendo *eidem* (*cod. 7841*): -dos *M* 11 ad *add. Novák, om. M* conscientiae *X2 w*: -tia *M* 15 curam *w*: cura *M* 18 gladii *w*: gladiis *M* 22 diripere *M* eius *w*: cuius *M* 23 uincire *Itali* (*an Bert, incertum*): uincere *M* 24 distrinxerat *X1*: destr- *M* ipse *X2 w*: ipso *M* 27 curuae *X2 w*: cur ne *M* falcestris te *M* (falces triste *X2*): confl. in ensem (*omisso* triste) *e Verg. georg. i 508 add. d* 28 nimirum *w* cultui *w*: tui *M*

Omnium ergo armorum ministeria ad diuersos effectus arbitrio tuo 13
seruiunt, imperator. Tibi uincunt gladii, tibi seruant; te pugnante feriunt,
te ignoscente custodiunt. Vt deus ille mundi creator et dominus eodem 2
fulmine suo nunc tristes nunc laetos nuntios mittit, ita eadem sub numine
tuo tela inimicos aut supplices tuos pernicie aut conseruatione discernunt.
Eripuisti, imperator, aduersariis tuis gladios ne quis incumberet dolore 3
superatus; et eosdem suis manibus innoxios reddidisti, ut et clementiae
et uindictae tuae satisfaceres: quorum sanguini pepérceras, arma fregisti.
Vita enim hominum diu parta semper seruanda est, si liceat: ferrum 4
inuentu facile, usu mutabile. Ideo quae erant reparabilia conflasti, quod
rediuiuum non erat reseruasti. Quid simile ad laetitiam fabulae ferunt? 5
Conuersa esse humana corpora in fontes aut pecudes aut aues: foeda
et degener talis conuersio. Gladius mutatus in manicas: hoc est quod
securitas post timorem, quod umbraculum post calorem. Splendorem
mutatio perdidit, sed aciem retudit.

Studium et humanitas tua hortata est, imperator, ut huc usque ex- 14
sultatio nostra uerbis eluderet; sed iam ad potiora redeamus. Recuperata 2
omni cis Padum Italia ipsa iam ad te supplices manus Roma tendebat, cui
portentum illud insederat nihil conari ausum ad tot nuntios suarum cla-
dium. Quippe ipsa se uilissimi hominis obsidebat ignauia et degeneris, ut
dictum est, animos timor arguebat. Stultum et nequam animal nusquam 3
extra parietes egredi audebat. Ita enim aut prodigiis aut metus sui prae-
sagiis monebatur. Pro pudor, intra parietum custodias imperator! Non 4
ille adspirare in campum, non exerceri armis, non puluerem pati; astu-
tus quidem, ne uirorum officia temptantem contemnerent qui uiderent
deambulantem in illo palatio marmoratis parietibus incedere, nam in
Salustianos hortos ire peregrinatio et expeditio putabatur. Et hae qui- 5
dem deliciae toto illo tempore quo Vrbem obsederat, semet incluserat,
turpissimam hanc eius formidinem protegebant. Non enim se imbellem
sed beatum, non inertem sed securum uideri uolebat. Quotiens milites 6
in contionem uocabat, se solum cum illis imperare, alios per limites pro

4 numine *Puteolanus*: nomine *M* 7 superatus et *w*, superanti set *Aem. Baehrens*: superasti et *M* 8 sanguini *X2 w*: -ne *M* 9 uita *Cusp*: ut *M* (*quo retento* natura *post* hominum *et* sic *post* liceat *add. w*) 10 mutabile est *Aem. Baehrens* 11 seruasti *Bert* quid *Rhenanus*, cui *w*: qui *M* ad laetitiam *om. X2* 20 degeneres *X2 w*; *Verg. Aen. iv 13* 21 animal *om. Bert* 22 parietes *X2 w*: partes *M* prodigus . . . praesagus *M, corr. Itali* 25 temptantem *cw*: -ante *M* uiderant *Liuineius* 26 deambulantem *W. Baehrens*, deambulare tantum *w*, -are et tantum *Puteolanus*: -arent tantum *M* parietibus *M*: pauimentis (*inuitis numeris*) *Aem. Baehrens* 28 urbem *Liuineius*: orbem *M* 30 inertem *c*, inhertem *wp*: hertem *M* 31 imperare *w*, -atorem *c*: -atore *M*

se militare iactabat. 'Fruimini' aiebat, 'dissipate, prodigite.' Haec erat miserorum breuis et caduca felicitas.

15 Ac ne tum quidem, cum tot aduersa suorum proelia comperisset, obuiam ire conatus est ⟨ut⟩ ad resistendum Padi limite aut Appennini iugis uteretur, sed litteras calamitatum suarum indices supprimebat; interdum etiam palam ut usque ad portas ueniretur optabat, non intellegens maiestatem illam Vrbis, quae pridem admotos exercitus sollicitauerat, iam flagitiis ipsius deformatam et sedibus suis pulsam ad tua auxilia transisse, nec ullis praemiis posse corrumpi quos tibi praeter liberalitatem tuam et
2 sacramenti fidem tot uictoriarum gloriae dicauissent. Quis enim miles, qui ductu atque auspiciis tuis totiens felicissime dimicasset, uulnera illi
3 sua uenderet, belli iam paene confecti summam concederet? At enim tu id ipsum de ardore totius exercitus sentiens sine ulla haesitandi mora, qua breuissimum per Venetos iter est, rapto agmine aduolasti, celeritatem illam in re gerenda Scipionis et Caesaris tunc maxime cupienti
4 Romae repraesentans. Haec est fiducia imperatoris inuicti et suorum mentibus freti, non dubitare nec trahere bellum, sed proximum quodque
5 pugnae tempus ⟨tempus⟩ putare uictoriae. Non enim res erat tibi ut Q. Maximo cum Hannibale uictore, ut post res asperas locum tempusque captares, sed urgere te successus tuos et continuare uictorias et quam
6 primum subuenire Vrbi decebat. Sapientis enim est imperatoris fractis rebus cunctando consulere, secundis non deesse Fortunae.

16 Itaque unum iam illud timebatur, ne ille conterritus, his uiribus grauiter adflictus et in artum redactus, boni consuleret et debitas rei publicae poenas obsidione differret. Quippe omni Africa quam delere statuerat exhausta, omnibus insulis exinanitis, infiniti temporis annonam
2 congesserat. Sed diuina mens et ipsius Vrbis aeterna maiestas nefario homini eripuere consilium, ut ex inueterato illo torpore ac foedissimis latebris subito prorumperet et consumpto per desidias sexennio ipsum diem natalis sui ultima sua caede signaret, ne septenarium illum numerum
3 sacrum et religiosum uel inchoando uiolaret. At quomodo instruxit aciem tot annorum uernula purpuratus? Ita prorsus ne quis euadere, ne quis, ut

3 tum *X2 w*: tuum *M* aduersa suorum *Puteolanus*: diuersa tuorum *M* 4 ut *add. hic Aem. Baehrens, ante* Padi *w, om. M* 5 indices *w*: iudices *M* supprimebat *w*: -bant *M* 10 dicauissent *w*: dii cauissent *M* 13 sine *Bert*: non sine *M* (*tuetur Löfstedt*) 14 Venetos *seu* Enetos *Liuineius*: eos *M* 15 re gerenda *w*, regendo *X2*: regenda *M* 18 tempus putare uictoriae *scripsi*: putare uictoriam *M* ut Q. *w*, utique *X2*, uti Q. *Liuineius*: utque *M* 20 uictorias et *Bert*: uictoria (-am *w*) sed *M* 23 conterritus *Puteolanus*: contentus *M* 25 penas *X2 w*: pynas *M* Affrica *M* 28 torpore *X2 w*: corpore *M* 29 sexennio *Petauius*: senio *M*

fit, loco motus referre gradum et instaurare proelium posset, cum a fronte armis, a tergo Tiberi amne premeretur. In quo ille non mehercule cogi- 4
tauit necessitatem resistendi sed propinquitatem refugiendi, nisi forte iam sentiens diem sibi uenisse fatalem ad solacium suae mortis uoluit secum trahere quam plurimos, ut omnes essent exitus sui comites qui scelerum participes exstitissent. Quid enim aliud illum sperasse credendum est, 5
qui iam ante biduum palatio emigrauerat, cum uxore ac filio in priuatam domum sponte concesserat, ut res est, somniis terribilibus agitatus et nocturnis pulsus Vltricibus, ut tu iam olim exspectatus habitator sacris illis aedibus diu exalatis expiatisque succederes? [et] Adeo ipse uerum 6
sibi dixerat et uenturo tibi cesserat, quamuis in proelium ingrederetur armatus, cum excedendo palatio iam se abdicasset imperio.

Ad primum igitur adspectum maiestatis tuae primumque impetum 17
toties tui uictoris exercitus hostes territi fugatique et angustiis Muluii pontis exclusi, exceptis latrocinii illius primis auctoribus qui desperata uenia locum quem pugnae sumpserant texere corporibus, ceteri omnes in fluuium abiere praecipites, ut tandem aliquod caedis compendium fessis tuorum dexteris eueniret. Cum impios Tiberis hausisset, ipsum 2
etiam illum cum equo et armis insignibus frustra conatum per abrupta ripae ulterioris euadere, idem Tiberis correptum gurgite deuorauit, ne tam deforme prodigium uel hanc obitus sui relinqueret famam, quod alicuius uiri fortis gladio teloue cecidisset. Et aliorum quidem hostium 3
corpora et arma praeceps fluuius uoluendo deuexit; illum autem eodem quo exstinxerat loco tenuit, ne diu populus Romanus dubitaret si putaretur aliquo profugisse cuius mortis probatio quaereretur.

Sancte Thybri, quondam hospitis monitor Aeneae, mox Romuli 18
conseruator expositi, tu nec falsum Romulum diu uiuere nec parricidam Vrbis passus es enatare. Tu Romae tuae altor copiis subuehendis, tu munitor moenibus ambiendis, merito Constantini uictoriae particeps esse uoluisti, ut ille hostem in te propelleret, tu necares. Neque enim semper 2
es rapidus et torrens, sed pro temporum ratione moderatus. Tu quietus armatum Coclitem reuexisti, tibi se placido Cloelia uirgo commisit; at nunc uiolentus et turbidus hostem rei publicae sorbuisti et, ne tuum lateret obsequium, eructato cadauere prodidisti. Reperto igitur et trucidato 3

1 posset *w*: possit *M* 2 Tiberi amne *w*: Tiberium ne *M* cogitauit *X2 w*: -abit *M* 4 diem *w*: idem *M* 8 somniis *Aem. Baehrens*: omnis *M* 9 pulsus *X2 wp cod. Napocensis*: pulsis *M* 10 et *del. Thörnell* uerum *X2 w*: uirum *M* 14 toties *Liuineius*: totius *M* angustiis *cw*: -tis *M* Muluii *M*: Miluii *c*, Moluii *w* 15 pontis *cw*: pontiis *M* 20 Tiberis *X2 w*: tiberioris *M* 26 Tibris *X2* 30 necares *w*: negares *M*

corpore uniuersus in gaudia et uindictam populus Romanus exarsit, nec
desiit a tota Vrbe, qua suffixum hasta ferebatur, caput illud piaculare
foedari, cum interim, ut sunt ioci triumphales, rideretur gestantis iniuria,
cum alieni capitis merita pateretur.
19 Sed quid ego huc usque iocularia? Tecta ipsa, ut audio, commoueri
et altitudo culminum uidebatur attolli, quacumque numen tuum tardo
molimine currus inueheretur: tanta te populi densitas, tanta senatus sti-
2 patio prouehebat simul et detinebat. Felices, qui te propius adspicerent,
longius positi nominabant; quos praeterieras, loci quem occupauerant
paenitebat. Vicissim omnes inde [dico] accedere, hinc sequi; certare innu-
merabilis multitudo et impulsu uario fluctuare; et tantum sibi hominum
3 animi post illam sexennii cladem superesse memorabant. Ausi etiam
quidam ut resisteres poscere et queri tam cito accessisse palatium et,
cum ingressus esses, non solum oculis sequi sed paene etiam sacrum li-
4 men inrumpere. Inde omnibus circumfusi uiis, dum excederes, opperiri
prospicere optare sperare, ut uiderentur eum a quo obsidione liberati
5 fuerant obsidere. Gloriatus sit licet, et uere, summus orator humeris se
Italiae in patriam reportatum: te, Constantine, senatus populusque Ro-
manus et illo die et aliis, quacumque progressus es, et oculis ferre gestiuit.
6 Nec quidquam aliud homines diebus munerum aeternorumque ludorum
quam te ipsum spectare potuerunt, qui tuus esset fulgor oculorum, quae
totius corporis circumfusa maiestas, quae oris dignitas. Gaudere cuncti
spectaculorum mora et familiaribus sibi artificibus ob hoc solum fauere
quod te praesente certarent.
20 Nam quid ego de tuis in curia sententiis atque actis loquar, quibus
senatui auctoritatem pristinam reddidisti, salutem quam per te recepe-
rant non imputasti, memoriam eius in pectore tuo sempiternam fore
2 spopondisti? Dicerem plura de diuinis orationibus tuis, de oblata potius
quam impetrata benignitate, nisi mallem dicta reticere dum propero facta
laudare. Quamlibet uerba tua in senatu habita nobis ignota sint, tamen
3 qualia fuerint clementiae tuae gloria nuntiauit. O tandem felix ciuili,

2 desiit a *w*, de sica *X2*, desitum *Cl. Puteanus*: desit a *M* piacula refedari *M*, *corr. X2 w* 8 detinebat *w*: att- *M* aspicerent *X2 w*: aspicient *M* 10 inde dico *M*: in edito *w*, inde ilico *Aem. Baehrens*, dico *del. Novák* 11 ibi *Bert* 12 animi *del. Gruter* 13 quidam *w*: quidem *M* 15 circumfusi uiis (uicis *Lubbe*) dum *Aem. Baehrens*: circumfusis uicum *M Bert* 16 optare sperare *Puteolanus*: optares parere *M* 17 fuerant *w*: fuerunt *M* 18 Italie *d*: -iam *M* 19 et humeris et oculis *w*, et oculis et ulnis *Aem. Baehrens* 20 aeternorumque *Bert*: etrorumque *M*: ceterorumque *X1(?)*, sacrorumque *Puteolanus* 22 quae *Bert*: -que *M* (*unde* totiusque *X2 w*) 25 curia *cw*: -ias *M* 28 spospondisti *H* 29 dicta *w*: recta *M* 30 ignota *Liuineius*: nota *M* 31 qualia *X2 w*: quali *M*

Roma, uictoria! Inrupit olim te Cinna furiosus et Marius iratus, qui non
solo se Octaui consulis capite satiarunt sed luminibus ciuitatis exstinctis
exempla, quae nunc toto sexennio passa es, reliquerunt. Vicit iterum tibi 4
ante portam Collinam Sulla, felix si se parcius uindicasset; etenim multis
capitibus rostra compleuit. Constantinus uictoriae licentiam fine proelii
terminauit; gladios ne in eorum quidem sanguinem distringi passus est
quos ad supplicia poscebas.
Deditam sibi idem Sulla exarmatamque legionem in uilla publica **21**
trucidauit, perculsumque morientium gemitu senatum monuit ne timeret
quod ipse iussisset. At iste uictor non modo hostium sed etiam uicto- 2
riae suae, quidquid militum bello superfuit, tibi reseruauit. Tibi enim
iam militant quos exutos armis impiis aduersus hostes barbaros rursus
armauit. Iam obliti deliciarum Circi maximi et Pompeiani theatri et no- 3
bilium lauacrorum Rheno [et] Danubioque praetendunt, excubias agunt,
latrocinia compescunt, certant denique cum uictoribus ut ciuili bello uicti
hostibus comparentur. Nec tamen id mirum uideri potest, cum qualem- 4
cumque militem fortissimum facias tuo, imperator, exemplo. Non enim 5
fessus proeliis et expletus uictoriis, ut Natura fert, otio te et quieti dedisti,
sed eodem impetu quo redieras in Gallias tuas perrexisti ad inferiorem
Germaniae limitem, magna scilicet intercapedine temporis ac breui lo-
corum distantia post annuam expeditionem statim bellum auspicatus a
Tiberi ad Rhenum, immo (ut omen et similitudo nominis, sic et tua,
imperator, magnitudo animi pollicetur) a Tusco Albula ad Germanicum
Albam prolaturus imperium.
Quisnam iste est tam continuus ardor? Quae diuinitas perpetuo **22**
uigens motu? Omnium rerum interualla sunt: cessat terra noualibus, 2
dicuntur interdum flumina resistere, sol ipse noctibus adquiescit. Tu,
Constantine, solus infatigabilis bellis bella continuas, uictorias uictoriis
cumulas. Quasi praeterita sunt obliterata si desinas, non putas te uicisse
nisi uincas. Ruperat fidem gens leuis et lubrica barbarorum et, robore 3
atque audacia lectis eruptionis auctoribus, institisse Rheno nuntiabantur.
Ilico obuius adfuisti et praesentia tua, ne auderent transitum, terruisti. Et 4
iam uidebaris rem uotis tuis fecisse contrariam, quod inhibita eruptione

1 te olim *Bert* Cinna *M*: Sylla *Bert* 2 Octauii *cw* 3 es *X2*: est *M* 4 etenim *w*, sed enim *Puteolanus*: enim *M* 13 Pompei emtheatri *M*, *corr. w* nobilium *X2 w*: nouilium *M*: noualium *Bert* 14 et *del. cw* 18 uictoriis *cw*: -ribus *M* 21 bellum *Aem. Baehrens*, bella *Langius*: bello *M* 22 Thiberi *M* sic *H*: sit *X*: sed *Liuineius*, *om. Bert* 24 Albam *Klotz*, Albim *Puteolanus*: Album *M* 27 sol *Bert* (et sol *Cusp*): sed *M* (sed ipse dies *cw*) 29 sint *w* desinas *X2 w*: desidenas *M* 31 eruptionis *w*: -nibus *M* 32 tua *X2 w*: tu *M* et iam *Liuineius*: etiam *M* (*del. w*)

5 non foret materia uictoriae; sed inopinato consilio usus abeundi, enim
simulato nuntio maioris in superiore limite tumultus, occasionem stolidis
ac feris mentibus obtulisti in nostra ueniendi, relictis in occulto ducibus
6 qui securos adorerentur. Quo cum uenissent, consilium tuum sequitur
fortuna. Toto Rheni alueo oppleto nauibus deuectus terras eorum ac do-
mos maestas lugentesque populatus es, tantamque cladem uastitatemque
periurae genti intulisti ut post uix ullum nomen habitura sit.

23 Ite nunc omnes, si placet, barbarae nationes et exitiales uobis mouete
2 conatus: habetis exemplum. Quamuis enim imperator noster amicorum
regum admittat obsequia idque ipsum ualeat ad laudem uictoriae quod
a nobilissimis regibus timetur et colitur, augeri tamen gloriam uirtutis
3 suae gaudet quotiens prouocatur. Nam quid hoc triumpho pulchrius,
quo caedibus hostium utitur etiam ad nostrum omnium uoluptatem, et
pompam munerum de reliquiis barbaricae cladis exaggerat? Tantam
captiuorum multitudinem bestiis obicit, ut ingrati et perfidi non minus
4 doloris ex ludibrio sui quam ex ipsa morte patiantur. Inde est quod,
cum exitum differre liceat, perire festinant seseque letalibus uulneribus et
mortibus offerunt. Ex quo ipso apparet quam magnum sit uicisse tam
prodigos sui.

24 Facile est uincere timidos et imbelles, quales amoena Graeciae et
deliciae Orientis educunt, uix leue pallium et sericos sinus uitando sole
tolerantes et, si quando in periculum uenerint, libertatis immemores,
2 ut seruire liceat orantes. Romanum uero militem, quem qualemque
ordinat disciplina et sacramenti religio confirmat, aut trucem Francum
ferina sola carne distentum, qui uitam pro uictus sui uilitate contemnat,
quantae molis sit superare uel capere! Quod tu, imperator, et nuper
3 in Italia et in ipso conspectu barbariae paulo ante fecisti. Ita sine ullo
discrimine omnia genera bellorum armorum hostium uni tibi cedunt,
cedunt ex omni etiam memoria condita litteris monimenta uirtutum.
4 Nec uero tantummodo uetera illa dictatorum et consulum ac deinceps
magnorum principum, sed etiam recentissima et pulcherrima diui patris
tui facta superasti (sordet enim alios ex proximo tempore comparare);

1 inopinato *w cod. Napoc.*: -ate *M* abeundi *w*: -do *M* enim *dubium* 4 adorerentur *W. Baehrens*: adorir- *M* uenissent *cw*: euen- *M* 6 mestas *X2*, funestas *w*: maiestas *M* 7 ullum *w*, illud *X2*: illum *M Bert* 8 mouete *X2*, mouere *w*: moue *M* 10 uictoriae *w*: -ia *M* 13 uoluptatem *w*: uoluntatem *M* 14 tantamque *Acidalius* 15 obicit *w*: obici *M* ut *M*: et *Bert Cusp* 20 Greciae *d*: -cia *M* 25 pro uictus *cw*: prouectus *M* 26 quante *cw*: quanta *M* 31 recentissima *Acidalius*: rectissima *M* 32 superasti *X2 w*: -astis *M*

ipsum, inquam, diuum Constantium iam primis imperii tui lustris rerum
gestarum laude cumulasti.
Inuitus hoc forte accipis, imperator, sed ille dum dicimus gaudet e 25
caelo, et iam pridem uocatus ad sidera adhuc crescit in filio et gloriarum
tuarum gradibus adscendit. Purgauit ille Batauiam aduena hoste depulso, 2
tibi se ex ultima barbaria indigenae populi dedidere. Ille Oceanum classe
transmisit, tu et Alpes gradu et classibus portus Italicos occupasti. Re-
cuperauit ille Britanniam, tu nobilissimas Africi maris insulas, quae populi
Romani fuere prouinciae. Ignoscat, inquam, diuus ipse Constantius: quid 3
habeo quod comparem Italiae Africae Romae? Merito igitur tibi, Con- 4
stantine, et nuper senatus signum dei et paulo ante Italia scutum et coro-
nam, cuncta aurea, dedicarunt, ut conscientiae debitum aliqua ex parte
releuarent. Debetur enim et saepe debebitur et diuinitati simulacrum
[aureum] et uirtuti scutum et corona pietati.
Quamobrem te, summe rerum sator, cuius tot nomina sunt quot 26
gentium linguas esse uoluisti (quem enim te ipse dici uelis, scire non
possumus), siue tute quaedam uis mensque diuina es, quae toto infusa
mundo omnibus miscearis elementis, et sine ullo extrinsecus accedente
uigoris impulsu per te ipse mouearis, siue aliqua supra omne caelum
potestas es quae hoc opus tuum ex altiore Naturae arce despicias: te,
inquam, oramus et quaesumus ut hunc in omnia saecula principem serues.
Parum est enim optare tantae uirtuti tantaeque pietati quem longissimum 2
habet uita processum. Et certe summa in te bonitas est ⟨et⟩ potestas, et 3
ideo quae iusta sunt uelle debes, nec abnuendi est causa cum possis; nam
si est aliquid quod a te bene meritis denegetur, aut potestas cessauit aut
bonitas. Fac igitur ut, quod optimum humano generi dedisti, permaneat 4
aeternum, omnesque Constantinus in terris degat aetates. Quamuis enim, 5
imperator inuicte, iam diuina suboles tua ad rei publicae uota successerit et
adhuc speretur futura numerosior, illa tamen erit uere beata posteritas ut,
cum liberos tuos gubernaculis orbis admoueris, tu sis omnium maximus
imperator.

1 diuum *X2 w*: indiuum *M* tui *om. Bert* 4 et iam *Bert*: etiam *M* 5 hoste *X2 w*: hostem *M* 11 dei *Puteolanus*, dedit *Liuineius*: dee *M*: deus *Bert* 13 debebitur *Gruter*: debetur *M* 14 aureum *seclusit Aem. Baehrens* 17 tute . . . es *Aem. Baehrens*: in te . . . est *M, quo seruato* quae *in* qua *mutauit Rhenanus* 18 accedente *X2*: accid- *M* 19 ipsa *Aem. Baehrens fort. recte* 20 es quae *Liuineius* (que *iam X2*): est qua *M* 22 aptare *H* 23 est et potestas *Burkhard*, et pietas est *w*: est pietas *M* 27 in aeternum *Bert* 29 illa *M*: ita *Jaeger* ut *M*: si *Jaeger*, cui *Aem. Baehrens* 31 Explicit *M*

IV (X)

PANEGYRICVS NAZARII DICTVS CONSTANTINO

1 Dicturus Constantini augustissimas laudes, qui tantum ultra om-
nium saeculorum principes eminet quantum a priuatis ceteri principes
recesserunt, et dicturus in coetu gaudiorum exsultantium et laetitiae gesti-
entis, quam cumulatiorem solito beatissimorum Caesarum quinquennia
prima fecerunt, sentio nullam eloquentiam nec optari nec concipi posse
quae dignam adferat aut tempori gratiam aut materiae copiam aut uestris
studiis facultatem. Iactat quippe se nunc cum maxime alacris omnium ac
2 beata deuotio. Nec operta mentium rimari necesse est; exstat in uultu
cuiusque hilaritatis publicae decus, et in serenis frontibus animorum in-
3 dicia perleguntur. Non enim se capit exundantis laetitiae magnitudo,
sed dedignata pectorum latebras ita multa et candida foris prominet ut
intellegatur non ingentior esse quam uerior. Nec uero mediocribus bonis
gaudent, qui exsultandi modum non habent.

2 Fruimur nos quidem praesentium maxima uoluptate, sed lenocinatur
his iam futuri ratio, et quae temporibus disparata sunt animorum prae-
2 sumptione iunguntur. Quintum decimum maximus princeps salutaris
imperii degit annum, sed auguramur iam uicennalia et uenturi fidem su-
3 periorum felicitate sancimus. Quinquennalia beatissimorum Caesarum

2 Incipit Panegyricus (*om. H*) Nazarii dictus Constantino (Caesari *add. X1*, Imperatori *X2*) *M* 11 operta mentium *X2 w*: opertamentum *M* 17 uoluntate *H* 20 annum *hic H Bert*, *post* decimum *X* auguriamur *M* (*cf. x 2.5*): -ramur *w* uicennalia *w*: uicinalia *M* 21 sancimus *h Cusp*: sanximus *H*: sanc(t)iamus *X*

occupatos in gaudiis habent, sed iam in destinatis decenniis uota properan-
tia et spes uolucres constiterunt; horum dehinc compotes propagabimus
optabilis boni seriem. Ita omnia quae ex principibus nostris prospere 4
ueniunt continuatos fructus ferunt, nec magis recepta delectant quam
exspectata iuuerunt. Verum quid agimus uicenis aut iam tricenis annis 5
circumscribendo quae aeterna sentimus? Ampliora sunt merita prin-
cipum quam optata uotorum. Eat quin immo in immensum felicis cursus 6
imperii, nec humanorum terminos curent qui semper diuina meditantur.
Certe cupitorum irriti non sumus qui, cum optemus maxima, id faciamus
⟨non⟩ benignius quam securius, quod propter caelestem in illo fauorem
tam certa adipiscendi spes est quam optandi soluta libertas. Has igitur 7
gratulationes, quae praesentibus excitantur quaeque superiorum memo-
ria uigent aut quas in posterum redundaturas cogitatio auida depascitur,
quis omnium queat flagrantissimis audientium studiis satisfacere dicendo?
Iam uero, cum publicas tantum utilitates amplecti uelim et unusquisque 8
priuatim suas cogitet, tremebunda proferatur oratio, quae tacita reputa-
tione uincenda est. In ipsis etiam publicis gestorum ingentium professa 9
laudatio augendi cupiditatem prae se ferat: non iniuria minuendi metum
faciunt quae spem amplificationis ex magnitudine sustulerunt.
Quis, oro, Constantine maxime (praesentem enim mihi adloqui 3
uideor qui, etsi conspectu abes, reuelli tamen mentibus non potes), quis,
inquam, adspirare laudes tuas audeat aequiparandi magis spe quam gratia
non tacendi? Quis tam potens fandi, cuius copia tam larga tam felix, quae, 2
cum uirtutes tuas attrectauerit, non aut circumuenta numero desperato
exitu stupeat aut obteratur magnitudine aut splendore obsolefacta tan-
tum nitoris habeat quantum ex rerum luce collegerit? Cuius cum diuina 3
uirtus et eius misericordia comes appendixque uictoria urbem Romam
non praecipitantem exceperit, sed adflictam ac plane iacentem excitarit
recrearit erexerit, cumque aliae felicissimae tuae prius ac deinceps expe-
ditiones non minus in sese operis amplexae sint quam ex ipsis faucibus fati
Roma seruata, quid dignum magnitudine tua excogitari ac dici potest, in
cuius laudibus id maximum non est quod in terrarum orbe primarium
est? Nobilissimorum quoque Caesarum laudes exsequi uelle studium 4

1 in (*1°*) *M*: nos in *Aem. Baehrens* 2 propagabimus *Puteolanus*: -auimus *M* 3 prospera eueniunt *Aem. Baehrens* 10 non *add. Acidalius*, *om. M* illo *M*: illos *Aem. Baehrens* 13 quas i. p. redundaturas *Rhenanus*: quasi i. p. -tura *M* 14 omnium *M*: hominum *Liuineius* (*cf. c. 16.2*) flagrantissimus *H* 16 proferatur *M*: -etur *Acidalius* 18 cum *ante* augendi *add. Acidalius*, *post* aug. *W. Baehrens* 24 tuas *om. X* 25 obteratur magnitudine *w*: obterat -dinem *M* 30 sint *h Puteolanus*: sunt *M* 31 excogitare *H*

quidem dulce, sed non et cura mediocris est, quorum in annis pubescentibus non erupturae uirtutis tumens germen, non flos praecursor indolis bonae laetior quam uberior apparet, sed iam facta grandifera et contra rationem aetatis maximorum ⟨quorum⟩que fructuum matura perceptio.
5 Quorum alter iam obterendis hostibus grauis terrorem paternum, quo semper barbaria omnis intremuit, deriuare ad nomen suum coepit; alter iam consulatum, iam uenerationem sui, iam patrem sentiens, si quid intactum aut parens aut frater reseruet, declarat mox uictorem futurum,
6 qui animo iam uincit aetatem. Rapitur quippe ad similitudinem suorum excellens quaeque natura, nec sensim ac lente indicium promit boni, cum
7 inuolucra infantiae uiuidum rupit ingenium. Vnde enim principis maximi tam effusus in liberos animus, nisi iam quod in illis simulacrum sui conspicit?

4 Commendet inferioribus suos sola necessitudo naturae, et qualescumque diligant qui in illis quod ex se desiderent non habent: praestantissimum principem hoc maxime iuuat quod in annis primoribus iam sunt ductae lineae quibus uirtutum suarum effigies possit includi, et pater optimus, sed melior imperator, non tam sibi quam rei publicae gaudet,
2 cum liberos sibi similes intuetur. Quibus ad perficienda quae ingenerata sunt bona non segnis uirtutum opifex disciplina coniungitur, ut spes aequiparandi patris certa sit; quippe indoles similis, sed sub eodem magistro
3 discendi fortuna felicior. Ipsum a tenero intuentes, in ipsum oculis ac mente conuersi, nihil ab eius contemplatione deflectunt, incerti mirentur an diligant, nisi quod necesse est utrumque permixte simul fieri; nam et amor factorum commendator est, unde nascitur admiratio, et facta
4 cum mira sunt amorem inuicem creant. Ita spectantibus liberis, quidquid ab eo pulcherrime geritur, cum propter ipsum magis placuit, tum studio
5 imitationis inolescit. Iam tibi quidem in erudiendo, imperator optime, non omnia proponebantur quae sequi uelles, nisi quod recte factorum contemplator acerrimus, si quid secus fieret, a spectandi cura pudentes oculos abstrahebas. Dabit enim ueniam clementia tua, si audaciorem ueritas facit.

5 Existimare quidem de principibus nemini fas est. Nam et in uestibulo suo inquirentem repellit obiecta ueneratio, et si qui mente propius

3 grandifera *M*: granifera *h* 4 maximorum quorumque *Aem. Baehrens*, max. quoque *Liuineius*: maximorumque *M* 7 iam patrem *H Bert Cusp*, *om. X* 11 rupit *h*: rumpit *M* 12 iam quod *H*: quod iam *X* 15 qui in *w*: quin *M* 16 primoribus *h*: primioribus *M* 17 possit *Acidalius*: posset *M* 21 indoles similis *Acidalius*, indole similes *Puteolanus*: indoles similes *M* 29 proponebantur *w*: prep- *M* 34 mente *hw*: mentem *M* (*post* propius *X*), *quo retento* adegerunt *Cusp*

adierunt, quod oculis in solem se contendentibus euenit, praestricta acie
uidendi facultate caruerunt. Verum tu facis, principum maxime, ut patere 2
uideantur quae obstructa prius fuerant, qui tam optas totus uideri quam
ceteri recusabant. Non terror obtentu est nec occultandis quae plerumque 3
extrinsecus latent demorandoque adspectu ostentatio speciosa perhibetur.
Obtutus hominum benignus receptas, nec intuentem iniquus fulgor re- 4
tundit, sed serenum lumen inuitat. Nunc denique intellegimus quae desideranda in prioribus fuerint, postquam ea quae operta in ceteris ueriti
sumus in te reserata ueneramur. Igitur, ut facitis, beatissimi Caesares, per 5
omnes paternarum laudum uias ite securi. Non simplici quidem itinere 6
numerosae eius uirtutes ingrediuntur, sed omnia ad eundem gloriae exitum ferunt. Nullae cupiditatum deflexiones, nullus erroris anfractus, ut
uerenda progredientibus non sit dispendiosa reuocatio. Itaque maturi- 7
orem cursum instituistis qui moram considerandi itineris non habetis. Sed 8
mihi circumuento hac ipsa rerum copia, quae potissimum capessenda sit uia, qui aditus fiat, incertum est: ita se multa offerunt specie paria, magnitudine congruentia.

Verum ut in magnis domibus interiorem ornatum uestibula ipsa **6**
declarant, sic nobis uenturis ad ingentium uirtutum stupenda penetralia debet laudationis ingressum et praedicationis ianuam Roma praebere.
Quae demersa quondam tyrannidis impiae malis et quo maior eo mise- 2
rabilior maiestatis pristinae decus ad misericordiae ambitum conferebat, tibi tamen, Constantine maxime, etiam in illa sui sorte uenerabilis, quod quos impense amamus obseruantia illorum integra est, etiamsi dilapsa fortuna est. In abiectos officia gratiora sunt quae non ex misericordia sed
ex honore uenerunt. Sed nimirum recte a sapientibus ponitur conexio 3
inter se apta uirtutum. Sic enim mutuo et opera iuuant et fructum operae
partiuntur, ut facile appareat inseparabilis et indiscreta permixtio. Gessisti 4
bellum, imperator maxime, quod tibi non minus honos Vrbis imposuit
quam eiusdem aerumna persuasit. Itaque non plus ex eo laudis fortitudini 5
tuae datum quam pietati tributum est quod, dum scelestos persequeris,
miseros liberasti. Constituta enim et in perpetuum Roma fundata est, 6
omnibus qui statum eius labefactare poterant cum stirpe deletis.

Non enim, qui bellorum euentus solent esse, per uarios et uolubiles **7**
casus Mars dubius errauit, nec fortunae uicissitudo, quae plerumque

5 intrinsecus *Liuineius* perhibetur *Puteolanus*, praebetur *Liuineius*: prohibetur *M Bert* 7 intelligamus *X* 8 fuerint *h*, fuerant *Puteolanus*: fuerunt *M Bert* 19 stupenda *w*: stipendia *M* 24 dilapsa *Bert*: delapsa *M* (*post* fortuna *X*) 27 iuuant *w*: iuuat *M* 29 honos *w*: onus *M* 31 persequereris *X* 35 Mars *hw*: maris *M*

prosperis rebus triste aliquid adglutinat, uictorum laetitiam uulnerauit;
sed tanta hostium et tam ampla caedes, tam felix et incruenta uictoria, ut
credas non bello ancipiti dimicatum sed solas impiorum poenas expetitas.
2 Tantum etiam inter arma bona conscientia sibi uindicat, ut iam coeperit
3 non uirtutis magis quam integritatis esse uictoria. Spectat enim nos ex
alto rerum arbiter deus et, quamuis humanae mentes profundos gerant
cogitationum recessus, insinuat tamen sese totam scrutatura diuinitas; nec
fieri potest ut, cum spiritum quem ducimus, cum tot commoda quibus
alimur diuinum nobis numen impertiat, terrarum se curis abdicauerit,
4 nec inter eorum uitas diiudicet quorum utilitates gubernat. Illa igitur
uis, illa maiestas fandi ac nefandi discriminatrix, quae omnia meritorum
momenta perpendit librat examinat, illa pietatem tuam texit, illa nefariam
illius tyranni fregit amentiam, illa inuictum exercitum tuum tot uictori-
arum conscientia plenis pectoribus ardentem tantis insuper uiribus iuuit,
quantas praestare aut deus potuit aut amor tuus debuit, ut horrendas
acies, ut incognita ferri et corporum robora fulmineus miles euerteret, ut,
quidquid instruxerat diuturni sceleris longa molitio, felici congressione
consumeres.

8 O tuam, imperator, non uictoriam magis quam clementiam prae-
dicandam! Grauate apud animum tuum etiam mali pereunt. Inuitus
2 pugnasti qui tam facile uincebas. Iamdudum quippe peruideras hominem
non imperando habilem, non tantae maiestatis capacem, quod magnitudo
male crediti muneris extra animi angustias effluebat. Quam qui tueri
nequeunt, ubi sub tanto onere fortunae infirmitas lapsa est, faciunt licen-
3 tiam de potestate. Quid ego referam infelicium indignissimas caedes, quid
inexpletos libidinum pastus, quid miseras patrimoniorum direptiones?
4 Sileantur hae sane, non tantum ne sopitam malorum memoriam ora-
tio mea suscitet, sed ne sanctissimas principis laudes, dum aliena uitia
5 depromimus, sermo talis incestet. Incrementum quidem adeptae felic-
itatis est malorum commemorata depulsio; uerum ut in segetibus, etiamsi
multa quae humum obsederant industria reuellenda sunt, laborem tamen
purgati soli nesciunt qui fructus editos intuentur, sic Constantini laudibus
satis est, dum efflorescentia bona cernimus, ne mala excisa reputemus.

9 Ferebas tamen, imperator, ferebas illum in tantis malis ludentem
et, cum omnia tu scires, uota hominum coniuenti patientia fatigabas,
qui ne sic quidem iniuste arma caperes, etsi nondum ab homine laces-

2 cedes *w*: caedis *M* 4 tantum *w*: tanto *M* 20 etiam *post* tuum *H Bert*, *post* grauate *X* 21 preuideras *X* 27 hee *H*: he *X*: haec *Itali* 28 ne *om. X* (*add. w*) 31 reuellenda *Bert Cusp*: reuellanda *H*: reuelanda *X* 32 sic *w*: si *M* 35 tu *h*: tua *M* patientia *wp*: pacienti *M*

situs, iam tamen uitiorum eius inimicus, sed (quod erat consentaneum 2
clementiae tuae) experireris remedia molliora ut, quod leniri quam rese-
cari malles, mitior medicina sanaret. Quin extorques animo tuo et conue- 3
niendi studium et concordiae uoluntatem, si concordiam quam ueniam
appellari fas est, cum qui potest uincere optat ignoscere. Et non dubito
quin hanc rationem caelestis prudentia tua duxerit, quod coniunctione
sua flagrantissimas hominis cupiditates uel exstingueret penitus uel modice
temperaret. Nulla quippe est libido tam uecors quam non capiat cum in 4
consortium temperantia uenerit; deicit oculos deformis ignauia ubi ei
pulchritudo uirtutis obiecta est. Tergiuersari atque haerere petulantiam 5
uideas, grauitate modestia et decore confusam, ut appareat te, imperator
optime, concordia impetranda non illi impunitatem uexandae Vrbis datu-
rum, sed leniorem petisse uictoriam, cum malles uitia eius quam arma
superare.

Sed profecto nulla ui possunt coire quae naturali diuortio dissident, **10**
nec ulla tam fidelis est copula quae in diuersum tendentia nexu suo teneat.
Perpendit scilicet secum excellens prudentia tua eique semper pietas 2
applicata omnes concordiae commoditates: illam esse fundamentum ac
radicem otii, bonorum ciuilium seminarium, quietis publicae segetem et
almam pacis altricem. Sed o quam aeger est ad honestatem recursus his 3
qui iam gradum ex nequitia protulerunt! Vocas ad societatem; appetitum
tuum refugit auersatur horrescit, nihil sibi putat tecum commune quia
nihil simile est. Iam certe quiescere uirtuti integrum non est; nam bellum 4
animo gerere armis abstinentem non concordiae ratio est sed ignaua
dissensio.

Licet non sit in his ratio desideranda qui semel de uia praecipites ire **11**
coeperunt, mirari tamen ⟨satis⟩ nequeo, cur id delatum non amplexus
sit, quod impudens esset si auderet optare. Vtrum Vrbis funestam illam 2
lacerationem lente ac remisse te laturum putauit? Sed natura fert ut
iniuriae eius quem diligas, etiam si re ipsa graues sunt, fiant tamen amore
grauiores. An credidit conserenda manu non inferiorem? Hoc uero quam 3
opinari non potuerit exitus docuit, cum signis tam saepe conlatis nihil
umquam fuerit quod aut spes aucuparetur aut fortuna promitteret. Dolis, 4
credo, existimauit decipi posse. Sed non uirtus tua de congressione quam
prudentia est de fraude securior. Quis enim ad praesentiendum sagacior?

2 experiris *H* 3 males *X* tuo et *H Bert*: tuo *h X* 8 in consortium *wp*: insortium *M* 12 impetranda *Liuineius*: imperanda *M* 13 males *X* 22 auersatur *h*: aduersatur *M* 24 animo *om. Bert* 27 satis *add. Liuineius*, *om. M* nequeo *X*: non queo *H* cur *Cl. Puteanus*: cum *M* 29 fert *h*: affert *M*

Quis uigilantior ad uidendum? Quis contempletur praesentia acrius,
5 uentura prolixius, ambigua certius, captiosa felicius? Non hinc tecum
Lynceus ille certaret qui, ut poetae ferunt, parietum saepta et arborum
truncos uisu facile traiciebat, aut etiam ille quem eadem uetustas locuta
est, cum in Siciliensi specula constitisset, conspicari solitum naues quae
Africae portum subirent, cum prospectum hominis non aer offusus quem
crassiorem exalatio maris faceret, non tantum disiunctarum regionum
longinquitas impediret.

12 Cum spes omnis frigere debuerit et uoluntas pacificandi alienata sit,
quis dubitet diuinitus armis tuis deditum, cum eo dementiae processerit
2 ut ultro etiam lacesseret quem ambire deberet? O quam acres dolorum
aculeos habes, contumelia quam imponit inferior! Ecce enim, pro do-
lor! (uerba uix suppetunt), uenerandarum imaginum acerba deiectio et
3 diuini uultus litura deformis. O manus impiae, o truces oculi! Ita non
caligastis? In quo lumen mundi obscurabatis, meritas ipsi tenebras non
imbibistis? Commouere tandem, conscia uirtus, nec permittas hoc furori
4 cui de te aliud non licebat. Sed quid tandem adsequeris, caeca demen-
tia? Aboleri uultus hic non potest. Vniuersorum pectoribus infixus est,
nec commendatione cerae ac pigmentorum fucis renitet sed desiderio ef-
florescit animorum. Vna demum Constantini obliuio est humani generis
5 occasus. Nunc uero commendabiliorem iniuria tua faciet patientiam eius:
auidius expetent quem pictura non reddit. Flagrantiora sunt animorum
desideria, cum oculorum solacia perdiderunt.

13 Nihil profecto grauius, nihil miserius, Roma, doluisti. Quamuis re-
condita alte magis gemeres, et ingestos cotidie luctus callo quodam obdu-
ratae patientiae sustineres, confessus est se inconsultior dolor nec timuit
deprehendi, et male clausi signa maeroris per uultus indices exierunt.
2 Hoc enim, Roma tot uulneribus saucia, uindicari uolebas, cum tamen
3 praestantissimus princeps iniuriae suae neglegens ulcisci tuas mallet. Ita
ambo, benigni ratiocinatores officiorum, paria fecistis, tu uoto quo solo
ualebas, ille amore pariter et facultate, ut tantum bonorum tibi tribueret
4 quantum te sibi uelle cognosceret. Pugnasti igitur, imperator, coactus
quidem, sed hoc maxime uictoriam meruisti quia non desiderabas. Op-
5 tasti pacem, sed ignosce si plus omnium uota ualuerunt. Nec illa diuinitas

6 offusus *Liuineius*: effusus *M* 7 tantum *M*: tanta *Itali*, tam *Liuineius* 10 dementiae *w*: dementia *M* 12 habes *post* aculeos *H Bert*, *post* acres *X* 13 acerba *w*: acerua *M* 24 recondita *Puteolanus*: -ite *M* 25 alte *del. Liuineius* 27 iudices *H* 31 ualebas *Puteolanus*: uolebas *M* 32 cognosceret *Bert*: cognoscet *H*: recognoscet *X* (*corr. w*) 34 diuinitas *Bert*: -tus *M* (*corr. cw*) obsecunda receptis *M*, *corr. w*

obsecundare coeptis tuis solita in hoc refragata est, sed aliquid ex sententia
tua non dedit, ut plus pro meritis iniret. Negata est concordia cui erat
parata uictoria.

In ore denique est omnium Galliarum exercitus uisos, qui se diuini- **14**
tus missos prae se ferebant. Et quamuis caelestia sub oculos hominum 2
uenire non soleant, quod crassam et caligantem aciem simplex illa et
inconcreta substantia naturae tenuis eludat, ibi tamen auxiliatores tui
adspici audirique patientes, ubi meritum tuum testificati sunt, mortalis
uisus contagium refugerunt. Sed quaenam illa fuisse dicitur species, qui 3
uigor corporum, quae amplitudo membrorum, quae alacritas uolunta-
tum? Flagrabant uerendum nescio quid umbones corusci et caelestium
armorum lux terribilis ardebat; tales enim uenerant, ut tui crederentur.
Haec ipsorum sermocinatio, hoc inter audientes serebant: 'Constantinum 4
petimus, Constantino imus auxilio.' Habent profecto etiam diuina iac- 5
tantiam et caelestia quoque tangit ambitio: illi caelo lapsi, illi diuinitus
missi gloriabantur, quod tibi militabant. Ducebat hos, credo, Constantius 6
pater, qui terrarum triumphis altiori tibi cesserat, diuinas expeditiones
iam diuus agitabat. Magnus hic quoque pietatis tuae fructus: quamuis
particeps caeli, ampliorem se fieri gratia tua sensit, et cuius munera in 7
alios influere iam possint, in eum ipsum tua munera redundarunt.

Cedat tibi non recentium saeculorum modo sed totius memoriae ue- **15**
tustas, quamuis illa recti appetens et nullo umquam in officio deprauata
glorietur penes se sanctitatis famam stetisse. Sed neglegunter praeco- 2
nia hominum, ubi quaeruntur iudicia diuina. Illi igitur ueteres, laudati 3
uitae moderatores, qui refrenandis cupiditatibus restricte contenteque
uixerunt, quorum omnis aetas armis conterebatur, quando tantam in
proelio diuinam opem pro merito integritatis habuerunt ut, qui longe a
uirtutibus tuis distant, in proximo saltem iustitiae gradu reponantur? Ro- 4
mano quodam in bello ferunt duo cum equis iuuenes exstitisse spectandos
forma pariter ac uiribus, qui in dimicando praeter ceteros insignes fuissent.
Iussu imperatoris ad remunerandam industriam requisitos, ubi nulli in-
ueniebantur, fides habita est diuinos fuisse, quod cum laborem sedulo

2 dedit *Aem. Baehrens*: cedit *M* iniret *Liuineius* 6 illa *H Bert Cusp*, *om. X* 9 refugierunt *X* 11 qui dum bonescorusci *H*: quid umbone corusci *X* 13 ferebant *X* 15 diuitus *H* (*corr. cod. Napocensis*) 18 *post* fructus *add.* quod *Puteolanus*, ut *Aem. Baehrens* 19 sensit *scripsi*: senserit *M*, *quo retento* quod *ante* quamuis (*cum Puteolano*), possent *et* redundarint *Acidalius* 22 deprauata in officio *X* 23 famam stetisse *w*: fama instetisse *M* neglegunter *Liuineius*: nec leguntur *M* 25 contenteque *Liuineius* (*collato ii 13.3* parce contenteque): compteque *M* 29 spectandos *Aem. Baehrens*: spectantos *H*: spectatos *X* 30 qui *h Bert*: quia *M* insignes *p*: -nis *M* 32 cum *H Bert*, *om. X*

5 communicauissent, laboris pretium respuerunt. Equidem historiae non
inuitus adsentior; neque enim in hoc ueri interpolatrix tenenda quae se
non uanam antiquitatis nuntiam pollicetur. Sed tamen illi qui hoc an-
nalium monumentis inligauerunt, uerebantur ne apud posteros miraculi
6 fides claudicaret. Estote, o grauissimi auctores, de scriptorum religione
securi: credimus facta qui maiora nunc sensimus. Magnitudo principis
7 nostri gestis ueterum fidem conciliat, sed miraculum detrahit. Pro auxilii
copia negotiorum ratio metienda est. Duo quondam iuuenes, sed nunc
exercitus uisi; hoc certe uberius nec infirmius ueritate. Stat argumento
duplici fides nixa: sic Constantinus iuuari meruit, sic debuit Roma seruari.

16 Magnum hoc, imperator maxime, sed de tua pietate non mirum.
Adesse tibi in omnibus summam illam maiestatem quae te circumplexa
tueatur, coniectura mentium tenebamus, etsi nondum ad fidem patebat
2 oculorum. Etenim cum mens tua mortali contagione secreta, pura omnis,
funditus sincera, ubique se promerendo deo praestet, cum gloria tua
humanum modum supergressa sit, quis est omnium quin opitulari tibi
deum credat, cum id et uita mereatur et rerum gestarum magnitudo
3 testetur? Parumper igitur ab instituto cursu non ingrato deuerticulo
recedamus. Tenebo hunc orationis modum ut nec inhumane de ceteris
4 muta sit nec odiose instantibus obloquatur. Tu, imperator optime, inito
principatu, adhuc aeui immaturus sed iam maturus imperio, ostendisti
5 cursum aetatis non exspectandum in festinatione uirtutis. Tu exinde
domi militiaeque iuxta bonus nusquam gradum extulisti, quin ubique
te gloria quasi umbra comitata sit. Tu ferocissimis regibus Ascarico et
comite suo captis tanta laude res bellicas auspicatus es, ut eam inauditae
6 magnitudinis obsidem teneremus. Vt Herculem ferunt adhuc tenerum
atque lactantem duos angues manu elisisse, ut iam infantulo indoles futuri
roboris emicaret, sic tu, imperator, in ipsis imperii tui cunabulis, quasi
geminos dracones necares, per saeuissimorum regum famosa supplicia
ludebas.

17 Franci ipsi praeter ceteros truces, quorum uis cum ad bellum effer-
uesceret ultra ipsum Oceanum aestu furoris euecta, Hispaniarum etiam
oras armis infestas habebant. Hi igitur sub armis tuis ita conciderunt ut

1 respuissent *X* 6 credimus *Langius*: -damus *M* 9 *post* certe *add.* uel *Bert*, et *Liuineius* 12 circumplexa *Liuineius*: flexa *M* 13 coniectura *Puteolanus*: -ram *M* 16 supergressa *cw*: superegressa *M*: egressa *Bert* quis *Puteolanus*: qui *M* omnium *H*: hominum *X* 18 testatur *H* 19 ceteris *M*: praeteritis *Markland* 26 tenerum adhuc *X* 27 lactentem *Rhenanus* duo *H* iam *M*: iam in *Acidalius* 28 emicaret *w*: immicaret *M* 31 bella *X* 33 habebat *Puteolanus*

deleri funditus possent, nisi diuino instinctu, quo regis omnia, quos ipse
adfeceras conficiendos filio reseruasses. Quamquam ad gloriam uestram 2
fecunda malis suis natio ita raptim adoleuit robusteque recreata est, ut for-
tissimo Caesari primitias ingentis uictoriae daret, cum memoria acceptae
cladis non infracta sed asperata pugnaret. Differamus parumper Itali- 3
cas expeditiones quibus Segusiensium ciuitatem, quae superatis Alpibus
Italiae claustrum obiecit, cum ui et uirtute uelut ianuam belli refregisses,
inde per obiectas acies, per exercitus obuios usque ad Romana moenia
inoffensus uictoriarum impetus percucurrit.

Quid memorem Bructeros, quid Chamauos, quid Cheruscos Lan- 18
cionas Halamannos Tubantes? Bellicum strepunt nomina, et immanitas
barbariae in ipsis uocabulis adhibet horrorem. Hi omnes singillatim, dein
pariter armati conspiratione foederatae societatis exarserant. Tu tamen, 2
imperator, cum tantam belli molem uideres, nil magis timuisti quam ne
timereris. Adis barbaros, et dissimulato principis habitu quam proxime
poteras, cum duobus accedis. Numquam est excelsior principatus quam 3
cum se publico submittit officio. Facis uerba, spem illorum agitas et
uersas credulitatem, negas te esse praesentem. O uere caeca barbaria, 4
quae in illo uultu signa principis non uideris, quem ne sic quidem senseris,
cum intra iactum teli securus sui staret, Constantinum esse! Qui hoc
poteras non timere, dubitare quisquam potest te per omnia subnixum deo
uadere? Inuictos ducis et solus timeris. Tot regna, tot populi et tanta- 5
rum nationum congregatio indignam se uiribus tuis putat, quem credit
absentem. Tibi tamen incrementum laudis ex multiplicatione terroris est.
Magnificentius congregata obteris quae scrupulosius dispersa sequereris.
Innumerae simul gentes ad bellum coactae, sed uno impetu tuo fusae, dum 6
conlatiuam uim comparant, compendiosam uictoriam praestiterunt.

Vno hoc bello, si debitis laudibus immorari uacaret, dies integer 19
conderetur. Nunc ita omnia praeteruolans tetigit oratio, ut uictori-
arum tuarum non summam euolueret sed ornamenta monstraret. His 2
rebus semper e re publica gestis tanta ui tantoque successu ut numquam
uirtus tua intremuerit, prudentia haeserit, felicitas claudicarit, satis, ut
opinor, probatum est perpetuam in te benignae maiestatis opem fluere, ut

1 possent *w*: possint *M* 2 adfeceras *M*: afflixeras *Langius* uestram gloriam *Bert* 3 adoleuit *w*: aboleuit *M* 7 clastrum *H* obiicit *Cusp* ui et *Puteolanus*, tua *w*: uie *M* 10 Bructeros *Liuineius*: Bruteros *M* Chamauos quid Cheruscos *Langius*: Clamasos (-uos *Bert*) quid Heruscos *M Bert* Lancionas *M*: Vangionas *Cusp* 13 tu *X*: ut *H* 14 uideres *cw*: uideris *M* 18 credulitatem *Langius*: crudel- *M* 21 poteras *Cl. Puteanus*: poterat *M* quicquam *X* potest *Cusp*: potes *M* 29 tetigit *Acidalius*: cecidit *M* 30 summa me uolueret *M, corr. w*

caelestes exercitus tui non tunc primo missi sed tum demum intellecti esse
3 uideantur. Talis igitur ad liberandam Italiam et tam tutus accedis, ut cum
res bellica caecos habeat euentus, in te tamen dimicandi uoluntatem pro
4 uictoriae pignore teneres, etiamsi abessent auxilia diuina. Aderat enim
robustus et florens, plenus uirium animi plenus exercitus, laetus armis
et militiae munia exsequens studio magis quam necessitate, quippe cui
stipendia sint pauciora quam proelia (cum dico proelia, significo uicto-
5 rias), praeterea tam amans tui quam tibi carus. Ignosce enim, superba
Virtus: quantumuis fiduciae et spiritus capias, amor principis facit militem
fortiorem.

20 Antiqua admodum res est quam proferam, sed non indigna me-
moratu. Illyrii quondam despicientes Aeropi regis infantiam Macedonas
bello lacessierunt. Et prima quidem congressio secundum illos fuit; uerum
Macedones cum bellum reficerent, regem suum in cunis ad aciem de-
2 tulerunt. Cum illos ira, hos miseratio, illos signorum cantus hos pueri
uagitus accenderet, mutata est ratio certaminis: uicerunt qui amore
3 pugnabant. Quanto igitur est amor fidelior accepti beneficii memoria
quam praesumptione futuri, quod illic percepta res iuuat, hic exspectata
blanditur, tanto tui animosius dimicauerunt qui non puero spem gra-
tiae munerabantur, sed principi post natos homines benignissimo meriti
debitum rependebant.

21 Primam igitur Segusiensium ciuitatem, quam primam iter dederat,
uictoria facilis amplexa est. Quae resistendi pertinacia ita in se imperatoris
2 uim conuertit ut pietatem tamen non alienauerit. Nam cum introitus
ui manu quaereretur, et portarum inflammatio ignem late distulisset,
cuius facilis per adiuncta contagio pastu pestifero ualescebat, maxima
benignissimi imperatoris fuit cura, non modo ut incendium non adiutum
senesceret, sed oppressum emori posset; et longe operosior clementia eius
quam fortitudo perspecta est, cum plus in conseruanda urbe quam in
3 capienda fuerat laboris oreretur. Itaque digrediens sic ciuitatem cupidam
sui fecit, ut eam ad omne obsequium non uictoriae metus componeret sed
admiratio lenitatis.

22 Optima esse aiunt remedia quae ad usum corrigendi nostri ex aliena
calamitate nascuntur; uerum animus prauitate uelut morbo impeditus
2 dilectum boni non habet. Ecce iam apud Taurinos uenientem pugna

1 caelestes *w*: -tis *M* primum *X1* 4 teneres *Bert*: tenerebas *H*: tenebas *X* 6 cui *Bert w*: tui *M* 7 sunt *X* 12 Illyri *H*, -iri *X*, -irii *w* Macedones *X* 13 lacesserunt *X* 20 homines *w*: -nis *M* 26 pastu *Liuineius*: partu *M* 30 oreretur *Aem. Baehrens*: oror- *H*: orir- *X* ciuitatem *wp*: cupiditatem *M*

grauior exspectat; nec Segusiensium uastitas monet ut sibi caueant, nec
cogitant quo cum principe res futura sit, quod neque uis eius resistendi
spem faciat nec mansuetudo rationem. Campum laxe iacentem tan- 3
tus miles oppleuerat, ut non improbaret fiduciam qui instructos uideret.
Quae enim illa fuisse dicitur species, quam atrox uisu, quam formidolosa, 4
operimento ferri equi atque homines pariter obsaepti! Clibanariis in ex-
ercitu nomen est: superne hominibus tectis, equorum pectoribus demissa
lorica et crurum tenus pendens sine impedimento gressus a noxa uulneris
uindicabat.

Te tamen, imperator, non terruit nec quod tanto numero duplica- 23
bat armatura terrorem nec quod uim armis numerus addebat. Certum 2
est enim pro negotii modo animosam esse uirtutem, quod ex serie re-
rum captum suum temperat: in paruis prope ad securitatem remissa, in
mediocribus modice intentior, ubi magna uenerunt iuxta magnitudinem
exanclandi operis erigitur. Illa armorum ostentatio et operti ferro exerci- 3
tus, qui imbelles oculos uulnerassent, inuictas mentes incitauerunt, quod
imbutus imperatoris exemplo totis animis eius miles ardescit, cum inuenit
hostem, quem uinci deceret. Catafractos equites, in quibus maximum 4
steterat pugnae robur, ipse tibi sumis. His disciplina pugnandi ut, cum
aciem arietauerint, seruent impressionis tenorem, et immunes uulnerum,
quidquid oppositum, sine haesitatione perrumpant.

Sed tu, imperator prudentissime, qui omnes bellandi uias nosses, 24
opem ex ingenio repperisti: quod tutissimum eludere quos est difficilli- 2
mum sustinere. Diducta acie inreuocabilem impetum hostis effundis; dein
quos ludificandos receperas, reductis agminibus includis. Nil proderat
contra tendere, cum ex industria tui cederent; flexum ad insequendum
ferreus rigor non dabat. Ita nostri proditos sibi clauis adoriuntur, quae 3
grauibus ferratisque nodis hostem uulneri non patentem caedendo defati-
gabant ac maxime capitibus afflictatae, quos ictu perturbauerant, ruere
cogebant. Tunc ire praecipites, labi reclinis, semineces uacillare aut 4
moribundi sedilibus attineri, permixta equorum clade impliciti iacere,
qui reperto sauciandi loco passim equitem effreni dolore fundebant. Ad 5

1 Segusiensium *d*: Segusium *M* 2 quo *Liuineius*: quod *M* 3 laxe *M*: late *w* 6 homines *w*: -nis *M* 7 hominibus *Aem. Baehrens*: omnibus *M* 12 serie *w*: se *M* 15 exanclandi] *ita M* 19 ut *W. Baehrens*, est ut *Jaeger*: est *M* 20 impressionis *Puteolanus*: -nes *M* immunes *w*: -nis *M* 22 pudentissime *H* (*corr. cod. Napocensis*) 23 eludere *Puteolanus*: elidere *M Bert* quos *Jaeger*: quod *M* 24 diducta *H Cusp*: deducta *X* 25 ludificando *Acidalius* 29 afflictatae *Cusp*, -tata *Bert*, applicate *w*, afflictae *Puteolanus*: afflicate *M* perturbauerunt *H* 30 precipitis *H* reclines *X*

unum interfectis omnibus, tuis integris, horrorem armorum ad miraculum
uictoriae transtulerunt, quod qui inuulnerabiles habebantur sine tuorum
6 uulneribus interissent. Antoninus imperator in toga praestans et non iners
nec futtilis bello, cum aduersum Parthos armis experiretur, uisis catafractis
adeo totus in metum uenit, ut ultro ad regem conciliatrices pacis litteras
7 daret. Quas cum rex immodicus animi respuisset, insolentia quidem bar-
bari debellata est, sed patefactum est in his armis tantam inesse uiolentiam
ut eam et uincendus fideret et superaturus timeret.

25 Quid ego referam post tantam et tam grauem pugnam, quod apud
Brixam magnus quidem et acer equitatus, sed fuga quam ui sua tutior et
primo impetu tuo pulsus, Veronam usque contendit ad praesidia maiora?
2 Neque illud dedecori fuit, quod excusati fugiunt qui tibi cedunt. Con-
tingat quin immo miserae timiditati res ostentanda, fuga quae habuerit
3 dignitatem. Ipsa autem Verona referta immanibus copiis, quas in unum
aduentus tui formido conduxerat, cum multorum iam clades accepisset,
facta est parumper metu cautior, non ratione felicior: muris se ab impetu
4 uindicant. Aderat quidem Ruricius, experientissimus belli et tyrannico-
rum ducum columen, per tota admodum moenia magna uis hominum;
sed apud Brixam plerique iam fracti. Vt in corpore, cum aliqua pars
aegra est, ualitudo omnis contaminari solet, sic illius multitudinis portio
5 malo affecta totum ⟨in⟩ exercitum timoris contagium dissiparat. Quam
faciles lapsus infirmitas habeat, cum eam intempestiua mouit audacia,
6 cum saepe alias tum maxime in illa obsidione perspectum est. Clausi
impetum faciunt, et qui se aliquamdiu latendo a morte defenderant, facta
7 pugnandi copia, poenas eruptionis temerariae pependerunt. Idemque
Ruricius magna suorum clade reiectus in moenia, spe iam lassa et adhuc
mente uesana, cum se Verona proripuisset, nouos eodem egit exercitus, et
praecipitante iam die bellum non detrectauit pugnae auidior quam salutis.
Sed eum exitus magis quam merita fefellerunt; nam furorem mors domuit,
quem non potuerat nec considerati ratio nec uicti formido sanare.

26 O nox illa aeternis saeculis monumentisque mandanda! cum spissis
tenebris ⟨de⟩ congressu Fortunae totum liceret; tu tamen, imperator, non

1 omnibus interfectis *Bert* 5 ad *om. H* 8 et (*1°*) *H Bert Cusp, om. X* 10 Brixiam *X* quidem *Itali* (*cod. Paris. lat. 7805*): quidam *M* sed *Liuineius*: esset *M* uisu astucior *M, corr. w* 11 ad *X*: at *H* 12 id *X* 14 referta *w*, freta *Rhenanus*: ferta *M* 17 uindicat *w* experientissimus *w*: -mum *M* 19 sed *Liuineius*: et *M* Brixiam *X* 21 in *add. Acidalius* (contagio *maluit w*), *om. M* 22 habeat *Acidalius*: habet *M*: haberet *Bert* mouet *Bert* 25 copia *Bert*: causa *M* 26 et *M*: sed *Langius* 27 Verona *Liuineius*: Veronam *M* 29 domuit *cod. Napocensis alii*, demum domuit *Aem. Baehrens*: demuit *M* 31 spissis *Acidalius*: spis *M*: spiculis *Bert* 32 tenebris de *Kronenberg*: tenebrisque *M*

intutior tempore quam deo tectior, saeuissimo hosti multus instares et
libertate caedis exsultans donum noctis duceres quod pugnantem nemo
seruaret. Per infestas acies interritus uadis, densissima quaeque perrumpis
deicis proteris. Mortis decus perdunt quos ignoratus adfligis, nisi quod 2
te ipsa uis tua cogit agnosci. Nihil enim te permouent tubarum fractae
uoces, horrendus militum clamor, permissa casibus uulnera, inlisi comi-
nus gladii, cadentum graues gemitus, arma late strepentia et in unum
quendam sonitum diuersi fragoris acta confusio, quod haec omnia aut
uirtus neglegit aut ira non sentit. Nox ipsa, iustissima bellantibus causa 3
terroris, uehementiorem te agendis stragibus fecerat. Quod solum enim
uirtutis tuae impedimentum est, miserationem tenebrae non habebant, ut
intellegi liceat quantum illo in bello uis tua perfecerit pietate non retenta
et maiestate secura. Proelio uix multa nocte confecto fessus caedibus, an- 4
helus ex bello, cruore oblitus sed hostili, ad obsidionis uigilias recurrebas.
O Fortuna! O praepotens Roma! Quam tu umquam gratiam pro tantis 5
his laboribus referes? nisi quod indulgentissimus princeps, tamquam hoc
ipsum tibi debeat, eo cariorem habet quo maiore labore seruauit.

Et quoniam me ad Vrbis commemorationem fors quaedam in- 27
tulit, non rerum ordo deduxit, neque reuocari inde orationem fas est
quo iamdudum contenta ueniebat, praetereo te, Aquileia, te, Mutina,
ceterasque regiones quibus propter insecutas incredibilium bonorum com-
moditates gratissima fuit ipsius oppugnationis iniuria. Senserunt enim 2
translatis ad fortissimum principem fortunarum suarum gubernaculis
quam facile omnia ad salubrem cursum redirent, quae ita defereban-
tur ut mox aut malorum omnium scopulis inliderentur aut miseriarum
uadis adhaerescerent. Praetereo, inquam, et haec et alia complura quo- 3
rum est et singillatim onerosa moles et omnium simul aceruus onerosior.
Nam quae diducta ferre nequeas, his congregatis subire spei importu- 4
nioris est quam fiduciae promptioris. Recuperata igitur Italia hic primus 5
fuit liberandae Vrbis gradus et ad uictoriam facilis ascensus, quod illum
semper exedendae Vrbis uisceribus inhaerentem ex adsuetis latebris uis
diuinitatis excussit. In quo quidem tantum momenti fuit ad perficiendae 6
rei facilitatem, ut non tam gloriandum sit uirtuti tuae, praestantissime im-
perator, quod eum uiceris quam gratulandum felicitati quod ad pugnam
potueris euocare.

2 duceres *w*: -ris *M* 5 tubarum *cd*: turbarum *M* 6 clam *H* illusi *X* 10 uehementiore in *H* 11 habebant *H Cusp*: habent *X* 12 quantum *w*: quanto *M* 18 urbem *X* (*corr. cw*) 19 reuocare *X* 27 moles *w*: molis *M* 28 deducta *X* 30 ascensus *Bert*: accensus *H*: accessus *X* 32 ad *cw*: aut *M*

28 Non enim casu, non fiducia factum putemus ut ultro etiam exerci-
tum educeret aduersum eum cuius aduentus stridorem ipsum perhor-
resceret, nisi animum iam metu deuium infestior deus et pereundi matu-
ritas perpulisset; quod ipsa ratio disponendi exercitus docuit illum mente
perdita implicatoque consilio, cum eum pugnae locum caperet ut inter-
clusa fuga moriendi necessitatem imponeret, cum spem uictoriae non
2 haberet. Quod quidem imperatori nostro optandum largiter fuit, qui
hoc uno maxime offenditur, si certamen lubricum faciat spes prompta
3 fugiendi. Relaxauerit acies aut frons impulsa titubauerit, fiducia manuum
ad pedes migrat. Non amas, imperator, bella nisi feruentem hostem in
gradu suo praecisa fuga teneas, ut aut ferro concidat aut miseratione
4 seruetur. Apud Tiberim igitur suos instruit sic ripae locatos ut ultimo-
rum uestigia praesagio quodam euenturae cladis unda fatalis adlueret,
ita uero multitudine suppeditante ut ultra quam uisus agi posset extenta
5 acies pertineret, non quo frons imbecilla tractu inualido duceretur, sed
tanta subsidiorum atque ordinum confirmatione ut acies non porrectior
quam robustior mirum utrumque praeberet, quod eam nec constipatio
contraxisset nec longitudo tenuaret.

29 Praetermittam hoc loco, Constantine maxime, disponendi militis tui
miram incredibilemque rationem. Hoc enim persequi uellem, quem
tenuisse locum caelestis exercitus dicam?—quamquam illos non arbitror
2 stetisse nisi tecum. Difficillimam enim pugnae partem tibi deligis et,
tamquam pro fortunae gradu modus uirium debeatur, ita inter tuos non
3 uis principatu magis excellere quam labore. Cumulatissimum quidem
principis munus est, si manu cesset, non cessasse consilio; sed tu non
segnior gerere quam iubere simul exercitus tuos monitu regis, opere
4 iuuas, incendis exemplo. Quod hic etiam facis promptius quam in ceteris
proeliis, quod in praesenti erat tam ampla pugnae merces quam pugnator
5 inlustris et statim Roma uictoris. Cuius rei cum imaginem cepi, dicturus
horresco. Inuadis primus aciem, solus inrumpis. Obumbrant euntem
telorum inriti iactus, sonat ictibus umbo securus. His, quos trabalis
hasta deiecit, insultans equus proterit. Fulget nobilis galea et corusca
luce gemmarum diuinum uerticem monstrat. Auro clipeus, auro arma
conlucent. O quantam uim possides, Virtus, quae in hoc habitu plus
6 terroris praeferas quam decoris! Secuti hunc ardorem fortissimi milites,

9 impulsa *w*: impulsati *M* 11 teneas *scripsi*: teneat *M* 12 instruxit *Puteolanus* 17 utrinque *X* 21 tenuisse *Acidalius*: -set *M* 26 monitu *Cusp*: monito *M* 32 equus (ecus) *Aem. Baehrens*, ferus *Puteolanus*: secus *M*

et dignos se ductu eius imperioque testati sic uiritim laborauerunt, quasi
summa res singulorum manu teneretur.
Non commemorabo hic tectas continuis stragibus ripas, non oppletum **30**
aceruis corporum Tiberim et inter congestas alte cadauerum moles aegro
nisu ac uix eluctantibus gurgitibus exeuntem, quodque illum ipsum tyran-
num non mors uirilis sed fuga turpis prodidit et digno ignauiae et saeuitiae
exitu fluctus sanguinei necauerunt. Perstringi haec satis est, quod etiam 2
pridie prolixius mihi dicta sunt neque pro dignitate exsequi copia est, et
ne pugna raptim gesta diutius narrata quam confecta uideatur. O si nunc 3
mihi facultas daretur sermonis pro rerum ⟨modo⟩ figurandi! Adhiberem
omnes flosculos et abuterer exquisito quodam lepore ac uenustate dicendi.
Iam strepitus Martii, iam tubarum sonores festiuis ⟨uocibus⟩ et resultanti 4
fauore mutantur. Dicendus in Vrbem ingressus est imperatoris, et in
exprimendo senatus populique Romani maximo gaudio ingrata, nisi et
ipsa lasciuit, oratio. Nullus post Vrbem conditam dies Romano inluxit 5
imperio, cuius tam effusa tamque insignis gratulatio aut fuerit aut esse
debuerit; nulli tam laeti triumphi quos annalium uetustas consecratos in
litteris habet.
Non agebantur quidem ante currum uincti duces sed incedebat tan- **31**
dem soluta nobilitas. Non coniecti in carcerem barbari sed educti e
carcere consulares. Non captiui alienigenae introitum illum honesta-
uerunt sed Roma iam libera. Nil ex hostico accepit sed se ipsam recupe- 2
rauit, nec praeda auctior facta est sed esse praeda desiuit et, quo nil adici ad
gloriae magnitudinem ⟨maius⟩ potest, imperium recepit quae seruitium
sustinebat. Duci sane omnibus uidebantur subacta uitiorum agmina quae 3
Vrbem grauiter obsederant: Scelus domitum, uicta Perfidia, diffidens sibi
Audacia et Importunitas catenata. Furor uinctus et cruenta Crudelitas
inani terrore frendebant; Superbia atque Arrogantia debellatae, Luxuries
coercita et Libido constricta nexu ferreo tenebantur. Sequebatur hunc 4
comitatum suum tyranni ipsius taeterrimum caput ac, si qua referentibus
fides est, suberat adhuc saeuitia et horrendae frontis minas mors ipsa non
uicerat. Iaciebantur uulgo contumeliosissimae uoces; nam et ludibriis 5

5 nisu *H Bert*: nixu *X* eluctatibus *H* 6 digno *w*: dignum *M* 8 pridem *Acidalius* 10 modo *add. Brakman* (*ante* rerum; *sed cf. c. 23.2, 38.6*), dignitate *Itali*, *om. M* 12 festiuis uocibus *Cusp*, festis *w*: festus *M* 20 educti *Liuineius*: deducti *M* 21 consularis *H* 22 sed (*1°*) *X*: se *H* ni lex hosti coaccepit *H* 23 desinit *H* 24 maius *add. Cusp*, *om. M* recepit quae *X2 w*: recipitque *M* 26 obsiderant *H* domicium *H* 29 nexu *Itali* (*cod. Vat. lat. 1775*): nexui *M* 32 iaciebantur *w*: faci- *M* ludibriis *p*: laudibris *M*

oppressoris sui auspicari libertatem iuuabat et mira cum uoluptate con-
ceptus e uita terror insultatione interitus obterebatur.
32 Quis triumphus inlustrior, quae species pulchrior, quae pompa feli-
2 cior? Dicam itaque, imperator, quo uno satis mihi uideor diuinam gloriam
tuam significaturus. Quot in illo turpitudinum notas exstinxeras, tot in te
3 laudum infulae refulserunt. Fraudari indulgentissimus princeps ea gratia
neminem uoluit, quominus omnia, quaqua odium eius peruaserat, spec-
4 taculum tyrannici funeris expiaret. Vbique iam quidem laetitiam gestae
rei diffuderat Fama uelox et ad celeritatem nuntii pennata Victoria; inse-
quebatur tamen uberiore cum gaudio ipsius rei fructus, quod ad animum
languidius accedunt quae aurium uia manant quam quae oculis hauri-
5 untur. Itaque tanti per Italiam concursus hominum excitabantur, tantae
ex oppidis effusiones, ut facile anteacti terroris testificatio in praesenti
6 exsultatione luceret. Pari studio missum eiusdem tyranni ad permulcen-
dam Africam caput, ut quam maxime uiuus adflixerat laceratus expleret.
Et nondum satis tempestiuo mari adfuerunt tamen nauigantibus felices
aurae et fluctus secundi, beatissimamque uictoriam ipsa etiam elementa
7 iuuerunt. Caput, in quo titulus tantae laudis circumferebatur, reddidit
8 Tiberis, prosecuti sunt uenti, maria seruarunt. Quonam modo te, potens
Africa, quanto laetitiae fremitu, quam insolenti uoluptate iactasti! Nil
quippe est immoderatius quam post longam tristitiam repens gaudium;
impetu suo feruet, nec ut primum liberum, continuo defaecatum, statim
9 purum est. Nam ut fistulae, cum diu intersaeptae sunt, exitu dato quo
largiores eo crassiores aquas euomunt, sic uota hominum metu interclausa
turbidi aliquid egerunt cum cumulata ruperunt.
33 Hae uictoriarum gratulationes, nec minus uberes fructus reliquarum
2 uirtutum fuerunt. Implicatam quidem atque obsitam Vrbem grauissimis
malis euoluerunt indefessa uis atque eximia fortitudo; sed quantum boni
3 prudentia excogitauit, benignitas et clementia contulerunt! Quorum
quid magis iuuerit, difficilis existimatio est. Nam et calamitate obsessis
finis est uoti miseria liberari, et mox uacuitas miseriarum parum grata
4 est, nisi laetitia consequatur. Ita pro se quaeque officiis suis functae
fortitudo et liberalitas imperatoris cumulatissimam Vrbis beatitudinem

1 iuuabat *Puteolanus*: iuuat *M* uoluptate *Cusp*: uoluntate *M* 2 terror *Cusp*: terroris *M* 5 quod *H* 6 refulxerunt *X* ea *Rhenanus*: e *M* 7 quaqua odium *Aem. Baehrens*, quae odium *Langius*, qua odium *Bongarsius*: quam odium quam *M* (quam *alt. del. w*) peruaserat *Liuineius*: persuaserat *M* 9 pinnata *H* 20 uoluptate *Liuineius*: uoluntate *M* 25 turbidi *Liuineius*: -de *M* 26 he *X*: hec *H* 27 urbem obsitam *H* 30 obsessis *Puteolanus*: obsessi *M* 31 uacuitas *Langius*: facultas *M*

⟨et miseria⟩ exhaurienda et congerendis commodis reddiderunt. Facilior 5
quidem, multo procliuior laedendi quam commodandi semper est uia,
uulnerare integrum quam sauciato mederi, dissipare parta quam diuulsa
componere; cessit tamen haec rerum condicio principi nostro. Nam 6
quidquid mali sexennio toto dominatio feralis inflixerat, bimestris fere cura
sanauit. Sanauit, dico? Redintegratio status pristini permulcendo dolori
satis est, non etiam arcessendae gratulationi; nec amplius postules quam
ut eum sui non poeniteat qui solita ... non modo id egit ut recuperatis
quae amiserat non doleret sed etiam ut nouorum adeptione gauderet.
Praetereo priuatim reddita omnibus patrimonia quos illa monstrosa labes 7
extorres domo fecerat; praetereo, inquam, quia uix sufficit oratio facta
publicitus explicare; quamquam, cum ex singulis sit coagmentata res
publica, et quidquid in eam confertur ad omnes pro portione permanat et
uicissim necesse est, quod singillatim omnes adipiscuntur, in commune
rei publicae redundare.
Iam illa uix audeo de tanto principe commemorare, quod nullam 34
matronarum, cui forma emendatior fuerit, boni sui piguit, cum sub ab-
stinentissimo imperatore species luculenta non incitatrix licentiae esset
sed pudoris ornatrix. Quae sine dubio magna seu potius diuina laudatio, 2
saepe in ipsis etiam philosophis non tam re exhibita quam disputatione iac-
tata. Sed remittamus hoc principi nostro, qui ita temperantiam ingenerare 3
omnibus cupit, ut eam non ad uirtutum suarum decus adscribendam sed
ad naturae ipsius honestatem referendam arbitremur. Quid? faciles adi- 4
tus, quid? aures patientissimas, quid? benigna responsa, quid? uultum
ipsum augusti decoris grauitate, hilaritate admixta, uenerandum quiddam
et amabile renidentem, quis digne exsequi possit? Quarum rerum mira-
culo sic homines deuinciebantur ut non tam omnes dolerent quod illum
tyrannum ita diu tulerant quam quod tali principe tam sero fruerentur.
Longum est ex illo percensere beneficia principis, quae in orbem sine 35
modo redeuntia contexta eius benignitate fulserunt, ita infinita numero

1 et miseria *add. Liuineius* (exhauriendis malis *scripserat w*), *om. M* 2 et multo *w* commodandi *h X*: -dandis *H* 3 parta *'alii' apud Baunium*, rapta *Puteolanus*, apta *Liuineius*: repta *H*: reperta *X* 6 dolori *p*: doloris *M* 8 *lacunam indicaui, quid acciderit incertus; post* solita *add.* diligentia *w*, cura *W. Meyer*, sedulitate *Galletier* respublica recuperatis *W. Baehrens*, recup. quisque *Aem. Baehrens*, *om. M* 9 adempcione *H* 12 coagmentata *Bert*: coaugm- *H Cusp*: augm- *X* 14 sigillatim *X* 17 pignuit *H* abstinentissimo imperatore *wp*: -mos -res *M* 19 laudatio est *Liuineius* 20 iactata est *w* 25 admixta *H Bert Cusp*: permixta *X* uenerabile *Bert* 26 renidentem *Rhenanus*: renit- *M Bert* 27 homines *Aem. Baehrens*: omnes *M* omnes (*retento* homines) *del. Jaeger* 29 orbem *Liuineius*: urbem *M* 30 fulserunt *w*: puls- *M* tumero *H*

commodis magna, ut numquam obliuionem gratiae obductura sit uel mul-
2 titudo omnium uel utilitas singulorum. Sensisti, Roma, tandem arcem
te omnium gentium et terrarum esse reginam, cum ex omnibus prouinciis
optimates uiros curiae tuae pignerareris, ut senatus dignitas non nomine
3 quam re esset inlustrior, cum ex totius orbis flore constaret. Populi uero
Romani uis illa et magnitudo uenerabilis ad imaginem antiquitatis relata
non licentia effrenis exsultat, non abiecta languide iacet, sed sic adsiduis
diuini principis monitis temperata est ut, cum ad nutum eius flexibilis
et tenera ducatur, morigeram se non terrori eius praebeat sed benigni-
tati. Placidam quippe rerum quietem et profundum Vrbi otium gentes
4 perdomitae condiderunt. Vacat remissioribus animis delectamenta pacis
adhibere. Celeberrima quaeque Vrbis nouis operibus enitescunt, nec ob-
soleta modo per uetustatem rediuiuo cultu insigniuntur, sed illa ipsa quae
antehac magnificentissima putabantur nunc auri luce fulgentia indecoram
5 maiorum parsimoniam prodiderunt. Circo ipsi maximo sublimes porticus
et rutilantes auro columnae tantum inusitati ornatus dederunt, ut illo non
minus cupide conueniatur loci gratia quam spectaculi uoluptate.

36 Tantorum Roma compos bonorum, quae quidem ei sunt cum toto
orbe communia, haurit insuper ingentis spei fructum, quam proposi-
tam sibi ex Caesaribus nobilissimis habet eorumque fratribus. Quorum
2 iam nomina ipsa ueneramur, etsi uota nostra interim proferuntur. Nec
Lacedaemoniis magis licuerit hoc instituto rem publicam tueri suam, cum
regem nisi ex stirpe Herculis non haberent: tuos, Constantine maxime,
tuos liberos ac deinceps nepotes tecum optat, ut tanto a pluribus petantur
3 quanto maiora noscuntur. Declarant ecce rationem cupiditatemque uoto-
rum facta Crispi, Caesarum maximi, in quo uelox uirtus aetatis mora non
retardata pueriles annos gloriis triumphalibus occupauit, cuius ita iam
uberes scatent laudes ut plenae possent uideri nisi ⟨sic⟩ coepisse et patrem
4 cogitaremus. Qui quidem nunc nobilissimus Caesar uenerandi patris,
fratrum suorumque omnium fruitur adspectu seque fruendum omnibus
5 praebet. Cruda adhuc hieme iter gelu intractabile, immensum spatio,
niuibus infestum incredibili celeritate confecit, ut intellegamus alacritati
eius nihil asperum, qui ipsam quam a suis petebat tam laboriosam in-
stituerit uoluntatem.

1 obliuionem *w*: -one *M* 10 gentes perdomitae *w*: gentis perdomicie *M* 12 nouis *w*: nobis *M* obsoleta *d*: obselata *M* 14 ante ac *M*, *corr. Puteolanus* (antea *w*) 15 circo *w*: idcirco *M* 19 communi *H* 25 ad maiora nascantur *Puteolanus*, maiora ab eis gesta noscuntur *Novák* 28 sic *add. Withof*, *om. M* 29 nunc *om. Bert* 32 celeritate *w*: liberalitate *M* alacritati *w* (eius *add. Liuineius*): alacritatibus *M*

Quae tuum, Constantine maxime, mite pectus inundauit gratulatio, **37**
cui tanto interuallo uidere filium licuit, et uidere uictorem! Narrauit 2
utique exhausta bella, et hoc ad tuam gratiam, non ad sui ostentationem:
qualis excipiendo hoste, quam resistenti uehemens, quam facilis sup-
plicanti. Audiuit haec frater intentus, et puerilem animum spes laeta 3
et blanda gaudia titillarunt; cumque miraretur fratrem etiam sibi fauit,
quod ex annis eius quam proximus tantae gloriae esset agnouit. Nunc 4
te, Constantine maxime, omnes rogamus, cum praesentem laudaueris,
cum iam rei publicae flagitanti, cum Gallis desiderantibus reddes, iterum
atque iterum moneas reuertentem (neque enim persuaderi facile potest)
ut, si quando armis uestris contusa barbaria aliquid tamen mouerit, sit ille
animo, sit consilio tui similis; temperet modo dexterae, manu parcat, et sit
aliquid quaesumus in quo te iterum nolit imitari. Te uero, Constantine 5
Caesar, incrementum maximum boni publici, quibus uotis amplectitur
Romana felicitas, quae de te tantum exspectat quantum nomine pol-
liceris! Et licet aetas adhuc reuocet ab imitatione uirtutis paternae, iam
tamen ad pietatem eius natura deducit: iam maturato studio litteris ha-
bilis, iam felix dextera fructuosa subscriptione laetatur. Delegat multa 6
indulgentissimus parens, et quae per te concedit referri ad gratiam tuam
mauult.

Quid igitur his temporibus fortunatius cum beneficio Constantini **38**
maximi, qui tam mature nobis Caesares dedit, et utamur maximis eo-
rum commodis et integra aetas supersit? Nihil imminuitur et plurimum
sumitur ut, cum res largiter suppetat, spes tamen inlibata permaneat.
Quinquenniis igitur feliciter inchoatis, decennia Caesarum nobilissimo- 2
rum ultra posteros nostros extendenda quam impense rogare et orare
nos conueniat, ipsis bonis temporum et rei publicae utilitatibus admone-
mur. Iacet in latere Galliarum aut in sinu suo fusa barbaria; Persae 3
ipsi, potens natio et post Romani magnitudinem in terris secunda, ami-
citiam tuam, Constantine maxime, non minus trepide quam amabiliter
petiuerunt. Nulla in terris tam ferox natio est quae te non metuat aut
diligat. Omnia foris placida, domi prospera annonae ubertate, fructuum 4
copia. Exornatae mirandum in modum ac prope de integro conditae
ciuitates. Nouae leges regendis moribus et frangendis uitiis constitutae;

3 ubique *Eyssenhardt* tuam *Sigonius*, tui *Liuineius*: suam *M*: sui *Bert* 7 nunc *w*: num *M* 12 manu *H Bert*: manui *X* si tali quid *M* 16 reuocet *Langius*: euocet *M* 17 te ducit *Liuineius* 22 et *Arntzen iunior*: ut *M* (*del. Liuineius*) 25 quinquenniis *w*: -nis *M* 26 extendendum *H* 28 aut *M*: ut *Eyssenhardt* suo *Liuineius*: tuo *M* per se ipsa *X* 29 Romani *H*: -ane *X*: -anam *Puteolanus* (*cf. v 3.1*) 32 annonae *w*: an non *M* ubertas *w* 34 legis *H*

ueterum calumniosae ambages recisae captandae simplicitatis laqueos
5 perdiderunt. Pudor tutus, munita coniugia. Securae facultates ambitione sui gaudent, nec aliquis habendi quam plurimum metus, sed in tanta bonorum adfluentia magna uerecundia non habendi. Hic denique status rerum est, ut obtinendae potius felicitatis uotum geramus quam
6 augendae cupiditatem. Vnum modo est quo fieri possit Roma felicior, maximum quidem sed tamen solum, ut Constantinum conseruatorem suum, ut beatissimos Caesares uideat, ut fruendi copiam pro desiderii modo capiat, ut uos alacris excipiat et, cum rei publicae ratio digredi fecerit, receptura dimittat.

1 ambagis *H* 6 cupiditatem *Rittershusius*: -tatis *M* 7 Constantine *H* 9 ut *Bert*: et *M* 10 (Finit *X*) Panegiricus Nazarii (explicit *H*) *M*

III (XI)

GRATIARVM ACTIO ⟨CLAVDII⟩ MAMERTINI DE CONSVLATV SVO IVLIANO IMPERATORI

Etsi scio te, imperator, et cunctos qui consilium tuum participant 1
posse mirari quod nunc demum gratias agere exorsus sum, quasi beneficia in me tua coeperint a consulatu, fatebor tamen quod ingenii cuius me poenitet conscius etiam nunc tacere uoluissem et prorumpens licet huius muneris gaudium intra arcanae laetitiae conscientiam coercere. Sed siue 2
errorem nostrum siue consilium congesta et coacervata in unum beneficia uicerunt atque in id redegerunt necessitatis ambiguum ut mihi aut indiserti aut ingrati esset fama subeunda, malui eloquentiam potius quam pietatis erga te officium meum desiderari. Et sane in his honoribus quibus me 3
prius honestaras, minor esse causa ad agendas gratias uidebatur. Nam 4
cum me aerarium publicum curare uoluisti, cum quaerens uirum animi magni aduersus pecuniam, liberi aduersus offensas, constantis aduersus inuidiam me qui tibi uiderer eiusmodi delegisti, idque eo tempore quo exhaustae prouinciae partim depraedatione barbarica, partim non minus exitialibus quam pudendis praesidentum rapinis ultro opem imperatoris exposcerent, milites saepe anteactis temporibus ludo habiti praesens stipendium flagitarent, quoquo modo uidebar honorem onere pensare. At cum me praetoriis praefecisti et prouincias de te egregie meritas meae 5

2 Claudii *ex c. 17. 4 edd., om. M* 5 imp. auguste *Bert* 9–11 sed ⟨cum⟩ . . . uicerint . . . redegerint *Liuineius* 11 redigerunt *M* 12 pietatis *Arntzen iunior*: pietatem *M, quo seruato* te et *Galletier*, officiumque *Puteolanus* 15 cum me *H*: tum me *X* quaerens *Haupt*: quereres *M* 18 depraedatione *X*: de predicacione *H* 19 presidentium *X*

fidei tutelaeque mandasti, ingens iudicii tui fuit munus, sed in eo non
mihi solum quem tanta potestate succinxeras uerum etiam negotiis tuis
commodasse aliquatenus uidebare.

2 Porro in decernendo consulatu remotis utilitatibus tuis rationem
2 meae solum dignitatis habuisti. Nam in administrationibus labos honori
adiungitur, in consulatu honos sine labore suscipitur; in illis si laeteris
cupidae ambitionis esse uidearis, in hoc nisi aperte et propalam laeteris
3 ingratus sis. Huc accedit quod ipsa haec urbs atque hoc augustissimum
consilii publici templum officium huius orationis efflagitant. Haec tibi
nominis noui sed antiquissimae nobilitatis ciuitas patria est, hic primum
4 editus, hic quasi quoddam salutare humano generi sidus exortus ⟨es⟩. Hi
ciues et populares tui silere me non sinunt, nec patiuntur ut quisquam
alius auspicatissimo die apud te ac de te loquendi munus usurpet quam
5 is qui amplissimo sit praeditus magistratu. Putant aliquid adicere ad
splendorem laudum tuarum consulis nomen, et recte putant; adicitur
6 enim laudum dignitati honore laudantis. Ac licet, maxime imperator,
publico iudicio et nomine agere tibi gratias debeam, tamen illa quae pro
summa re domi forisque gessisti nunc ex parte maxima praetermittam,
ut quanto ocius ad ea quae propria sunt perueniat oratio.

3 An ego nunc receptas uirtute tua Gallias, barbariam omnem subac-
tam pergam quasi noua et inaudita memorare?—quae in hac Romani
imperii parte gloriosissima sint famae laude celebrata, in tantum ut im-
peratoris fratris mererentur inuidiam. Quid enim aliud a te consortis
2 imperatoris alienauit animum nisi gloriae tuae splendor? Testor immor-
talem deum, testor ad uicem numinis mihi sanctam conscientiam meam
me multa constanter in hac potissimum urbe fuisse dicturum de his quae
aduersus optimum imperatorem inclementer et impie cogitata atque sus-
cepta sunt, si etiamnunc hominum coetus diuus Constantius frequentaret.
3 Numquam profecto liberi ciuis et boni senatoris officio defuissem, quomi-
nus redarguerem atque conuincerem eas illi in te odii fuisse causas quae
amoris inflammatrices et fidei obsides esse debuerint.

4 Florentissimas quondam antiquissimasque urbes barbari possidebant;
Gallorum illa celebrata nobilitas aut ferro occiderat aut immitibus addicta
2 dominis seruiebat. Porro aliae quas a uastitate barbarica terrarum in-
terualla distulerant iudicum nomine a nefariis latronibus obtinebantur.

3 commodasse *Rhenanus*: commendasse *M* 5 labos *H Bert*: labor *X* 8 sis *respuunt numeri* 11 es *add. Liuineius, om. M* 19 propria *Puteolanus*: proprie *M* 22 sunt *w* imp. fratris *H Bert*: fratris imp. *X* 23 a te aliud *X* 24 imperatoris *del. Liuineius* testor *om. X* 26 potissimum *H Bert, om. X* 29 et *om. Bert*

⟨Obiciebantur⟩ ingenua indignis cruciatibus corpora; nemo ab iniuria
liber, nemo intactus a contumelia, nisi qui crudelitatem praedonis pretio
mitigasset, ut iam barbari desiderarentur, ut praeoptaretur a miseris for-
tuna captorum. In hoc statu imperator noster Gallias nactus minimum 3
habuit aduersus hostem laboris atque discriminis: una acie Germania
uniuersa deleta est, uno proelio debellatum. Sed emendatio morum iudi-
ciorumque correctio et difficile luctamen et periculi plenum negotium fuit.
Nam ut quisque improbissimus erat, ita maxime Caesaris rebus inimicus 4
uitandis legum poenis de nouo scelere remedia quaerebat; quia defendere
admissa flagitia non poterat, in ultorem iuris inuidiam congerebat. Et cum 5
sancti principis mores atque instituta falsarum uituperationum licentiam
submouerent, callido nocendi artificio accusatoriam diritatem laudum
titulis peragebant, in omnibus conuenticulis quasi per beniuolentiam illa
iactantes: 'Iulianus Alamanniam domuit, Iulianus urbes Galliae ex fauil-
lis et cineribus excitauit. Illae prouinciae obsessae, oppugnatae, ferro 6
ignique uastatae beatiores sunt his oppidis quae habet sine hoste Con-
stantius. Aestates omnes in castris, hiemes in tribunalibus degit; ita illi 7
anni spatia diuisa sunt, ut aut barbaros domitet aut ciuibus iura restituat,
perpetuum professus aut contra hostem aut contra uitia certamen.'

Hae uoces fuerunt ad inflammanda odia probris omnibus potentiores. 5
Si enim comminisci aliqua flagitia temptassent, facile ipso splendore laudis
et gloriae refutarentur; inuenerunt accusandi genus quod nullus refelleret.
Sed quid, oro uos, principem nostrum facere debuisse censetis? Romanas 2
urbes hostibus dederet, ne animum fratris offenderet? Prouincias firmissi-
mas utilissimasque rei publicae sub obtutibus suis uexari ac diripi sineret,
ne quid Augustus quod nollet audiret? Flagitiis administrantium non
modo frena laxaret, sed etiam stimulator accederet, ne inter principes fa-
ceret morum dissimilitudo discordiam? Nobilem Etruriae adulescentem 3
ferunt, cum propter eximiam formae dignitatem multarum in se femi-
narum amores excitaret, faciem suam ad obliterandam pulchritudinem
uulneribus sauciasse. Sed facile fuit iuueni dignitati corporis decorem
animi praeponenti et candorem decolorare et oris nitorem alte impres-
sis cicatricibus deuenustare. Num aliquid huiusmodi aduersus amorem 4
ciuium facere debuit Iulianus? At ne potuit quidem, nisi forte existi-
mamus patientes uulnerum formas esse uirtutum. Scilicet et candorem

1 obiciebantur *add. Galletier*, lacerabantur *Liuineius*, suberant (*post* ingenua) *w, om. M* 4 minimum *Bert*: minum *H*: nimium *X* 9 et quia *Puteolanus* 15 oppugnatae *M Bert*: expugnatae *Puteolanus* 17 illis annis pacia *M, corr. X2 w* 24 dederet *Liuineius*: dedere *M* 34 at *Liuineius*: ac *M*

Aequitatis potuit obumbrare et a Temperantia purpuram sancti ruboris
abolere, ceruicem Fortitudinis indignis confodere uulneribus, eruere ocu-
5 los Prouidentiae! Dein nisi ille adulescens seueram manum propriis
uultibus intulisset, dies et mora ac non longa aetatis successio omnem
illum florem corporis peremisset. At in uirtutibus principis nostri quanto
aetas prolixior, tanto pulchritudo praestantior.

6 Mitto cunctam barbariam aduersus uindicem Romanae libertatis in
arma commotam, gentesque recens uictas et aduersum iugum nuper im-
positum ceruice dubia contumaces in rediuiuum furorem nefandis stimulis
excitatas. Quae omnia obstinatam et immobilem principis maximi tan-
2 dem uicere patientiam. Itaque cum in ipso molimine oppressisset Alaman-
niam rebellantem, qui paulo ante inaudita regionum fluuiorum montium
nomina exercitu uictore peragrauerat, per ultima ferarum gentium regna,
calcata regum capita superuolans, in medio Illyrici sinu improuisus ap-
3 paruit. Vidimus, felices illius uiae comites, stupentes urbium populos
4 dubitasse credere quae uidebant. Non aliter consternatas arbitror gentes
quae primae lapsum caelo excepere Palladium. Virgines pueri, ⟨uiri⟩
feminae, tremulae anus titubantes senes non sine magno attoniti hor-
rore cernebant imperatorem longam uiam sub grauium armorum onere
currentem, properantis anhelitum sine sensu lassitudinis crebriorem, su-
dorum riuos per fortia colla manantes, et inter illum pulueris qui barbam
5 et capillum onerarat horrorem micantia sidereis ignibus lumina. Voces
gaudentium oppresserat miraculi magnitudo; cessabant officia laudandi
plus quam laudanda cernentibus.

7 Sufficere quidem poterat ad expeditionem praesentium negotiorum
sola properatio, sed non sufficit principi nostro publicae rei una ratione
consulere. Multa pariter aggreditur pectus nullis umquam laboribus fati-
gatum. Vt uno eodemque tempore et componeret fidissimarum prouin-
ciarum statum et barbariam omnem admoto propius terrore percelleret,
2 longissimo cursu Histrum placuit nauigari. Pro sancta diuinitas! Quae
nauigationis illius fuit pompa, cum dexteriorem incliti fluminis ripam
utriusque sexus, omnium ordinum, armatorum atque inermium per-
petuus ordo praetexeret, despiceretur ad laeuam in miserabiles preces
3 genu nixa barbaria! Omnes urbes quae Danuuium incolunt aditae,

2 ceruicem *Lipsius*, faciem *Arntzem iunior*: uicem *M* 4 mora *M*: hora *Eyssenhardt* 8 recens uictas *Langius*: recensuitas *M* (-sitas *w*) 11 in *H Bert Cusp*, *om. X* 13 uictore *w*: uictorie *M* 14 sinus *X* 15 uiae comites *H Bert*: com. uiae *X* 17 primae *Cusp*: primo *M* uiri *add. Aem. Baehrens*, *om. M* 20 sessu *X* (*corr. w*) 26 rei publicae *X* 29 propius *X1*: proprius *M* 34 incolunt *M uix recte*: '*fort*. colunt, *id est* accolunt' *Liuineius*

omnium audita decreta, leuati status instaurataeque fortunae, innumera-
bilibus barbaris data uenia et munus pacis indultum. Qui properationem
illam contemplabitur, nihil egisse praeter uiam imperatorem putabit; qui
gestarum rerum multitudinem considerabit, properasse non credet.

O facundia potens Graecia! Omnium tuorum principum gesta in 8
maius extollere sola potuisti, sola factorum glorias ad uerborum copiam
tetendisti. Tu nauem unam propter aurati uelleris furtum et uirginis rap- 2
tum in caelum usque sublatam sideribus consecrasti. Tu puerum, inuen-
torem serendi, draconum alitum curru uolantem semina in terras sparsisse
iactasti. Quid tu, si ad scribendas celebrandasque res principis nostri ani- 3
mum adieceris, de Iuliani lembis liburnisque factura es?—quae non modo
nihil cuiquam adimunt neque urbes hospitas populant, sed ultro omnibus
populis immunitates priuilegia pecunias largiuntur. Qua dignitate de- 4
scribes classem per maximi fluminis tractum remis uentisque uolitantem,
tum principem nostrum alta puppe sublimem non per cuiuscemodi agros
frumenta spargentem, sed Romanis oppidis bonas spes libertatem diuitias
diuidentem, tum ex parte altera in barbaricum solum terrorem bellicum
trepidationes fugas formidines obserentem?

Iam quale illud fuit quod Histrum adhuc nauigans beneficia tua 9
usque ad Hadriam Tyrrhenum Mareoticum porrigebas? Ipso enim tem-
pore leuati equorum pretiis enormibus Dalmatae, Epirotae ad incitas
intolerandi tributi mole depressi prouidentia, imperator, tua non modo
miserias exuerunt, sed ⟨ad⟩ amplam etiam atque opulentam reuixere
fortunam. Vrbs Nicopolis, quam diuus Augustus in monumentum Actia- 2
cae uictoriae trophaei instar exstruxerat, in ruinas lacrimabiles prope tota
conciderat: lacerae nobilium domus, sine tectis fora, iamdudum aquarum
ductibus pessumdatis plena cuncta squaloris et pulueris. Certamen ludi- 3
crum lustris omnibus solitum frequentari intermiserat temporis maesti
deforme iustitium. Ipsae illae bonarum artium magistrae et inuentrices
Athenae omnem cultum publice priuatimque perdiderant. In miseran-
dam ruinam conciderat Eleusina. Sed uniuersas urbes ope imperatoris re- 4
fotas enumerare perlongum est; scire satis est cunctas Macedoniae Illyrici
Peloponnessi ciuitates unis an binis epistulis maximi imperatoris repenti-
nam induisse nouatis moenibus iuuentutem, aquas locis omnibus scatere,
quae paulo ante arida et siti anhelantia uisebantur ea nunc perlui inundari

1 instaurata eque *M*, *corr. Puteolanus* 17 solum *w*: solem *M* 20 Mereoticum *M Bert*, *corr. Cusp* 23 ad *add. Brandt*, *om. M* reuixere (*addito* ad) *Thörnell*: reuexere *M* 29 iustiticium *H* 31 Eleusina conciderant *Bert* ope I*tali* (*cod. Ven. Marc. Z 436*): opere *M* 33 unis an binis *W. Baehrens*, unis aut binis *X*: uni sambinis *M* 34 iuuentatem *H* 35 inundari *d*: mundari *M*

madere, fora deambulacra gymnasia laetis et gaudentibus populis frequentari, dies festos et celebrari ueteres et nouos in honorem principis consecrari.

10 Si quis mortalium in aliquam caelestem speculam nube sublatus paulo ante uidisset maesta omnia, semiruta oppida, desolata moenia, ab indigenis solitudinem, exsulum turbam, is si nunc in idem illud editum reponatur ac despiciat cuncta laetantia, agros consitos, urbes frequentes, aquas oppidis influentes, magnifico cultu non priuatas aedes sed publica tecta surgentia, dites pro terrarum ingeniis messibus segetes, uincentes agricolarum uota uindemias, arduos colles profundasque ualles et lata camporum balatu hinnitu mugitibus persona, profecto mirabitur tam breui cuncta mutata, desiliet e nubibus et uiciniam caeli cupide derelinquet ut
2 tuis, imperator, terris fruatur. Illud uero cuius miraculi est, neminem ullum in tanto rerum paratu sensisse dispendium, in omnia pecuniam ab imperatore depromi et quoddam uersa uice prouinciis pendi tributum, illinc ad uniuersos fluere diuitias quo prius undique confluebant!—ut in maxima quaestione sit a quo accipias, imperator, qui sic omnibus largiaris.
3 Sed qui uitae tuae instituta rationemque cognouerit, facile fontem copiae huius inueniet. Maximum tibi praebet parsimonia tua, Auguste, uectigal. Quidquid enim alii in cupiditates proprias prodigebant, id omne nunc in usus publicos reseruatur.

11 Hucusque solus is fructus imperii putabatur, ut imperator a ceteris ciuibus non fortibus factis nec splendore gloriae sed magnitudine sump-
2 tuum separaretur. Inde nihil necessariae substructionum in aedibus moles,
3 ingentes aulicorum cateruae legionum sumptum facile uincebant. Quin etiam prandiorum atque cenarum laboratas magnitudines res publica sentiebat, cum quaesitissimae dapes non gustu sed difficultatibus aestimarentur, miracula auium, longinqui maris pisces, alieni temporis poma, aestiuae niues, hibernae rosae. Haec cuncta animus uoluptatum om-
4 nium uictor abiecit. Neque enim ei parandae sunt picturatae marmorum crustae et solido auro tecta laquearia, qui maiorem anni partem in nuda humo cubet et caelo tantum tegatur; neque turbae institutorum ad delicias ministrorum, cui tam pauca sint ministranda; neque tempus epularum ei qui saepius statarium prandium ad necessitatem humani corporis capiat, gaudens castrensi cibo ministro obuio et poculo fortuito.

1 et *X*: est *H* 4 speluncam *X* 6 illud idem *X* 23 gloriae *H Bert Cusp, om. X* 24 subtructionum *M, corr. uulgo* 26 elaboratas *w* 30 ei parandae *w*: eparande *M Bert* picturatae *Cusp*, pictae *Novák*: picture *M* 32 institorum ac deliciae *Aem. Baehrens* 33 sint *h X*: sunt *H* 35 ministerio *Haupt*

Sed inter haec mirari satis nequeo quod tam seuere parcus in semet in **12**
ciues suos tam liberalis est ac remissus, laborum asperrima sibi sumens ut nos quietis rebus agitemus, cum illud usu uenire animaduertamus ut qui remotam a uoluptatibus uitam sequantur difficiles et morosi sint sibi parum laeti, sed aliis tristiores maestas atque sollicitas etiam priuatas
domos faciant. At sanctissimus imperator impense studet ut nos pro dig- 2
nitate habitemus, ut commodis adfluamus, ut castam quidem sed hilarem ducamus aetatem, cum alios principes labor truces, remissos desidia reddiderit semperque seriis imperatoribus gratia, comibus defuerit industria. Neque quisquam sibi molestus ita se facilem ceteris praebuit, ut non
ad suum exemplum alios coerceret. Noster imperator nihil sibi ueniae, 3
nihil ceteris molestiae ac laboris impertiens suo negotio omnibus otium praestat, diuitiarum largitor, curarum auarus, laboriosissima negotiorum praeoptans ipse agere quam aliis imperare.

Multi post exactos reges imperium uniuersae rei publicae solitarium **13**
cupiuerunt. Nota sunt recordantibus nomina eorum uidelicet qui in pro-
pria furentes adfectati regni supplicia pependerunt. Mitto ueteres qui saxo 2
praeceps dati, quorum bona publicata, domus erutae, interdicta posteris nomina; non paucos huiusmodi furore uecordes etiam nostra aetas tulit,
qui propter caecam imperandi cupidinem in ferrum ruerunt. Si hos deus 3
paulisper uitae redditos adloquatur: 'Heus', uerbi gratia, Nepotiane atque Siluane, per infestos gladios praesentesque mortes imperium petiuistis. At nunc ultro uobis potestas regnandi datur ut ea qua Iulianus conditione regnetis, ut pro omnium otio die noctuque uigiletis et, cum domini uocemini, libertati ciuium seruiatis, saepius proelium quam prandium capessatis, nihil cuiquam auferatis et ultro omnibus largiamini, nulli gratificemini, in neminem saeuiatis, toto in orbe terrarum nullius uirginis fama uioletur, sit lectulus etiam sine concessis et legitimis uoluptatibus Vestalium toris purior, aestate Alamannicum puluerem hieme pruinam Thraciae intectis uerticibus perferatis', profecto uerborum ipsorum molestiam delicatae aures non poterunt sustinere; tantis negotiis territi non modo imperium sed etiam uitam perosi ad inferiores aliquos inferos redire properabunt. Videbunt enim iustum principatum laboribus curis uigiliis inquietum, cuius illi faciem amoenam et amabilem contemplantes laborum aspera non uidebant.

9 comibus *H Bert*: communibus *X* 12 imparciens *X* 16 cupierunt *X* 19 et iam *H* 28 et *Cl. Puteanus et Liuieius*: sed *M* 29 pruinam *w*: pruina *M* 33 curis uigiliis *om. Bert*

14 Cum igitur inter egregia negotia itinere confecto usque ad Thraciae
fines peruentum foret, cursim disposito exercitus commeatu ad Romanam
2 urbem annonae uacuam mentem reflexit. Quemlibet alium a subueniendi
conatibus grauissima fames et tristissimum rei publicae periculum deter-
ruisset. Sed stipendiis prouinciarum et patrimonii sui fructibus, tum
undique frumentis coemptis usque ad opulentiam abundantiamque esu-
rientem iam Vrbem refersit. Dicet aliquis 'Quomodo tam multa tam breui
3 tempore?' et recte. Sed imperator noster addit ad tempus quod otio suo
detrahit. Nihil somno, nihil epulis, nihil otio tribuit; ipsa se naturalium
necessariarumque rerum usurpatione defrudat; totus commodis publi-
4 cis uacat. Itaque grandaeuum iam imperium uidebitur his qui non
ratione dierum aut mensium sed operum multitudine et effectarum rerum
5 modo Iuliani tempora metientur. Cum Romani populi uictus et exercitus
commeatus esset in manibus, in media expediendae annonae trepida-
tione nuntius uenit plurimas naues Africano tritico graues litus Achaicum
praeteruectas Constantinopolim peruolasse. Permoti omnes et aduersus
eos qui oram maritimam tuebantur irati uenimus ad principem; desidia
indicum tantum perisse frumenti certatim pro se quisque conquerimur.
6 At maximus imperator serenum renidens: nihil esse peccatum, non sibi
perisse quae ad hanc urbem frumenta uenissent. Nos uocem illam noti
amoris in patriam putabamus, cum proditionem futuri uerborum ambago
celaret; iam tum enim uenturae felicitatis euentum conscius diuini animus
praeuidebat.

15 Cis pauculos dies in nouum ac florentem statum re publica restituta,
sacra mens ad honorum fastigia et magistratuum ornamenta respexit.
2 Versari coepit in sacri pectoris comitio consulatus. Quid secutus sit, ipse
scit et quaecumque consilia eius gaudet formare diuinitas. De omnibus
Romani imperii uiris primus electus sum, cum honorem meum adoreis
3 militaribus gloriosus collega cumularet. Gratias tibi, gratias, imperator
si mereri me credidisti, et plures gratias, imperator, si tantum amasti ut
4 me consulem faceres etiam non merentem. Nec ignoro maximos honores
ad parum dignos penuria meliorum solere deferri, sed non uereor ne quis
maliuolorum in consulatu meo id autumet accidisse. Si quis hoc liuidus
iactitat, ipso tempore refutatur, aduersus quem dixisse satis est: iam tum
5 principi nostro Roma parebat. Quid quod nihil speranti mihi de honoris

4 et *H Bert Cusp, om. X* 6 coemptis frumentis *Bert* opulentam *Cusp* abundantiam *H Cusp* 10 defrudat *H Bert*: defraudat *X* publicis commodis *Bert* 18 indicum *Puteolanus*: iudicum *M* 22 euentum *H Bert Cusp, om. X* 25 fastigia *om. X* 33 consulatu meo *Bert*: -tum eo *M* (*corr. wp*) liuidius *X*

augmento (neque enim ultra praefecturam se uotorum meorum modestia
porrigebat) perfertur nuntius consulem me creatum sine impendio, quod
iam diu paucis; sine labore, quod numquam; sine petitione, quod nemini?
Quis ignorat tum quoque, cum honores populi Romani suffragiis 16
mandabantur, multos fuisse candidatorum labores? Ediscenda omnium
nomina, tributim homines atque etiam singuli salutandi, prensandae
obuiorum manus, omnibus adridendum, non solum cum infimis sed
etiam cum ignotis familiaritatis imago simulanda, multaque alia propter
honorem agenda quae alias uirum honore dignum facere non deceret.
Vnde illud Crassi celebre dictum. Cum peteret consulatum et forte cum 2
Scaeuola socero per uias Vrbis incederet nec praesente grauissimo et
seuerissimo uiro blandiri populo, palpare obuios et artes petitorias auderet
exserere, 'Quaeso,' inquit, 'Muci, paulisper abscedas, nec ⟨me⟩ comitatu
tuo honestari putes. Impedis honorem meum: te spectante ineptus esse
non possum.' At uero ego nullius fauorem turpi adsentatione promerui, 3
nihil feci ineptum, nihil egi quod spectare Mucium nollem. Non modo 4
nullum popularium deprecatus sum, sed ne te quidem ipsum, imperator,
quem orare praeclarum, cui preces adhibere plenissimum dignitatis est,
uerbo saltem adii. Sponte in familiam meam diuinum istud a te munus
infusum est.

Fatebor autem tibi, maxime imperator, et tuto apud te omnia animi 17
operta reserabo. Numquam in capita ciuium potestatem, numquam
prouincias concupiui; sed, quia iuuanda etiam a me uidebatur pro uirili
portione res publica, cum administratum uocarer, propter opinionem
desidiae non refugi. Negotium publicum neque ambitor appetii neque 2
per timiditatem aut ignauiam recusaui, sed a teneris annis, ab aetate
puerili, ad hanc usque canitiem consulatus amore flagraui. Secundum 3
etiam confessionis tibi gradum debeo. Cum in aliorum principum esset
potestate res publica, diu inanem cupiditatem sine spei solaciis foui. Vnde
enim mihi adspirandi ad hoc nomen esset amentia, opum uacuo et ignaro
ambiundi? Nam primum, cum Caesar esses, marcentem iam cupiditatis 4
meae flammam spei bonae flatibus excitasti. Cum uero te, Auguste,
mirificum innocentiae ac uirtutum spectatorem uiderem, tunc mecum:
'Claudi Mamertine, non frustra hucusque uixisti. Habes idoneum fidei

2 prefertur *X* 6 tributim *Bert*: -tum *M* (-tim omnes *w*) 13 exercere *X* (*corr. Itali*) Muti *w*: Mugii *M* me *post* nec *add. Liuineius, post* tuo *w* 15 fauorem *H Bert* (-re *Cusp*): amorem *X* 19 meam *Bert, om. M* 22 in *w*: quin *M* 26 ab aetate puerili *tamquam glossema seclusit Liuineius* 28 tibi confessionis *X* 34 Claudi *Cusp*, dixi *w*: dandi *M* hucusque *hic H Bert, ante* non *X*

ac industriae iudicem. Memento in magno res tuas esse discrimine.
Scietur non meruisse te consulatum, si tibi non detulerit hic imperator.'
18 Habes, Auguste, proditionem silentii mei, et rem a me non breuis
aeui taciturnitate celatam. Nondum tamen cuncta prodidimus. Nullum
hinc iam mecum uolo referre secretum; omnia pectoris arcana uacuabo.
2 Suspendisses beniuolentiam tuam et tuae isti in me liberalitati contra
3 mores tuos artificii aliquid addidisses: forsitan rogassem. Parui autem,
imperator, putas esse beneficii quod rogandi mihi periculum remisisti?
Periculum inquam, sanctissime imperator. Si praestare dubitasses, si in
4 posterum distulisses, quid me fieret post repulsam? In leuissimis quoque
beneficiis petitis nec impetratis amicitia dissoluitur. Namque is quo ami-
citia continetur amor apud utrumque polluitur. Alter amari se quia
non praestitit non putat, alter odio se esse quia non obtinuit arbitratur.
5 Nec sane mihi gratuito consul factus uiderer, si honorem precibus emis-
sem; miserum enim et laboriosum subissem meliore aeui parte transacta
6 tirocinium rogandi. Neque enim existimo molestius esse pecuniam quam
preces fundere. Denique omnes in emendo uidemus repensandi fiducia
magno erectoque animo aurum argentumque depromere, eos uero qui
preces adlegant humiles atque demissos uix cunctabunda atque titubantia
uerba proferre, neque solum orationem inclinare sed totis corporibus in
genua submitti. Prorsus, ut ex animi mei sententia loquar, maximo uendit
beneficium qui preces accipit.
19 An uero, si centuriatis comitiis consul creatus essem, gloriosius mihi
uniuersi populi suffragiis declaratus uiderer? Minime, siquidem etiam
illis priscis temporibus multorum ambitu fuit Campus infamis. Nota
diuisorum flagitia, notae loculorum praestigiae, tum operarum ad uim
2 et seditionem manus emptae. Nec sane potest in confusa imperitorum
multitudine quicquam esse perpensum. Nam cum boni rari sint, im-
proborum uulgus immensum, in Campo autem numerus et turba prae-
polleat, sine dubio intellegitur eum suffragiis populi magistratum capere
quem plures, id est quem peiores, probarunt; unde factum ut maiores
3 nostri uiderent Gabinios designatos et repulsos Catones. Sed haec ue-
tusta; detur recordari quemadmodum paulo ante honor petitus sit. Vix
pauci exstiterunt quorum uirtutibus deferretur, cum quidem ipsis illis

7 addisses *H* 12 amor *H Bert Cusp*: gradus *X* pelluitur *M, corr. w alii* 18 erectoque *Bert*, certoque *Puteolanus*, et erecto *Cusp*: erecto *M* 19 allegant *p*: alligant *M* 21 mei *H Bert, om. X* 26 diuisorum *Puteolanus*: diuersorum *M* loculorum *p*: luc- *M* prestagiae *M, corr. w* 31 est ut *X* 32 Gabinios] Vatinios *proprium esse coll. Senecae dial. i 3.14, ii 1.3 monet Liuineius* 33 detur *Schenkl*, debet *Itali* (*cod. Londinensis add. 16983*): det *H*: dent *X*

tarda industriae ac probitatis merces ueniret. Ceteri uero perditissimum 4
quemque ex aulicis frequentabant. Vti quispiam per artes turpissimas
imperatori acceptissimus uidebatur, eum adsiduis obsequiis emerebantur
donisque captabant. Nec uiros quidem sed mulierculas exambibant; nec
feminas tantum sed spadones quoque, quos quasi a consortio humani
generis extorres ab utroque sexu aut naturae origo aut clades corporis
separauit. Ita praeclara illa ueterum nomina sordidissimum quemque ex
cohorte imperatoria et probrosissimum adulabant. Hi, cum in prouincias 5
immissi erant, qua sacra qua profana rapiebant, iter sibi ad consulatum
pecunia munientes.
Itaque nullum iam erat bonarum artium studium. Militiae labor a 20
nobilissimo quoque pro sordido et inliberali reiciebatur. Iuris ciuilis scien-
tia, quae Manilios Scaeuolas Seruios in amplissimum gradum dignitatis
euexit, libertorum artificium dicebatur. Oratoriam dicendi facultatem 2
⟨ut⟩ multi laboris et minimi usus negotium nostri proceres respuebant,
dum homines noluisse uideri uolunt quod adsequi nequiuerunt. Et uere
tantum laboris uigiliarumque suscipere ad id adipiscendum, cuius usus
agendae uitae ornamenta non adiuuaret, dementia ducebatur. Itaque 3
omne studium pecuniae coaceruandae; tanto enim quisque uir melior
quanto pecuniosior habebatur. Iam seruiendi miseranda patientia, ad- 4
sentandi mira calliditas. Ministrorum aulae cotidie limina terebantur. Ad
fores eorum qui regiis cupiditatibus seruiebant cernuos patriciae gentis
uiros cerneres ab huiusmodi dedecore non imbri, non gelu, non amaritu-
dine ipsius iniuriae deterreri. Demissi iacentesque uix capita supra eorum
quos precabantur genua tollebant. Ad postremum honores non iudicio
aut beniuolentia superborum sed misericordia merebantur.
At nunc quisquis prouincias tribunatus praefecturas consulatus cupit, 21
nihil necesse est pecuniam per fas et nefas quaerat ac libertatem suam
salutator uilis imminuat. Quanto fuerit paratior seruituti, tanto honore
indignior iudicabitur. Tum aliud quoddam hominum genus est in amicitia 2
principis nostri, rude (ut urbanis istis uidetur), parum come, subrusticum;
blandimentis adulantum repugnat, pecuniae uero alienae tamquam rei
noxiae tactum reformidat, maximas opes in rei publicae salute et glo-
riosa imperatoris sui laude constituit. Iam ipse ingenti diuinaque pru- 3
dentia aduersus omnes adsentatorum inlecebras captionesque munitus
est. Quippe ei a fucatis adulantium uenenis quod periculum est, qui

6 clades *w*: cladis *M* 13 Manlios *X* 15 ut *add. Aem. Baehrens, om. M* 16 noluisse *Puteolanus*: uoluisse *M* 18 itaque erat *w* 22 cernuos *Lipsius*: ternos *M* 25 genu attollebant *M, corr. Puteolanus* 31 urbanis *w*: -anus *M* 32 uero *om. Bert* 36 adu-lantum *Cusp*

4 aures etiam ueris laudibus grauatus impartiat? Sed multo multoque nunc
facilior est ratio honorum petendorum. Quisquis, inquam, capere magi-
stratum uoles, auri atque argenti neglegens esto, nullas ostiatim potentum
aedes obito, nullius pedes nullius genua complectitor. Adhibeto tantum
tibi gratuitas et paratu facillimas comites, iustitiam fortitudinem tempe-
rantiam atque prudentiam: ultro ad te maximus imperator accedet et ut
5 capessas rem publicam flagitabit. Otioso tibi atque alia curanti prouin-
ciae praefecturae fasces sella curulis atque omnia insignia magistratuum
deferentur. Quid enim sibi uerae uir perfectaeque uirtutis non constanter
de honore promittat, cum me propter tantillum innocentiae meritum uno
in anno ter uideat honoratum?

22 Ecquis deus uno in anno multiplices fructus agro uni dedit? Num
quisquam in eadem nouali aestate una amplius quam semel messuit?
Num cui uno autumno unoque uineto uindemia triplex fluxit? Vna
certe unius hiemis est oliuitas. Sed in nostri principis beneficiis miraculo
2 caret multiplicata fecunditas. Vt de aliis optimis uiris taceam qui a pri-
ore in proximum autumnum fructus annorum multiplices messuerunt,
mihi certe tertia unius anni ubertas est consulatus. Primum thesaurorum
omnium mandata custodia et dispensatio largiendi, secundum locum tenet
in honorum meorum fructibus praefectura; additus his quo uel solo cuius-
3 libet auiditas uinceretur, prouentuum meorum tertius, consulatus. Dein
cum ager adsiduitate fructuum in maciem decoquatur, imperatoris nostri
posterior liberalitas uincit priorem, nec fit effeta gignendo sed per uices
fructuum fecundatur. Noua prorsus fuit honorum deferendorum et in-
4 sperata congestio. Nondum statum suum siderum curricula mutauerant:
iam princeps cursum dignitatis alterius commouebat. Etiamtum sol ab
eorundem astrorum regione radiabat: iam Augustus tertia magistratus
5 mei signa transcenderat. Quaeso, non uobis inanis gloriae cupidissimus,
non flagrans ambitione notabili uideretur, si quis in se tanta pariter optas-
set quanta in me uno tempore Augustus ingessit?

23 Habitari ab iustis uiris in Oceano terras ferunt quas Fortunatorum
insulas uocant, quod per eas non arato solo frumenta nascuntur, for-
tuitis uitibus iuga collium uestiuntur, sponte pomis arbor grauatur, ad
2 herbarum uicem olus uulgo est. Quantula ista sunt, si deum auctorem

1 nunc *om. Bert* 5 tibi *om. Bert* 8 insignia omnia *X* 12 ecquis *Puteolanus* (*cf. ii 16.1*), nunc quis *Liuineius*, num quis *Rittershusius*: nec quis *M* 17 annorum *M*: honorum *Cusp* 19 despensatio *H* 20 meorum *Acidalius*: tuorum *M* 23 effeta *w*: effecta *M* 26 etiam *Liuineius*: et iam *M* 27 iam *M*: et iam *Bert* 28 quaeso non *Puteolanus*: queso num *X Bert*: que sonum *H* 29 non *Puteolanus*: num *M Bert* 31 habitaria *H* terras *ante* in *X*

consideres, munera! Nempe nobis quoque, cum agrum non nostris
manibus excolamus, haec inlaborata nascuntur. Quanto felicior no- 3
stra conditio! Quanto beatitudo praestantior! Non spica triticea, non
uiles uuarum racemi, sed opes atque diuitiae nihil laborantibus ingerun-
tur; prouinciae praefecturae fasces sponte proueniunt. Tu, tu inquam, 4
maxime imperator, exsulantes relegatasque uirtutes ad rem publicam quo-
dam postliminio reduxisti, tu exstincta iam litterarum studia flammasti, tu
Philosophiam paulo ante suspectam ac non solum spoliatam honoribus
sed accusatam ac ream non modo iudicio liberasti, sed amictam pur-
pura, auro gemmisque redimitam in regali solio conlocasti. Suspicere 5
iam in caelum licet et securis contemplari astra luminibus, qui paulo ante
pronorum atque quadrupedum animantium ritu in humum uisus trepi-
dos figebamus. Quis enim spectare auderet ortum sideris, quis occasum?
Ne agricolae quidem, quorum opera ad motum signorum caelestium
temperanda sunt, tempestatum praesagia rimabantur. Ipsi nauitae, qui 6
nocturnos cursus ad astra moderantur, stellarum nominibus abstinebant.
Prorsus terra marique non ratione caelesti sed casu ac temere uiuebatur.

Nihil igitur mirum est, imperator, quod tantus amor et tam uerus 24
in te ciuium feruet; neque enim ullum post homines natos puto tanto
generis humani ardore dilectum. Ceterorum regum atque imperatorum 2
caritates admodum rarae nec umquam diuturnae fuerunt. In summis
enim hominum habitauere pectoribus subita et forte nata beniuolentia
prouocatae, non uirtutum admiratione deuinctae. At uero noster adfectus 3
ueri certique iudicii est imis mentis sedibus inligatus, animae et uitae
immixtus et unitus, resolutis etiam morte corporibus cum immortali
mente uicturus. Arma igitur et iuuenes cum gladiis atque pilis non 4
custodiae corporis sunt, sed quidam imperatoriae maiestatis sollemnis
ornatus. Quid enim istis opus est, cum firmissimo sis muro ciuici amoris
obsaeptus? An metuenda tibi curia est, cum senatui non solum ueterem 5
reddideris dignitatem sed plurimum etiam noui honoris adieceris? An
populus est timendus procuratori alimentorum suorum, uitae uindici,
libertatis auctori? Nam quid de militibus loquar? Duo an tria ferme
ex uetere memoria amicorum paria proferuntur. Nego quempiam ab 6
uno amico plus dilectum quam tu, imperator, non modo a comitibus

8 non solum *H Bert Cusp*: nedum *X* 12 quadripedum *H* 15 nauitae *H*: naute *X* 19 puto *post* natos *H Bert*, *post* ullum *X* 21 nec umquam *Puteolanus*, neutiquam *Aem. Baehrens*: ne umquam *M* 22 forte nata *Acidalius*, fortuita *Rittershusius*: fortunata *M* 24 animae *post Aem. Baehrens Thörnell*: animus *M* (*del. Acidalius*) 29 senatui *X2 w*: senatu *M* (*tuetur W. Baehrens collatis iv 5.3, 37.4*)

⟨et⟩ tribunis tuis sed a legionibus cunctis, equitibus ac peditibus, gregariis
7 etiam militibus diligaris. Itaque, quod ad te attinet, cuncta iam a custodia
tui arma remoueres; sed quando hoc potes persuadere militibus? Anxia
est fidelium diligentia; maximo amori maximus timor iunctus est. Non
nobis sufficit quod obtinuisti ut nemo te uelit laedere, nisi nos curamus
ut nemo possit.

25 Habuerunt nonnulli alii principes deuotam et amantem sui cohortem,
sed alio quodam modo: primum quod imperiti ac rudes indoctissimum
quemque in consilium delegabant, scilicet ut ipsorum prudentia uulgo
2 suorum aliquatenus emineret. Ita, cum uilissimus quisque honorum et
diuitiarum potitus foret, sua commoda et uitia principum diligebant. Ab
his optimus quisque abigebatur procul, cum suspecta esset probitas et
inuisa, et quanto quisque honestior tanto importunior turpium arbiter
3 uitaretur. At tu, Auguste, omnibus nugis remotis optimum et doctissimum
quemque perquiris. Si quis praestat uirtutibus bellicis et laude militiae,
in amicis habetur; qui in oratoria facultate, qui in scientia iuris ciuilis
4 excellit, ultro ad familiaritatem uocatur. Quicumque in administratione
rei publicae innocentem se umquam et strenuum praebuit, in consortium
5 munerum receptatur. Regendis prouinciis non familiarissimum quemque
sed innocentissimum legis. Omnes a te augentur pecunia, locupletantur
diuitiis, honoribus honestantur.

26 Prorsus amicitias tueris priuati fide, imperatoris opulentia. Quae
perpetuae et constantis beniuolentiae prima fiducia est, certissima uir-
tutum et maxime principis, ueritas. Numquam in animo esse ⟨quod⟩
2 suspicarer audiui: nemo simulatis blanditiis, nemo falsa pollicitatione
deceptus est. Quis nescit aliorum imperatorum hilarem diritatem cachin-
nantemque saeuitiam, a quibus ingenita crudelitas figmento laetitiae tege-
3 batur? Mira est in principe nostro mentis linguaeque concordia. Non
modo humilis et parui animi sed seruile uitium scit esse mendacium. Et
uere, cum mendaces homines aut inopia aut timor faciat, magnitudinem
4 fortunae suae imperator qui mentitur ignorat. Quis, oro uos, plura prae-
buit fidei constantiaeque documenta? Omnes quos priuatus in familiari-
tatem recepit, eodem habet imperator adfectu; nemo gradu pulsus, nemo
5 aditu prohibitus, nulli palatii fores clausae sunt; omnes bonos habet. In

1 et *add. Cl. Puteanus, om. M* 8 imperitia crudes *M, corr. Cusp* (rudes *iam wp*) 9 delegabant *H*: deligebant *Bert*: delegebant *X* (*ut uidetur*) 10 suorum *H Bert*: suo *X* 24 maxime *Schenkl*, maxima *Aem. Baehrens*: maximi *H Bert Cusp, om. X* quod *dubitanter addidi, om. M* 25 suspicatum *X*: suspicacem te *Aem. Baehrens* 26 quis *w*: qui *M* 34 sunt *fortasse secludendum* omnes bonos habet *suspicionem mouit, fort. recte*

recipiendis amicis optimus iudex est; si aliqui sunt improbi, tolerandis
familiarium uitiis immutabilis est amicus.

At mutant secundae res animos. Nostrum principem si nondum mu- **27**
tauerint, quando mutabunt? Cuius umquam diuinior felicitas fuit? Paulo 2
ante in laceratis Galliae prouinciis lapsus inimicorum capitalium apertis
armis et occultis insidiis petebatur; in pauculis mensibus diuino munere
Libyae Europae Asiaeque regnator est. Quae maiora exspectabimus dei
praemia, quae uberiora dona Fortunae? Videte num secundis rebus elatus 3
aliquid de prioris uitae mansuetudine et moderatione mutauerit. Mutauit,
plane mutauit; nam ciuilior factus prosperorum infregit inuidiam. Cui 4
non uel illud tempus sedatae praebuit mentis indicium, quo horrendi belli
metu re publica liberata elati sumus cuncti gestiente laetitia? Sed impe-
rator, quamquam caelesti ope salutem rei publicae propagatam uideret,
et condicionem doluit humanam et offensarum gratiam faciens induit
fratrem, et cuius armis uitam suam impugnatam sciebat mortem eius
ornauit ac postea ipse iusta persoluit. Et memoria et obliuione mirabilis,
oblitus inimici meminit heredis.

Sed quid ego longius indicia mitis et mansuetae mentis accerso? Hic **28**
ipse, hic inquam ipse dies praebuit ciuilis animi satis clara documenta.
Ego et collega meus, ne quid maximus imperator propensius humanitatis 2
studio faceret, uerebamur. Itaque matutino crepusculo palatium petimus.
Aduentare nos principi forte tum danti operam salutatoribus nuntiatur. 3
Statim e solio tamquam praeceptus exsiluit uultu trepido atque sata-
gente, qualis meus esse potuisset, si principi serus occurrerem. Aegre 4
remotis populi qui nos praegrediebatur agminibus, ut quam longissime
nobis obuiam procederet laborauit. Illic gaudentibus cunctis, pro sancta
diuinitas! quo ore, qua uoce 'Aue' inquit, 'consul amplissime.' Dignatus
osculo oris illius diuinis adfatibus consecrati dexteram dedit, illam dex-
teram, immortale pignus uirtutis et fidei. Poetae ferunt altissimum illum 5
et cuncta potestate cohibentem deum, qui ditione perpetua diuina atque
humana moderatur, cum despiciat in terras, habitu oris tempestatum
incerta mutare, eius nutu mundum tremescere, illius hilaritate turbines
abigi, nubes fugari, nitentia per orbem serena diffundi. Hoc ita esse oculis
paulo ante licuit experiri. In quantam laxatus est populus te consulibus **29**

1 tollerandis *w*: -andi *M* 3 mutauerunt *Jaeger* 5 lapsus *M*: saeptus *Galletier* 9 prioris *w*: prioribus *M* 13 propugnatam *Rhenanus* 15 suam *om. X* 16 mirabili *Bert* 20 propensius *Puteolanus*: -sum *M* 25 praegrediebatur *Puteolanus*: progr- *M* 26 gaud. cunctis *post* diuinitas *X* 27 diuitas *H* 30 potestate *Puteolanus*: post *M* 33 difundi *Cusp*, perfundi *Pichon*: refundi *M* 34 quantum *H*

2 tuis adridente laetitiam! Vidimus attonitos admirantium uultus, mul-
tiformes laetantium status, uarios corporum motus. Clamores incon-
ditos profundebat laudandi effusa libertas. Tripudiabat crebris saltibus
multitudo. Nimiae laetitiae decoris sunt et grauitatis immemores. Illa
iactatio togarum, illa exsultatio corporum nescientibus paene hominibus
3 excitabatur. Omnem modestiam populi, omnem uerecundiam tui gaudia
effrena superauerant. 'Aue, consul amplissime!' Aueo plane, imperator,
et auebo. Neque enim euentus esse potest optati huius ambiguus, cum
is auere me iubeat qui iam fecit ut auerem. 'Consul amplissime.' Sum
plane et consul et amplissimus consul. Quis enim me fuit amplior consul,
quem sublimat et inlustrat consulatus quem tribuisti, amplitudo quam
4 tribuis? Post primae salutationis fausta conloquia, quid pro iure consulari
agere nobis placeat sciscitatur, senatorium impleturus officium, si libeat
tribunal petere, si contionem aduocare, si rostra conscendere. Sed nos ad
5 curiam sollemnia diei huius senatusconsulta ducebant. Itaque comitem
se statim praebet et utrumque latus consulibus praetextatis tectus incedit,
non multum differens a magistratibus suis et genere et colore uestitus.

30 Superfluum forte uideatur quae uosmet ipsi uidistis iterare, neque
enim auribus expetuntur quae fuerint usurpata luminibus; sed mandanda
sunt litteris, inserenda monumentis, mittenda in posteros uenturis saeculis
2 uix credenda miracula. Paene intra ipsas palatinae domus ualuas lecticas
consulares iussit inferri et, cum honori eius uenerationique cedentes sedile
illud dignitatis amplissimae recusaremus, suis prope nos manibus impo-
sitos mixtus agmini togatorum praeire pedes coepit, gradum moderans
3 paene ad lictoris nutum et uiatoris imperium. Credet hoc aliquis qui illa
purpuratorum uidit paulo ante fastidia?—qui ideo tantum honorem in
suos ne inhonores contemnerent conferebant. Credet aliquis tanto post
ueterem illam priscorum temporum libertatem rei publicae redditam?
Neque enim ego Luci Bruti et Publi Valeri, qui primi exactis regibus
potestate annua ciuibus praefuerunt, consulatum nostro anteponendum
4 puto. Vterque bono publico, uterque Romanae rei publicae salutaris,
uterque insignis principiis commodorum; sed habet aliquid unusquisque
praecipuum. Illi consularem potestatem per populum acceperunt, nos
per Iulianum recepimus. Illorum anno libertas orta est, nostro restituta.

9 auere me *w*: aue rem *H*: auerem *X* hauerem *H* 10 et consul *H Bert Cusp*: consul *X* 13 senatorium *Puteolanus*: -orum *M* 16 consulibus *P. Faber*, -laribus *Liuineius*: -latus *M* 17 genere et *H Bert Cusp*, *om. X* 18 iterari *Bert* 23 manibus prope nos *Bert* 26 fastidia *H Bert Cusp*: fastigia *X* 27 inhonoros *Liuineius* 29 Lucii Br. et Publii Valerii *X* 32 principiis *Puteolanus*: -pis *M*

Sed sint, sanctissime imperator, ea quae tu iuste moderate ciuiliter **31**
facis aliis forte miraculo; mihi esse non possunt, qui te omnibus huma-
nis uitiis absolutum et liberum sciam solo immortalitatis amore flagrare,
derigere omnes opes et cogitationes tuas ad memoriam posteritatis aeter-
nam, atque his maxime seruire iudicibus qui de rebus gestis tuis sine odio
et gratia uenturis saeculis iudicabunt. Non potest quicquam abiectum et 2
humile cogitare, qui scit de se semper loquendum. Nunc, si tibi, impe- 3
rator, parum ampla nec respondente meritis tuis oratione usus uidebor,
quaeso obtestorque te ⟨ne⟩ meae id naturae potius quam magnitudini
beneficiorum tuorum putes esse tribuendum. Nemo, nemo usquam post 4
homines natos ampliora praemia a regibus atque imperatoribus conse-
cutus est, nulli plus oneris impositum. Non abnuam praefecturas et 5
consulatus multis esse delatos, sed iis post emensos labores honos quasi
debitus restitutus est; mihi, cum iam honorem adeptus sim, nunc de-
mum ut meruerim laborandum est. Versa ratione temporum, permutata
munerum uice, modo enitendum est ut praemio dignus existimer, cum iam
praemium ceperim. O mihi festinae beniuolentiae tuae grauissimum pon- 6
dus! Vereor ut aperte exprimere difficultatum mearum ordinem ualeam.
Facilius est, imperator, bonis artibus mereri consulem fieri quam industria
et labore perficere ut uidearis meruisse, cum factus sis.

Absit, Auguste, et istud sancta diuinitas omen auertat, ut tu a quo- **32**
quam mortalium exspectes uicem beneficii! Verumtamen (quod solum
uel accipere potest ista fortuna uel a nobis opibus tuis tribui) immorta-
litatem munerum tuorum colam officiis sempiternis. Omne negotium, 2
omne otium meum in ornandis rebus tuis celebrandisque ponetur; neque
solum a uiuente me ac uigente grati animi beniuolentia declarabitur,
sed etiam cum me anima defecerit monumenta tui in me beneficii per-
manebunt. In referenda autem gratia, sanctissime imperator, hoc tibi 3
polliceor semperque praestabo, mihi neque in suggerendis consiliis ue-
ritatem neque in adeundis, si res poposcerit, periculis animum neque
in sententia simpliciter ferenda fidem neque in hominum uoluntatibus
pro re publica teque laedendis libertatem neque in laboribus perferendis
industriam neque in augendis imperii tui commodis grati animi beniuolen-
tiam defuturam, idque omni uitae meae tempore summis opibus enisurum
elaboraturum effecturum ut honores in me tui non, quia necesse fuerit,

4 dirigere *M* 9 ne *add. Acidalius, om. M* 10 nemo *bis H Cusp, semel X* 13 iis *X*: is *H* immensos *X* 18 apte *Liuineius* 26 a iuuente (iuuentute *X*) mea cui gente *M, corr. Liuineius* (mea uigente *iam X2*) 27 etiam *M*: et *Bert* me *H Bert*: a me *X* 34 enixurum *X* 35 quia *M*: quod *Bert*

ad quemcumque delati, sed, quia ita oportuerit, recte positi et ratione conlocati esse videantur.

2 Explicit oracio Mamertini *M* (facta Iuliano imperatori pro gratiarum actione *add. X2*)

II (XII)

PANEGYRICVS LATINI PACATI DREPANI DICTVS THEODOSIO

Si quis umquam fuit, imperator Auguste, qui te praesente dicturus 1
iure trepidauerit, eum profecto me esse et ipse sentio et his qui consilium
tuum participant uideri posse uideo. Nam cum te semper ultra omnes 2
retro principes laudari oportuerit, nunc porro ultra quam alias praedicatus
es in ea urbe conueniat dicendo celebrari, cuius et libertatem armatus
adseruisti et auxisti dignitatem togatus, quo tandem modo consequi
maiestatem utriusque uestrum oratione mea potero hoc praecipue in
tempore, quo ita mutuo ambo creuistis, ut nec tu fueris adhuc maior nec
illa felicior? Huc accedit auditor senatus, cui cum difficile sit pro amore 3
quo in te praeditus est de te satis fieri, tum difficilius pro ingenita atque
hereditaria orandi facultate non esse fastidio rudem hunc et incultum
Transalpini sermonis horrorem, praesertim cum absurdae sinistraeque
iactantiae possit uideri his ostentare facundiam, quam de eorum fonte
manantem in nostros usque usus deriuatio sera traduxit. Quibus equidem 4
cogitatis adeo sollicitor ut non eos tantum hodie arbitrer interesse quos
cerno, sed adsistere obuersarique dicturo Catones ipsos et Tullios et
Hortensios omnesque illos oratores putem qui me in posteris suis audiunt.
Ita multiplici circumuentus metu, quasi parum habeam timere quod 5
uideo, ⟨uideo⟩ quod timeam.

5 iure *Bert*: ire *M* 16 quam de eorum *Cusp*, quorum de *Barth*: quam de deorum *M*
22 uideo *add. Liuineius, om. M*

2 Quid ergo? Nouusne me pauor et inopina trepidatio in ipso dicendi
tempore deprehendit? Mihi uero hi omnes quibus altrinsecus iactor aestus
diu ante meditati longeque prospecti sunt; sed cum admiratione uirtutum
tuarum ab ultimo Galliarum recessu, qua litus Oceani cadentem excipit
solem et deficientibus terris sociale miscetur elementum, ad contuendum
te adorandumque properassem, ut bona quae auribus ceperam etiam
uisu usurparem, timui (fateor) pii laboris officium impia taciturnitate cor-
2 rumpere. Ita dum obsequio interpretor impudentiam, dum in eundem
hominem non puto conuenire gaudium et silentium, duas res diuersis-
simas iunxi metum et temeritatem. Quin et illud me impulit ad dicendum
quod ut dicerem nullus adigebat; non enim iam coacta laudatio et ex-
3 pressae metu uoces periculum silentii redimunt. Fuerit abieritque tristis
illa facundiae ancillantis necessitas, cum trucem dominum auras omnes
plausuum publicorum uentosa popularitate captantem mendax adsenta-
tio titillabat, cum gratis agebant dolentes et tyrannum non praedicasse
4 tyrannidis accusatio uocabatur. Nunc par dicendi tacendique libertas,
et quam promptum laudare principem, tam tutum siluisse de principe.
Libet igitur redditam postliminio securitatem loquendo experiri; libet,
inquam, quia neminem magis laudari imperatorem decet quam quem
minus necesse est.

3 Det igitur mihi sermonis huius auspicium ille felicitatis publicae au-
2 spex dies qui te primus inaugurauit imperio. Nam ut diuinis rebus ope-
rantes in eam caeli plagam ora conuertimus a qua lucis exordium est, sic
ego uota uerborum quae olim nuncupaueram soluturus id oratione mea
3 tempus adspiciam, quo Romana lux coepit. Iacebat innumerabilibus
malis aegra uel potius dixerim exanimata res publica, barbaris natio-
4 nibus Romano nomini uelut quodam diluuio superfusis. Sed parcam
replicare causas et placatum ulcus offendere. Nam cum per se uiuax
sit recordatio calamitatum, tum mihi metus hanc gaudiorum praesen-
5 tium lucem tristium commemoratione fuscare. Faciam ergo quod facere
praestantes scientia medicos saepe uidi: altorum uulnerum cicatrices,
postquam cutem sanitate duxerunt, manu pendente tractabo, per sen-
tentias isse et singulos uniuersosque rogitasse contentus, an, cum inter
omnes liqueret fessis rebus medendum tali aliquo uiro publicis guberna-
culis admouendo, qui imperatoris unius tueretur aetatem alterius iuuaret

7 uisu *H*: usu *X*   11 expressae *X*: expressa e *H*   15 gratis *H(M)*: grates *Bert*: gratias *X*   17 laudare *w*   21 det *Cusp*: de te *M* (*quo seruato* erit *ante* ille *add. X*)   25 adspiciam *Acidalius*, arripiam (*collato xii 2.1*) *Cusp*: asriciam *H*: afficiam *X*: asciscam *Bert*   28 pacatum *c*   ulcus *codex Bongarsii*: uulgus *M*   32 per sententias isse *d*: persentiasisse *M*: -tiasse *Bert*   33 concentus *M* (*corr. passim*)

laborem, potuerimus huiusmodi principem uel optare. In integro itaque
rem totam esse faciamus, et in quodam orbis terrarum comitio quaeri
putemus, quisnam sit ille qui debeat tantam molem subire et nutantia Ro-
manae rei fata suscipere. Nonne is omnium suffragiis hominum tributim 6
centuriatimque legeretur, cui felix patria cui domus clara cui forma diuina
cui aetas integra cui militarium ciuiliumque rerum usus contigisset?

Cuncta igitur a capite proposito ordine persequamur: iam profecto **4**
constabit eum principem declaratum qui et ab omnibus legi debuerit
et ex omnibus. Nam primum tibi mater Hispania est, terris omnibus 2
terra felicior, cui excolendae atque adeo ditandae impensius quam ce-
teris gentibus supremus ille rerum fabricator indulsit; quae nec austri- 3
nis obnoxia aestibus nec arctois subiecta frigoribus media fouetur axis
utriusque temperie; quae hinc Pyrenaei montibus, illinc Oceani aestibus,
inde Tyrrheni maris litoribus coronata naturae sollertis ingenio uelut al-
ter orbis includitur. Adde tot egregias ciuitates, adde culta incultaque 4
omnia uel fructibus plena uel gregibus, adde auriferorum opes fluminum,
adde radiantium metalla gemmarum. Scio fabulas poetarum auribus mul-
cendis repertas aliqua nonnullis gentibus attribuisse miracula; quae, ut sint
uera, sunt singula,—nec iam excutio ueritatem: sint, ut scribitur, Gargara
prouentu laeta triticeo, Meuania memoretur armento, Campania censea-
tur monte Gaurano, Lydia praedicetur amne Pactolo,—dum Hispaniae
uni quidquid ubique laudatur adsurgat. Haec durissimos milites, haec ex- 5
perientissimos duces, haec facundissimos oratores, haec clarissimos uates
parit, haec iudicum mater haec principum est. Haec Traianum illum,
haec deinceps Hadrianum misit imperio; huic te debet imperium. Cedat
his terris terra Cretensis parui Iouis gloriata cunabulis et geminis Delos
reptata numinibus et alumno Hercule nobiles Thebae. Fidem constare
nescimus auditis; deum dedit Hispania quem uidemus.

Erat iustae compensationis occasio, ut qui de patriae tuae laudibus **5**
pauca dixissem, patris saltem uirtutibus praedicandis prolixius immorarer.
Sed quid faciam? Nouam quandam patior ex copia difficultatem. Quid, 2
inquam, faciam? Quae Rhenus aut Vachalis uidit adgrediar? Iam se mihi
Sarmatica caede sanguineus Hister obiciet. Attritam pedestribus proeliis
Britanniam referam? Saxo consumptus bellis naualibus offeretur. Redac-
tum ad paludes suas Scotum loquar? Compulsus in solitudines auias
omnis Alamannus et uterque Maurus occurrent. Cum igitur impediat 3

15–17 adde *quater X*: at de *H*   17 mulcendis *X*: -gendis *H*   20 prouentula et atriticeo *M*, *corr. N. Perottus alii*   22 ubique *Cusp* (*an suo Marte?*), *om. M*   experientissimos *H Bert Cusp*: expertissimos *X*   34 Britaniam *w*: Batauiam *M*   35 Scotum *w*: Scottum *M*   36 Alamanus *H*

turba dilectum, ad hoc tanti uiri gesta praestet in summam referre quam
enumerando tenuare, dixisse sufficiat unum illum diuinitus exstitisse, in
quo uirtutes simul omnes uigerent quae singulae in omnibus praedicantur.
4 An si eius saeculo mos ille uixisset, quo Romani duces Macedonici Cretici
Numantini de uocabulis gentium subactarum adoptiuum insigne sume-
bant, nonne hodie pauciora in annalium scriniis quam in uestrae domus
titulis cognomenta legerentur?—cum ipse Saxonicus, ipse Sarmaticus,
ipse Alamannicus diceretur et, quantum tota res publica habet hostium,
tantum una familia ostenderet et triumphorum.

6 Sed quid necesse est mitti in praeteritum diligentiam curiosam? Pa-
trem, imperator, tuum de te aestimemus. Nec difficilis coniectatio est;
nam cum duo sint quae claros duces faciant, summa uirtus summaque
2 felicitas, scire obuium est qua praeditus fuerit felicitate: te genuit! O digna
imperatore nobilitas, eius esse filium principem qui princeps esse debuerit,
qui hunc Romani fastigii apicem non solum fortitudine atque sapientia
sed decore etiam corporis et dignitate potuerit aequare!—uelut tua haec
forma uenerabilis quam fortunae suae par est, quam longe lateque con-
spicua commendat imperium, ut plane in ambiguo sit utrumne te magis
3 nostris mentibus uirtus an obtutibus uultus insinuet! Non frustra plane
opinione sapientium, qui naturalium momenta causarum subtilius sci-
scitati arcanis caelestibus nobiles curas intulerunt, augustissima quaeque
species plurimum creditur trahere de caelo. Siue enim diuinus ille animus
uenturus in corpus dignum prius metatur hospitium, siue cum uenerit pro
habitu suo fingit habitaculum, siue aliud ex altero crescit et cum se paria
4 iunxerunt utraque maiora sunt, parcam arcanum caeleste rimari. Tibi
istud soli pateat, imperator, cum deo consorte secretum; illud dicam quod
intellexisse hominem et dixisse fas est: talem esse debere qui gentibus ado-
ratur, cui toto orbe terrarum priuata uel publica uota redduntur, a quo
petit nauigaturus serenum peregrinaturus reditum pugnaturus auspicium.

7 Dudum, ut uideo, dedignaris hanc gloriam; sed patere ea in laudum
tuarum parte constitui, quae solebant in aliis sola laudari. Virtus tua
meruit imperium, sed uirtuti addidit forma suffragium; illa praestitit ut
2 oporteret te principem fieri, haec ut deceret. An uero quidquam puta-
mus in imperii tui declaratione praeteritum, cum ductam esse rationem

1 tanti *X Bert*: tantum *H* gesta praestet *H Bert*: praestet gesta *X* 4 uiguisset *'usitatius erat' Acidalius* 5 adoptiuum *w*: ad optimum *M* 9 et *del. w, om. c* 11 aestimemus *H*: extimemus *X*: exprimemus *Bert* 13 praeditus fuerit felicitate *H Bert*: fuerit fel. pr. *X* te *H*: qui te *numerorum neglegens X* 19 uirtus *H Bert Cusp, om. X* 20 sapientum *X* 23 pro habitu suo *post* uenerit *H Bert: post* habitaculum *X* 30 ea in *h*: eam *H*: eam in *X* laudium *H*

ipsorum etiam uideamus annorum?—cuius quidem rei tanta fuit cura
maioribus, ut non solum in amplissimis magistratibus adipiscendis sed in
praeturis quoque aut aedilitatibus capessendis aetas spectata sit petitorum,
nec quisquam tantum ualuerit nobilitate uel gratia uel pecunia qui annos
comitiali lege praescriptos festinatis honoribus occuparit. Nec iniuria id 3
quidem; nam et qui uenturi sunt in uirtutis adoptionem, illo tamen adu-
lescentiae lubrico, ut non cadant, titubant. An non clarissimos nominis 4
Romani uiros (Sullas Catulos Scipiones loquor) aliquantisper sibi luxu-
ria uindicauit?—quos etsi ad portum mutati in melius flatus reuexerint,
diu tamen uitiorum turbo iactauit, et naufragos atque fluitantes ab illis
quibus mersabantur erroribus aegre aetas recepit. Bene igitur cuncta 5
quadrarunt, et ceteris quae innumera congruebant anni quoque suum
iunxere suffragium, qui soli in homine perfecti bono duarum potiuntur
aetatum, uirtute iuuenum et maturitate seniorum. Prius fortasse im- 6
perium inire debueras, ut diutius imperares; sed sine exempli periculo
prouidebitur ne quid amiseris: uita longiore pensandum, quod ex prae-
terito perdidisti. Parum interest quando coeperit quod terminum non
habebit.

Hactenus in te praedicata sint, imperator, dona Fatorum; nunc ad ea **8**
proferamus gradum quae tibi debes. Neque enim tua illa praeterita bel-
licae rei gloria, quam per tot laborum experimenta quaesisti, adscribenda
Fortunae est; cui hoc nomine etiam suscenseri potest, quod quem sceptro 2
et solio destinauerat numquam indulgenter habuit, sed ut seueri patres
his quos plus diligunt filiis tristiores sunt, ita illa te plurimis bellis et dif-
ficillimis rei publicae temporibus exercuit, dum aptat imperio. Et prius 3
quidem quam ad illa uenio quae aeui maturus egisti, summatim tuum
illud attingam cum patre diuino castrense collegium, actas sub pellibus
hiemes, aestates inter bella sudatas, dies noctesque proeliando aut uigi-
lando consumptas, grauissimas pugnas terra marique pugnatas. Non tam 4
patiens Africanus prima rudimenta militiae sub Paulo patre tolerauit, nec
pari indole Hannibal puer tentoria Hispana successit, nec futurarum spe
certiore uirtutum Philippea castra Alexander nondum Magnus impleuit.
Quos etsi plurima laude dotauerit amplificatrix ueri uetustas, nihil tamen 5
blandita plus praestitit quam ut eos in his annis secutos regum aut ducum
castra uulgaret, in quibus tu ita fortiter multa gessisti, ut ea non tantum
Alexander aut Africanus aut Hannibal uidere dum discerent, sed parentes
atque institutores eorum optassent facere dum docerent.

1 tanta *H Bert Cusp*: ita *X* 8 Sillas *w*: si illas *H*: si illos *X* Catullos *X* 8 luxoria *M*, *corr. cw* 15 debueras *d*: -ris *M* 22 succenseri *X* 26 ueniam *X*

9 Quam tecta sunt semper consilia Fortunae! Quis (quaeso) tum publicis
rebus non putasset inimicum tuum illum a statione castrensi ad quietem
2 receptum? Enimuero illa futurum principem comens idcirco paulisper
uoluit esse priuatum, ut quia iam ad plenum bellicis artibus abundabas,
usus ciuilis experiens sub otii tempore reddereris. Quod ego tuum otium
3 aliorum negotiis anteuerto; non enim te amoena litora nec dispositi ad
temporum uices habuere secessus, sed siue tu agris siue oppidis tempus
dabas, rem et famam pariter augebas. Et in urbibus quidem omnium
aetatum ordinumque homines his aut illis beneficiis apprehendebas, ami-
corum commoda absentium ⟨praesentium⟩ negotia adsiduitate consilio
4 re iuuabas. Iam si placuisset oppida rure mutare, ut tu uitae oblitus
urbanae exsequebaris agricolam! Audio etiam, imperator, et credo, saepe
aliqua te laborum tibi ipsi iniunxisse et, ne contraheres torporis ueternum,
5 cuiuscemodi semper opere insidiantis otii tersisse rubiginem. Sic agrestes
Curii, sic ueteres Coruncani, sic nomina reuerenda Fabricii, cum indutiae
bella suspenderant, inter aratra uiuebant, et ne uirtus quiete langueseeret,
depositis in gremio Capitolini Iouis laureis triumphales uiri rusticabantur.
6 Inde est quod accepimus datos serentibus fasces et missas cum curulibus
suis per rura palmatas, quod agricolas consulares pastoresque trabeatos et
7 dictatores inter armenta uestitos. Sed illos quidem angusta res familiaris
addicebat labori, ut quibus ipsis suburbani horti praecepsque Ianiculum
et iugera artata pomerio uomere essent aut ligone uersanda, nec iniuria
opus reuerteretur ad dominos, cum deerant quibus iuberent. Detrahit
laudem patientiae inopia; maioris exempli est labor sine necessitate.

10 Gaudent profecto perpetuo diuina motu, et iugi agitatione se uegetat
aeternitas, et quidquid homines uocamus laborem uestra natura est. Vt
indefessa uertigo caelum rotat, ut maria aestibus inquietata sunt, ut
stare sol nescit, ita tu, imperator, continuatis negotiis et in se quodam
2 orbe redeuntibus semper exercitus es. Vix tecta Hispana successeras:
iam Sarmaticis tabernaculis tegebaris. Vix emerita arma suspenderas:
iam hosti armatus instabas. Vix Hiberum tuum uideras: iam Histro
3 praetendebas. Ne tum quidem, cum in altiorem prouectus gradum iubere
tantum et diuidere cum negotiis otium et parta gloria uelut reposito frui
posses, honori operam remisisti, quin omnium castrensium munerum
numeros primus aut cum primis obires—stare pro signis, excubias sorte

10 praesentium (*sed ante* absentium) *add. Aem. Baehrens, om. M* 15 Coruncanii *X*
19 suis *M*: sellis *Cl. Puteanus et Daniel* 25 perpetuo diuina *H Bert*: diu. perpetuo
X 27 inquietata *Burkhard*, inquieta *w*: inquinata *M* 34 honore *X*

agere, uallum ferre, locum bello antecapere, speculatum egredi, castra
metari, in proelium primus ire, proelio postremus excedere, dux esse
consilio miles exemplo,—ut iam tum posset intellegi alios imperatori
pugnare te tibi. Illud tamen prae ceteris mirum quod, cum omnia faceres 4
uti imperare deberes, nihil tamen faciebas ut imperares.

Argumento est dies ille communis boni auctor quo tu, cum ad sus- 11
cipiendam rem publicam uocabaris, oblatum imperium deprecatus es,
nec id ad speciem tantumque ut cogi uidereris, sed obnixe et diu et uelut
impetraturus egisti. Quippe aberat causa fingendi: non enim te princeps 2
solus et domi et tamquam temptaret ambibat, sed publice et in comitio et
ut aliud iam facere non posset, prorsus ut nisi imperium adfectu simplici
noluisses, potueris uelle securus. Expostulari hoc loco tecum rei publicae 3
uerbis necesse est, quae in summam tua cunctatione formidinem a media
spe relapsa tali aliqua te profecto, sed quam solus audires, uoce conuenit:
'Parumne me, Theodosi, hactenus distulere Fata ut tu insuper temptes 4
moras augere Fatorum? An nescis rem tuam per momenta consumi?
Nescis me tibi tuisque decrescere? Quidquid atterit Gothus, quidquid
rapit Chunus, quidquid aufert Halanus, id olim desiderabit Arcadius.
Perdidi infortunata Pannonias, lugeo funus Illyrici, specto excidium Gal-
liarum. Principum senior in tanta bella non sufficit; alter, etsi futurus 5
sit aliquando fortissimus, adhuc tamen paruus est. Tu dubitas excipere
conlapsam et, ut nihil differas, sero reparandam? Hanc mihi gratiam 6
refers quod te etiam felix desideraui? quod cum me Nerua tranquillus,
amor generis humani Titus, pietate memorabilis Antoninus teneret, cum
moribus Augustus ornaret, legibus Hadrianus imbueret, finibus Traianus
augeret, parum mihi uidebar beata quia non eram tua? Quid tu mihi 7
faceres si iuris tui esses? Orat ecce te dominus meus, orat ecce te dominus
adhuc tuus, et qui posset cogere mauult impetrare. Imperium, quod ab
imperatore defertur, tam tibi nolle iam non licet quam uelle non licuit.'

Solus igitur, Auguste, solus inquam omnium qui adhuc imperauerunt 12
ut princeps esses praestitisti. Alios empta legionum suffragia, alios uacans
aula, alios adfinitas regia imposuere rei publicae; te nec ambitus nec occa-
sio nec propinquitas principem creauerunt, nam et eras a familia impe-
ratoris alienus et adsciscebaris tertius et cogebaris inuitus. Inuitus inquam; 2
audite hoc, publici parricidae, qui oblita caede dominorum sceptra cepistis

1 ferre *Puteolanus* (*cf. Cic. Tusc. disp. ii. 16.37*): ferire *M* 5 uti *M*: ut *Novák* 7 uocaberis
H 8 nec id ad *Bert w*: neci das *M* 14 spere lapsa *M*, *corr. cwp* 17 Gothus
wp: Cothus *M* 18 Chunus *M*: Hunnus *w* Archadius *M* 25 moribus *Balduinus*:
moenibus *M* 34 adsciscebaris *cw*: -cibaris *M*

et periculo non minore quam scelere imperium uita paciscentes sanguinis
pretio regni nomen emistis: repulsam patitur principatus, et unus est
3 ambitus candidati ne declaretur. Credetne hoc olim uentura posteritas, et
praestabit nobis tam gratiosam fidem ut nostro demum saeculo adnuat
factum, quod tantis infra supraque temporibus nec inuenerit aemulum
nec habuerit exemplum? Sed qui uitae tuae sectam rationesque cog-
nouerit, fidei incunctanter accedet, nec abnuisse dubitabit imperium sic
4 imperaturum. Illi enim, illi auide regna desiderent, quos soluta legibus
uita delectat, quorum crudelitas indemnatos necandi, cupiditas priuata
5 rapiendi, libido honesta foedandi ius atque impunitatem requirunt. Quid
tua intererat te principem fieri, qui futurus eras in imperatore priuatus?—
nisi forte in te hodie aut pudicitiae remissior cultus aut minor sanguinis
humani metus aut alienae rei maior est appetitus. Idem es qui fuisti, et
tantum tibi per te licet quantum per leges licebat. Ius summum facultate et
6 copia commodandi, non securitate peccandi experiris. Vnum tibi praesti-
tit principatus, ut certum habeamus omnes etiam sub imperatoribus aliis
uixisse te legibus tuis; nam qui nihil facit licenter cum potest, numquam
uoluit.

13 Quin ubi primum te imperio praestitisti, non contentus ipse ultra
uitia recessisse, aliorum uitiis corrigendis curam adiecisti,idque moderate,
2 ut suadere potius honesta quam cogere uidereris. Et quia uel longo
Orientis usu uel multorum retro principum remissione tantus quosdam
luxus infecerat ut adulta consuetudo lasciuiae haudquaquam facile uidere-
tur obtemperatura medicinae, ne quis se pati iniuriam putaret, a te
uoluisti incipere censuram, et impendia palatina minuendo, nec solum
abundantem reiciendo sumptum sed uix necessarium usurpando dimen-
3 sum, quod natura difficillimum est, emendasti uolentes. An quis fer-
ret moleste ad principis semet modum coerceri? Aut subtractum sibi
doleret priuata luxuria, cum uideret imperatorem rerum potentem, ter-
rarum hominumque dominum, parce contenteque uiuentem, modico et
4 castrensi cibo ieiunia longa solantem; ad hoc aulam omnem Spartanis
gymnasiis duriorem, laboris patientiae frugalitatis exemplis abundantem;
neminem unum inueniri qui auderet ad penum regiam flagitare remo-
torum litorum piscem, peregrini aeris uolucrem, alieni temporis florem?

14 Nam delicati illi ac fluentes, et quales tulit saepe res publica, parum se
lautos putabant nisi luxuria uertisset annum, nisi hibernae poculis rosae

1 paciscentes *w*: -tis *M* 2 regni *H*: regium *X* 4 gloriosam *Itali* (*cod. Londiniensis add. 16983*) 20 aliorum *H Bert*: alienis *X* uitiis *M*: unus *Bert* 25 et *del. w* 26 reiciendo *M*: recidendo *Gronouius*

innatassent, nisi aestiuam in gemmis capacibus glaciem Falerna fregis-
sent. Horum gulae angustus erat noster orbis; namque appositas dapes 2
non sapore sed sumptu aestimantes, illis demum cibis adquiescebant,
quos extremus Oriens aut positus extra Romanum Colchus imperium
aut famosa naufragiis maria misissent, quos inuitae quodammodo reluc-
tantique Naturae hominum pericla rapuissent. Vt taceam infami saepe 3
dilectu scriptos in prouinciis aucipes ductasque sub signis uenatorum co-
hortes militasse conuiuiis, nonne cognouimus cuiusdam retro principis
non prandia saepe sed fercula sestertium milies aestimata patrimoniorum
equestrium pretia traxisse? Tuae, imperator, epulae mensis communibus 4
parciores locorum ac temporum fructibus instruuntur. Hinc certatim
in omnes luxuriae pudor, parsimoniae cultus inoleuit, et quiescentibus
legum minis subiit quemque priuatim sui poenitentia. Sic est enim, sic
est: exasperat homines imperata correctio, blandissime iubetur exemplo.

Sed cum haec et ad hunc modum cetera mores hominum et instituta **15**
formarint, tum nihil abdicandis uitiis adoptandisque uirtutibus impensius
sentio profuisse quam quod his te uiris semper dedisti quos adfectare pub-
lica deberet imitatio, qui quam faciles tibi fuissent sequacesque discipuli,
tam ceteris expetendi essent magistri. Vt de his sileam quos tibi primus ille 2
nascentis imperii dies obtulit, tantis uirtutibus praeditos ut non pro copia
sumpti sed ex copia uiderentur optati, quos tu postea qualesque legisti,
quibus prouinciarum custodiam, quibus militaris rei summam, quibus
consiliorum tuorum arcana committeres! Ergo cum duplex fuerit iste 3
dilectus, unus ex iudicio alter ex fato, incertum meliores uiros sapientia
tua an fortuna quaesiuerit, cum tales uel acceptos habeas uel repertos ut
et illi meruerint teneri et isti debuerint cooptari.

Ecquis imperatorum umquam putauit amicitiae cultum in regia laude **16**
ponendum? Humilis haec uirtus, dubiumque an uirtus iudicabatur,
nec palatiis digna sed pergulis habebatur. Inde facilius inueneris qui
pecuniam ex aerario quam qui ex animo fidem prompserint. Optimus
ille ditabat, non etiam diligebat; prodesse nouerat, amare nescibat. Tu 2
Amicitiam, nomen ante priuatum, non solum intra aulam uocasti, sed
indutam purpura, auro gemmisque redimitam solio recepisti, reque non
uerbis adseruisti principis mentem tanto in suos benigniorem esse debere

1 aestiua . . . glacie *Liuineius* 3 aestimantes *H Bert Cusp, om. X* (metiebantur *post* dapes *add. w*) 18 qui *M*: quique *Bert* sequacesque *Cusp*: sequaces *M* 21 quos *Puteolanus*: quot *M* 26 coaptari *H* 27 ecquis *Puteolanus* (*cf. iii 22.1*): nec quis *M* 29 pergulis *Gronouius*: periculis *M* 30 prompserint *M*: -rit *Bert* (*fort. recte*) optimus *M*: -mos *w* (*an* optimos Optimus?) 31 nescibat *W. Baehrens*: -iebat *M* 33 reque *X1*: ireque *M* 34 suos *h X*: suis *H*

quanto sit fortuna praestantior, cum fide ac facultate paribus agas et
3 familiaribus tuis imperator tribuas quod priuatus optaras. Quamquam
quae capere uota potuerunt quod plerique te principe consecuti sunt? Nec
nunc de his honoribus loquor quos in quemcumque conferre imperatori
necesse est. Dux aliquis euehitur: exigit disciplina castrorum. Praefectus
attollitur: imponendum est prouinciis caput. Consul creatur: habiturus
est nomen annus. Ita in summis illis pulcherrimisque beneficiis est aliqua
4 praestantis utilitas. A te noua benignitate is amicis honos habitus est qui
totus esset illorum quibus deferebatur, nihilque ex eo ad te redundaret
nisi dandi uoluptas; cui cum essent domi filii, geminae illae spes oculique
5 rei publicae, dilatis eorum magistratibus amicos consulatus ornauit. Si
mehercule uir ille diuinus, felicitatis publicae auctor, parens tuus uiueret,
quid aliud exspectasset a filio quam ut nepotibus anteferretur? Praebuisti
igitur tu amicis quo plus nec patri praestare potuisses. O beneuolentiae
tuae singulare consilium! Auges tempore dignitatem, quae incrementum
ex magnitudine non habebat. Renuntiantur amici ante filios tuos consules,
quia non poterant plus esse quam consules.

17 Eat nunc sui ostentatrix uetustas et illa innumeris litterarum uulgata
monimentis iactet exempla. Pirithoi fidem praedicet et decantatum
omnibus scaenis Phocaei iuuenis laudet officium; Pinthiam etiam, si
uidetur, dicat et Damona, quorum alter in amici morte se uadem obtulit,
2 alter ad diem uadatae mortis occurrit. Vt haec esse uera credamus quae
mendaciis uatum in plausus aptata cauearum fidem tempori debent, num
praestare credendo plus possumus quam ut istos qui amicitiae laude
censentur amicorum fuisse quam sui diligentiores putemus? Sed cum
instituente Natura plus fere filios quam nosmet ipsos diligamus, omne uicit
3 exemplum qui amicos his praetulit quos sibi praeferebat. Sed tu quidem
ad exonerandam debentium uerecundiam quae in tuos confers non uis
4 uideri praestare sed reddere. Geramus tibi morem, et beneficiorum
summas tuorum pro tua uoluntate ducentes, quidquid familiaribus tuis
tribuis non expendi potius sed rependi putemus. Enimuero cum leuiter
cognitos aut etiam semel uisos his honoribus ditas, quibus et amici possent
esse contenti, nonne omnibus uis probare amicum tibi esse qui bonus sit?
5 Cuicumque quid publici mandatum fuerit officii, praemium spondetur et
redditur. Sibi humilitatem et tenebras suas imputet iacens uirtus, quae

13 prebuisti *w*, praestitisti *Liuineius*: prefuisti *M* 18 uetustas et *w*: uetusta (-tas *X*) sed *M* 21 morte *h X*: mortem *H* 23 mendacii sua tum *M*, *corr. wp* 32 his *M*, *om. Bert* 33 ui *w*: suis *M*

non obtulit se probandam. Quod conscientiae tuae sufficit, honoratus
est qui probatus.

Velim tamen dicas unde, cum tantis promissa persoluas, quid cui **18**
promiseris scias, nec te uel rei publicae cura uel ipsa illa beneficiorum
tuorum turba confundat, ut parcior tardiorue tempore quem modoue
decipias. Quis debitor uerecundus ita mutuum ad diem reddit ut tu 2
quod promittis appendis? Nec imponi neglegentibus arbitreris. Cotidie
in beneficia tua quaerimus et memoriam conuenimus et, ne singulis
insidietur obliuio, cum altero quisque conferimus. Vnum inuenire non 3
possumus cuius spem atque exspectationem non dicam fefelleris sed, quae
delicatior est querela, distuleris. Solamne me, imperator, beneuolentiam
tuam mirari putas? At ego miror etiam memoriam; nam cui Hortensio
Lucullone uel Caesari tam parata umquam adfuit recordatio quam tibi
sacra mens tua loco momentoque quo iusseris reddit omne depositum?
Vtrum tamen ipse te admones an, ut illi maiestatis tuae participi deo 4
feruntur adsistere Fata cum tabulis, sic tibi aliqua uis diuina subseruit, quae
quod dixeris scribat et suggerat? Nihil ita primoribus labris polliceris quin
promisso fidem subdas et uerba re sancias. Nemo iam, nemo beneficia
quae dederis ab eo credit tempore computanda quo dederis, quia tam
sunt certa quae spondes ut tum uideantur accepta cum spondes.

Iam illud ipsum quod ante promittis, nonne de summo purissimae **19**
mentis candore proficiscitur? Nam cuius est animi nec uota hominum
fatigare nec adhibere muneribus artem difficultatis, sed denuntiare prae-
standa, ut et prolixior sit sensus bonorum nec repentina felicitas faciat
attonitos et similes reddat ingratis? Animos enim nostros subitis adfectibus
impares perinde laetitia ut dolor, si deprehendat, externat. An non illa 2
Romana pietatis notissimae mater nuntio mali Cannensis exterrita, filio
reduce quem flebat, deriguit in mortem, nec par esse gaudio potuit quae
superfuerat orbitati? Conscius igitur caelestis arcani et naturalium depo-
sitorum mauis hominibus sperata procedere quam insperata superuenire
beneficia. Nec immerito: namque fugitiua successuum repentinorum 3
uoluptas ut occupat, sic relinquit; felicitas longior est exspectare securum.
Itaque cum hactenus a Natura esset statutum ut bona sua homines ante
nescirent, et tum primum inciperent felicitate gaudere cum coepissent esse
felices, tu promittendo praestanda inuenisti tempus quod nobis Natura
subtraxerat, ut quos adepta solum iuuabant etiam adipiscenda delectent.

5 parcior *Puteolanus*: paucior *M* 17 laboris *X* (*corr. w*) 18 resancias *M* (resarcias *w*), *corr. Puteolanus* 26 ut *Aem. Baehrens*, ac *Puteolanus*: aut *M* 28 diriguit *M* 30 maius *H* (*corr. h*): maius *an* mauis *M*, *incertum* separata *H* 31 successum *X* (*corr. cw*)

20 Pari benignitate cum plures adficere honoribus uelles quam hono-
rum loca admitterent et angustior esset materia uoluntate nec mentem
tuam quamuis diffusum caperet imperium, quem nondum aliquo pro-
2 uexisti gradu tamen dignatione solatus es. Atque haud scio an quibusdam
consolatio ista suffecerit. Ille cohonestatus adfatu, ille mensa beatus, ille
osculo consecratus est. Ita omnibus qui te principe sibi iure confiderent
aut processit dignitas aut satisfecit humanitas—humanitas inquam, quae
3 tam clara in imperatore quam rara est. Nam cum indiscreta felicium
pedisequa sit superbia, uix cuiquam contingit et abundare fortuna et in-
digere arrogantia. Cuius quidem ita maiores nostros pertaesum est, ut
grauiorem semper putauerint seruitute contemptum, eiusque impatientia
sint coacti post bellatores Tullos Numasque sacrificos et Romulos condi-
4 tores regnum usque ad nomen odisse. Denique ipsum illum Tarquinium
exsecratione postrema hoc damnauere maledicto, et hominem libidine
praecipitem, auaritia caecum, immanem crudelitate, furore uecordem
5 uocauerunt Superbum, et putauerunt sufficere conuicium. Quod si per
rerum naturam liceret ut ille Romanae libertatis adsertor, regii nominis
Brutus osor, precariae redditus uitae saeculum tuum cerneret studiis uir-
tutis parsimoniae humanitatis imbutum ac refertum, nullum toto orbe
terrarum superbiae libidinis crudelitatis exstare uestigium, iam te ipsum
qua publice qua priuatim uideret priscorum duritia ducum, castitate pon-
6 tificum, consulum moderatione, petitorum comitate uiuentem, mutaret
profecto sententiam tanto post suam et, cum Romanam dignitatem ac
libertatem probaret meliore in statu imperatore te esse quam consule se
fuisse, necessario fateretur Tarquinium submoueri debuisse, non regnum.

21 Sed quod facere magnas urbes ingressi solemus, ut primum sacras
aedes et dicata numini summo delubra uisamus, tum fora atque gymnasia
et pro suis extenta porticibus ambulacra miremur, ita in laudibus tuis
sanctos Palatii ritus et priscis aequanda caerimoniis instituta uenerati
gradum ad illa proferimus quae in medio constituta et ad publicos usus
patentia non parti sed in commune conducunt, nec parietibus sed orbe
2 clauduntur, nec tecto sed caelo operiuntur. Velut primum illud est (ne
statim summa captemus) quod creber egressu exspectantibus populis te

3 diffusum *Cusp*: -sam *M* 4 quibus clam consulatio *M, corr. w* 5 cohonestatus *Puteolanus*, cohortatus *w*: cohonestus *M* 9 indigere *cw*: indicere *M* 10 pertesum *H Bert*: semper pert. *X* 13 Tarquinum *M, corr. Itali (cod. Lond. add. 16983); idem l.* 25 14 dampnauere *w*, -erunt *X (e coniectura?)*: damna ue *M* 17 adsertor *om. X* (autor *add. w*) 26 sacra (-as *X*) sedes *M, corr. w* 28 ambulagra *M, corr. N. Perottus* 30 et ad *H Bert*: ad *X* 31 patentia *w*, facientia *Puteolanus*: paciencia *M* 33 captemus *Cusp*, capiamus *w*: captamus *M*

fateris, nec uideri modo patiens sed facilis adiri e proximo accipis uota
hominum tuorum ut, quisquis ille consultor est, etiamsi meruerit (quod est
rarum) repulsam, ferat tamen uisi numinis conscientiam. At quanto aliter 3
illorum principum mos fuit (quos loquar, notum est), qui maiestatem re-
giam imminui et uulgari putabant, nisi eos intra repositum Palatinae aedis
inclusos tamquam aliquod Vestale secretum ueneratio occulta consuluis-
set, nisi intra domesticam umbram iacentes solitudo prouisa et silentia late
conciliata uallassent. Quin si quando in lucem uenire et diem ferre potuis- 4
sent, lecticis tensisque subuecti et densissima circum supraque cooperti
uirorum armorumque testudine sensim atque ad numerum mouebantur.
Tum longe populus abigebatur, nec otiosa uiatoris manus plebem uer-
bere submouebat, ut secretum esset in publico. At noster hic omnibus 5
spectandus offertur, nec magis communem hunc diem atque solem quam
nostrum imperatorem uideri licet. Quin cum uicinum habeant permissa
fastidium, numquam iste mirantes explet oculos; magis magisque uisus
expetitur, et (nouum dictu) praesens desideratur.

Miremur in urbibus tuis et a tuis populis te uideri?—quem fere nulla **22**
in solo suo natio externa non uidit, idque ita crebro ut paene tam notus sit
barbaris uultus iste quam nobis. Nec frustra, cum aestates omnes foris,
hiemes domi ducens ciuibus hostibusque pari sorte anni spatia diuiseris et,
si qui forte sunt barbarorum qui nondum uirtutis tuae fulmen exceperint,
nominis terrore percussi et uelut adflati quiescant. Tua enim, imperator, 2
auspicia non hae tantum gentes tremunt quas ab orbe nostro siluarum
interualla uel flumina montesue distinguunt, sed quas aeternis ardoribus
inaccessas aut continua hieme separatas aut interfusis aequoribus abiunc-
tas Natura disterminat. Non Oceano Indus, non frigore Bosforanus, non
Arabs medio sole securus est; quo uix peruenerat nomen ante Romanum,
accedit imperium. Dicamne ego receptos seruitum Gothos castris tuis 3
militem, terris sufficere cultorem? Dicam a rebellibus Sarracenis poenas
polluti foederis expetitas? Dicam interdictum Scythis Tanain et imbelles
arcus etiam fugientis Albani? Quaecumque natio barbarorum robore 4
ferocia numero grauis umquam nobis fuit, aut boni consulit ut quiescat
aut laetatur quasi amica si seruiat. Persis ipsa rei publicae nostrae retro ae-
mula et multis Romanorum ducum famosa funeribus, quidquid umquam
in principes nostros inclementius fecit, excusat obsequio. Denique ipse 5

2 hominum *M*: omnium *Liuineius* 3 uisi *w*: ut si *M Bert* aliter *Cusp*: alter *M* 6 aliquod *M*: aliud *Bert* 8 consiliata *M, corr. w* 12 at *X*: ac *H* 13 affertur *X* 22 perculsi *Cusp* 28 accedit *w*: accidit *M* receptum *Bert* 32 ferocia *w*: feroci a *M*: ferocia aut *Bert* fuit nobis *fauentibus numeris X1*

ille rex eius dedignatus antea confiteri hominem iam fatetur timorem et in
his te colit templis in quibus colitur; tum legatione mittenda, gemmis seri-
coque praebendo, ad hoc triumphalibus beluis in tua esseda suggerendis,
etsi adhuc nomine foederatus, iam tamen tuis cultibus tributarius est.
23 Nec tamen, imperator, existimes cuncta me ad aurium gratiam locu-
turum: triumphis tuis Galli (stupeas licebit) irascimur. Dum in remota
terrarum uincendo procedis, dum ultra terminos rerum metasque Na-
turae regna Orientis extendis, dum ad illos primae lucis indigenas et in
ipsum, si quod est, solis cubile festinas, inuenit tyrannus ad scelera secre-
2 tum. O quam paruis ueniunt mala summa principiis! Sic in ultimum
prope Italici generis excidium ecfracto Cn. Lentuli ludo mirmillonum
agmen emicuit; sic bella consulibus ancipiti Marte pugnata Cilix pirata
conflauit; sic tenentibus arma fugitiuis Romana diu pila cesserunt ferro
3 ergastulorum. Quis non ad primum noui sceleris nuntium risit? Nam
res infra dignitatem iracundiae uidebatur, cum pauci homines et insulani
totius incendium continentis adolerent et regali habitu exsulem suum illi
4 exsules orbis induerent. At quantos parturiebat Fortuna motus! Quantum
rei publicae malum pestis augenda, quantam tibi gloriam restinguenda
seruabat, praecipue cum perfidia ducum, defectione legionum contra rem
publicam foret uersum quidquid pro re publica fuerat armatum!
24 Nolo tamen usquequaque miserorum uel factum onerare uel fatum
qui, dum carnifici purpurato tua se et adfinitate et fauore iactanti infeliciter
2 credunt, grauissimum omnium nefas fecerunt adfectu innocentium. In-
tellego quam difficilem in locum scopulosumque deuenerim. Nam cum
reuolui illud lustrale iustitium aures tuae respuant, laudes petant glori-
aeque intersit ad praesentium commendationem bonorum mala decursa
reputari, contra uero clementia summam beneficii sui malit imminui
quam tristium enumeratione cumulari, necesse me erit uel tacentem pub-
lica incommoda uel loquentem aut ingratum uirtuti aut onerosum esse
3 pietati. Sed tamen, imperator, exiguam sensibus tuis iniunge patientiam;
nam si dulcis in bonis miseriarum recordatio est, si nautas tempestatum
si medicos iuuat meminisse morborum, cur non tu quoque mala nostra
4 audias ut tua beneficia recognoscas? Vnde igitur ordiar, nisi de tuis, mea
Gallia, malis? quae ex omnibus terris quas illa pestis insederat haud
iniuria tibi uindicas priuilegium miseriarum non auribus modo, quarum

4 foderatus *H* 9 est *post* quod *H Bert*, *post* cubile *X* 11 et fracto *M* (effr- *w*)
12 Cilex *M* 13 tenentibus *Puteolanus*, ferentibus *w*: terentibus *M Bert* 15 insulani
Puteolanus: insulam *M* 18 pestis *Puteolanus*, petit *w*: petis *M* 23 affectum nocentium
M, *corr.* *w* 27 clementia *Novák*: -tiam *M* (clementia summa beneficium suum *Puteolanus*)
28 me erit *H Bert*: erit me *X2*, *om.* *X1*

sensus est leuior, sed coram oculis ferre compulsa uictoriam Maximi, in-
teritum Gratiani. Alta licet uulnera, quod fatendum est, proximus nobis
Italus et contiguus ostendat Hispanus; sed in dolore summo habet suum
uterque solacium. Tyrannidem ille non uidit; hic tyrannicidium uidit.
Nos primi impetum beluae furentis excepimus, nos saeuitiam eius inno- 6
centium sanguine, nos cupiditatem publica paupertate satiauimus. Apud
nos semet exercuit crudelitas iam secura et adhuc inops auaritia. Alibi
malum publicum aut coepit aut destitit: in Gallia sedit.
Quis se nobis calamitate contulerit? Tyrannum et cum aliis tulimus 25
et soli. Quid ego referam uacuatas municipibus suis ciuitates, impletas
fugitiuis nobilibus solitudines? Quid perfunctorum honoribus summis
uirorum bona publicata, capita diminuta, uitam aere taxatam? Vidimus 2
redactas in numerum dignitates et exutos trabeis consulares et senes
fortunarum superstites et infantum sub ipso sectore ludentium flendam
securitatem, cum interim miseri uetabamur agere miseros, immo etiam
cogebamur mentiri beatos et, cum domi atque secreto solis coniugibus ac
liberis credidissemus furtiuum dolorem, procedebamus in publicum non
nostrae fortunae uultu. Audires enim dicere delatorem: 'Quid ita ille tristis 3
incedit? An quia pauper ex diuite est? Non enim se uiuere gratulatur?
Quid ita hic publicum atratus incestat? Luget, credo, fratrem; sed habet
filium.' Ita fleri non licebat amissa metu reliquorum. Serenos ergo 4
nubilis mentibus uultus induebamus, et ad illorum uicem qui degustato
Sardorum graminum suco feruntur in morte ridere, imitabamur laeta
maerentes. Est aliquod calamitatum delenimentum dedisse lacrimas 5
malis et pectus laxasse suspiriis; nulla maior est poena quam esse miserum
nec uideri. Spes inter haec nulla praedonis explendi. Nec enim, ut 6
Natura fert, copiam satietas sequebatur; crescebat in dies habendi fames,
et parandi rabiem parta irritabant. Vt aegrorum sitim potus accendit, 7
ut ignis arentibus non obruitur sed augetur, ita coactae publica egestate
diuitiae auiditatem ieiunae mentis acuebant.
Stabat ipse purpuratus ad lances et momenta ponderum nutusque 26
trutinarum pallens atque inhians exigebat. Comportabantur interim spo-
lia prouinciarum, exuuiae exsulum, bona peremptorum. Hic aurum ma- 2
tronarum manibus extractum, illic raptae pupillorum ceruicibus bullae,
istic dominorum cruore perfusum appendebatur argentum. Numerari
ubique pecuniae, fisci repleri, aera cumulari, uasa concidi, cuiuis ut
intuenti non illud imperatoris domicilium sed latronis receptaculum

15 uetebamur *M*, *corr.* *X2 wp* agere *M*: plangere *w* 20 hic *H Bert Cusp*: in *X*
25 lexasse *H* 29 ignis lignis *w* 36 cuiuis *w*: cuius *M*

3 uideretur. Sed tamen latro raptis abutitur et ablata aliis uel sibi red-
dit, nec ideo uias saltusque obsidet ut thesaurum struat atque defodiat et
cum scelere miser sit, sed ut gulae uentrique suppeditet nec desit sumptus
impendiis; nam et effundit et neglegit eadem quaerendi et perdendi fa-
4 cilitate. Noster ille pirata, quidquid undecumque conuerrerat, id nobis
sibique periturum in illam specus sui charybdim congerebat. Charybdim
loquor? quae cum plena nauigia sorbuerit, dicitur tamen reiectare naufra-
5 gia et contortas fundo rates Tauromenitanis litoribus exponere. Bona
nostra ad aerarium una et perpetua uia ibant; nullas eorum reliquias,
nulla fragmenta uel sero uicta fastidio illa communis uorago reuomebat.

27 Est improborum principum postrema defensio auferre donanda et
inuidiam rapinarum magnitudine munerum deprecari. Quae (malum!)
2 ratio est abstulisse omnibus quod nullus habiturus sit? Et priuatorum
quidem auaritiae, licet mala, tamen aliqua defensio est: timetur inopia
et reponitur senectuti et prospicitur heredi. Quam adfert causam con-
3 cupiscendi qui quantum ubique est habet? Quin ego, si fas piumque
mortalibus aestimare caelestia, nullam maiorem esse crediderim prin-
cipum felicitatem quam fecisse felicem et intercessisse inopiae et uicisse
4 Fortunam et dedisse homini nouum fatum. Itaque imperatori propriam
maiestatem bene aestimanti non tam illud uideri suum debet quod ab-
5 stulit quam quod dedit. Nam cum intra ipsum uoluantur omnia et, ut
ille qui cuncta ambit Oceanus quas suggerit aquas terris recipit e terris,
ita quidquid in ciues manat a principe redundet in principem, et rei et
famae bene consulit munificus imperator; lucratur enim gloriam, cum det
pecuniam reuersuram.

28 Sed illi quidem stulta omnis ratio captandae laudis uidebatur; qui
praeter insitum pessimo cuiuis boni exemplum summam felicitatem
habendi ac nocendi fine determinans non solum ut quam plurimum
quaereret sed ut nihil cuiquam reliqui faceret laborabat. Nec enim
qui regibus mos est, exercendis inuigilabat metallis ut latentia Naturae
bona in usum arcesseret et pararet innoxias nullo pauperiore diuitias.
2 Parum ille pretiosum putabat aurum quod de montium uenis aut flu-
minum glareis quaesitor Bessus aut scrutator Gallaicus eruisset; illud
purius splendidiusque credebat quod dedissent dolentes, quod hominum

1 uel *w, del. Puteolanus*: ut *M Bert* 3 suppeditet *Bert w*: suppedit (-tit *X*) et *M* sumptus *w*: subtus *M* 4 impediis *H* 5 conuenerat *X* 6 Caribdim *priore loco M; altero* Charybdim *H*: Caribdim *X* 8 Tauromenitanis *X2 w*: -mentanis *M* 17 esse crediderim *H*: cred. esse *X* 23 redundet *Liuineius*: -dat *M* 27 cuiuis *Scheffer*, eius *w*, cuique *Puteolanus*: cuius *M* 30 exerendis *w* 31 arcesceret *M*

lacrimae non amnium aquae abluissent, nec e terrenis specubus egestum
sed e ceruicibus iugulisque caesorum esset ecfossum. Sic, cum immitis 3
tyranni et stilus timeretur et gladius, transierat in uota paupertas et, ut
possemus effugere carnificem, optabamus subire sectorem. Quod si cui 4
ille pro ceteris sceleribus suis minus crudelis fuisse uidetur, uestrum is,
uestrum, Vallio triumphalis et trabeate Merobaudes, recordetur interi-
tum; quorum alter post amplissimos magistratus et purpuras consulares
et contractum intra unam domum quendam honorum senatum uita sese
abdicare compulsus est, alteri manibus satellitum Britannorum gula domi
fracta et inusta femineae mortis infamia, ut scilicet maluisse uir ferri aman-
tissimus uideretur laqueo perire quam gladio. Sed in illos fortasse speciales 5
putaretur habuisse odiorum causas tyrannus; steterat enim uterque in acie
Gratiani et Gratianus utrumque dilexerat. Quid de his dicimus qui hono-
rum ac principum nescii et tantum inter suos clari nobiles animas sub
carnifice fuderunt?

De uirorum mortibus loquor, cum descensum recorder ad sanguinem 29
feminarum, et in sexum cui bella parcunt pace saeuitum? Sed nimirum 2
graues suberant inuidiosaeque causae, ut unco ad poenam clari uatis
matrona raperetur; obiciebatur enim atque etiam probabatur mulieri
uiduae nimia religio et diligentius culta diuinitas. Quid hoc maius 3
poterat intendere accusator sacerdos? Fuit enim, fuit et hoc delato-
rum genus qui nominibus antistites, re uera autem satellites atque adeo
carnifices, non contenti miseros auitis euoluisse patrimoniis calumniaban-
tur in sanguinem et uitas premebant reorum iam pauperum; quin etiam,
cum iudiciis capitalibus adstitissent, cum gemitus et tormenta miserorum
auribus ac luminibus hausissent, cum lictorum arma cum damnatorum
frena tractassent, pollutas poenali contactu manus ad sacra referebant
et caerimonias quas incestauerant mentibus etiam corporibus impiabant.
Hos ille Falaris in amicis habebat, hi in oculis eius atque etiam in osculis 4
erant, nec iniuria, a quibus tot simul uotiua ueniebant: auaro diuitum
bona, cruento innocentium poena, impio religionis iniuria.

Tandem in nos oculos deus retulit et bonis Orientis intentus ad 30
mala nostra respexit et hunc sacerrimo capiti obiecit furorem ut foedus
abrumpere, ius fetiale uiolare, bellum edicere non timeret. An ego sine 2
diuino numine factum putem, ut qui sub nomine pacis ludere et primi

2 effossum *X* 4 cui ille *H Bert*: ille cui *X* 6 Vallio *M*: Balio *Balduinus*, Ballio *Cl. Puteanus* trabeate *Puteolanus*: -ati *M* Merobaudes *Liuineius*, -baudis *hw*: Meroblandis *H*: -bandis *X* 17 pace *Modius*: parce *M Bert* (non parce *w*) 18 clarinatis *Bert* 19 probabatur *M*: exprobrab- *Rhenanus* 23 miseros *H Bert Cusp, om. X*

sceleris poenas lucrari quiescendo potuisset, secundum tertiumque uexil-
lum latrocinii ciuilis attolleret et superatis Alpibus Cottiis Iulia quoque
claustra laxaret tibique, imperator, imponeret seruanti adhuc ueniae fi-
3 dem uincendi necessitatem? Agebat eum, credo, praecipitem uindicanda
iam proximo ultore res publica et extinctus aperto dominus parricidio
poenas ab eo debitas expetebat. Non illud confidentia sed amentia, non
temeritas sed necessitas erat, nec ultro lacessebat ille te bello sed ulterius
4 non poterat se negare supplicio. Alioqui quando tantam concepisset au-
daciam, ut ruere in ferrum et obuiam morti uenire tam ignauus et timens
5 mortis auderet, ut qui se non potuerit postea uel uictus occidere? Et
te quidem, imperator Auguste, ad adserendam rem publicam usurpan-
damque uictoriam suffecisset in bella uel solum uenire; nam si olim domini
aduersum rebelles seruos dimicaturi flagra in aciem detulerunt tantaque
uis conscientiae fuit ut ab inermibus uerterentur armati et qui obtulerant
mortibus pectora darent terga uerberibus, nonne tu quoque legionibus
otiosis rem totam uisus egisses?

31 An sustinere te coram et solum oculorum tuorum ferre coniectum ille
quondam domus tuae neglegentissimus uernula mensularumque serui-
lium statarius lixa potuisset? Non statim totum subisset hominem prae-
teriti sui tuique reputatio? Non sibi ipse obiecisset te esse triumphalis uiri
filium, se patris incertum; te heredem nobilissimae familiae, se clientem;
te omni retro tempore Romani exercitus ducem, libertatis patronum, se
2 orbis extorrem patriaeque fugitiuum? Iam uero te principem in medio
rei publicae sinu, omnium suffragio militum, consensu prouinciarum,
ipsius denique ambitu imperatoris optatum; se in ultimo terrarum recessu,
legionibus nesciis, aduersis prouinciarum studiis, nullis denique auspiciis
3 in illud tyrannici nominis adspirasse furtum? Postremo tecum fidem, se-
cum perfidiam; tecum fas, secum nefas; tecum ius, secum iniuriam; tecum
clementiam pudicitiam religionem, secum impietatem libidinem crudeli-
tatem et omnium scelerum postremorumque uitiorum stare collegium?
4 Res ipsas interrogemus et, quae certissima coniectatio est, colligamus
gerenda ⟨de⟩ gestis. Num tandem dubitari potest quid fuerit eo praesente
facturus, quem non uidit et fugit?

32 Quamuis igitur, imperator, hoste tali abutereris nec tam ad proelium
conserendum quam ad supplicium de nefario capite sumendum uenires,

2 Cottiis *w*: Cottus *M* 3 fidem *M*: finem *Bert* 7 lacescebat *X* 11 te quidem *Liuineius*, te equidem *Cusp*: equidem *M* 14 obtulerant *Rhenanus*: -runt *M* 19 totum *H Bert Cusp, om. X* praeteriti *Eyssenhardt*: -ita *M* 20 sibi ipse *H Bert*: ipse sibi *X* 21 se clientem *Puteolanus*: seditem *M* 26 nullis *M*: malis *Bert* 29 et religionem *Bert* 32 de *addidi, om. M*

consiliis tamen tantis tantisque rationibus bellum administrabas, ut cum
Perse aliquo decertaturus aut Pyrrho aut cum illo ipso Hannibale uidereris.
Nam primum fidem regum quibus limes Orientis ambitur data atque 2
accepta dextera signas, quo foris securus agitares, si nihil sollicitum et
suspectandum domi reliquisses. Tunc copias tuas trifariam diuidis, ut 3
et hostis audaciam multiplicato terrore percelleres et fugam circumfusus
ambires. Postremo populis barbarorum ultroneam tibi operam ferre
uouentibus commilitum munus indulges, ut et limiti manus suspecta de-
cederet et militi auxiliator accederet; qua tua benignitate pellectae omnes
Scythicae nationes tantis examinibus confluebant, ut quem remiseras tuis,
barbaris uidereris imperasse dilectum. O res digna memoratu! Ibat sub 4
ducibus uexillisque Romanis hostis aliquando Romanus, et signa contra
quae steterat sequebatur, urbesque Pannoniae quas inimica dudum po-
pulatione uacuauerat miles implebat. Gothus ille et Chunus et Halanus
respondebat ad nomen et alternabat excubias et notari infrequens uere-
batur. Nullus tumultus, nulla confusio, nulla direptio ut a barbaro erat. 5
Quin, si quando difficilior frumentaria res fuisset, inopiam patienter fere-
bat et quam numero artarat annonam comparcendo laxabat, pro omni
praemio omnique mercede id unum reposcens ut tuus diceretur. Quanta
est uirtutis ambitio! Accipiebas beneficium quod imputares.

Memorabile putauit antiquitas quod Actiaco aliquando bello ducibus 33
motibusque Romanis peregrina Aegyptus arma permiscuit, tantumque
res credita est habere nouitatis ut, nisi frequenter isset in litteras, apud
posteros uideretur facti fides laboratura. Nam quis annalium scriptor aut 2
carminum tuas illas, Cleopatra, classes et eborata nauigia et purpurea
cum auratis funibus uela tacuit? Quin ita crebro historia recantata est,
magis ut ab isdem saepe dicta quam ut ab aliquo intermissa uideatur.
Non contendam duces—nec enim principem nostrum non dicam uictus 3
Antonius, sed uictor Augustus aequauerit; quid in ceteris saltem simile
deprehendemus, maxime si rerum temporumque facies altrinsecus con-
feramus, et hos illosque populos animorum subiciamus oculis? Illos uela 4
facientes data uentis classis attulerat; hi longum iter sub armorum fasce
carpebant. Illos peregrino igne suspirans regina pellexerat; hos amor
laudis et participandae gloriae cura rapiebat. Illos tepens Farus et mollis
Canopus leuiumque populorum altor Nilus emiserat; hos minax Caucasus

2 ipso illo *Bert* 6 hostis audaciam *M*: hostes *Bert* percelleres *w*: prec- *M* 7 ferre *Bert w*: ferri *M* 8 munus *w*: unus *M* 11 uidereris *wp*: uideris *M* 14 implebat *Liuineius*: impleuerat *M* Chunus *W. Baehrens* (*cf. c. 11.4*): Hunus *M* Alanus *X* 15 uerebatur *h Bert p*: ferebatur *M* 24 laboratam *X* (*corr. cw*) 26 recantata *M* (*fauentibus numeris*): dec- *w* (*fort. recte*)

et rigens Taurus et ingentium corporum durator Hister effuderat. Illos tenero perlucentes amictu et uix leue carbasum uitando sole tolerantes alterno concussa tinnitu sistra ducebant; hos loricis onustos inclusosque ferro fractae uoces tubarum ingentiumque lituorum clangor acuebat—
5 quae tandem ut collatio posset esse populorum, etiamsi tanta non esset dissimilitudo causarum ut ab illis fuerit Romani imperii appetita captiuitas, ab his repetita libertas? Quo tibi, imperator, indignius uidebatur eius piaculi quemquam inueniri potuisse consortem, cuius se barbarus agebat ultorem.

34 Sed illi quidem nefario sanguine belli primitias imbuentes par poenae culpaeque docimentum fuerunt. Testis es, Siscia, testis pulcherrimi, Saue, conflictus, si conflictus ille dicendus est quo ita in publicos proditores animi plenus miles inuasit, ut eum nec numerus resistentium nec maximi fluminis altitudo remorata sint quin, ut erat ex itinere longissimo anhelus atque puluereus, equos calcaribus incitaret, amnem nando coniungeret,
2 ripam insiliret, paratos denique exspectantesque deprenderet. Sermo iste prolixior est quam illa res fuerit. Vix fluuium manus inuicta transierat; iam locum belli tenebat. Vix hostem inuenerat; iam urguebat. Vix pectora uiderat; iam terga caedebat. Datur debito rebelle agmen exitio, uoluuntur impiae in sanguine suo turbae, tegit totos strages una
3 campos continuisque funeribus cuncta late operiuntur. Iam qui ad muros differenda morte properauerant, aut fossas cadaueribus aequabant aut obuiis sudibus induebantur aut portas quas eruptione patefecerant morte claudebant. At quorum se fugae imperuius ripis amnis obiecit, trepidando
4 collecti et alterum quisque complexi per abrupta glomerantur. Spumat decolor cruore fluuius et cunctantes meatus uix eluctatis cadaueribus euoluit utque se tibi posset speciali imputare militia, ipsum illum uexillarium sacrilegae factionis auidis gurgitibus absorbuit et, ne morti sepultura contingeret, cadauer abscondit. Nonne utroque credendus tuae studuisse uindictae, et adiuuando uictoriam et occupando clementiam?

35 En tibi alteram pugnam alteramque uictoriam! Delectas in proelium Marcellinus cohortes et ipsum factionis nefariae robur illa belli ciuilis Megaera rapiebat, tanto ceteris satellitibus audentior quanto exsertiorem
2 operam nauabat tyranno frater tyranni. Quo quidem maxime tuus gaudebat exercitus, cum se ultro uideret lacessi, qui nihil magis timuerat

2 solet olerantes *H* 5 ut *del. Rhenanus* 7 indignus *X* (*corr. w*) 11 es *Aem. Baehrens*: est *M* pulcherrimi Sauae *Cusp* (Saue *Aem. Baehrens*): -mis aue *M Bert* 14 longissimo itinere *X* 16 deprehenderet *X* 19 debitore belle (belli *X*) *M*, *corr. w* 20 stragis *H* 27 uexillarium *w*: -arum *M* 28 morti *Cusp*: mortis *M* 35 lacesci *X*

quam timeri, adeo quidem ut castris ad castra conlatis, quod praecipiti die manum conserere non poterat, spe uictoriae cum luce uenturae peruigil ageret, tardum solem, desertorem diem, annuum noctis aestiuae tempus criminaretur. Ecce lux tandem, et iam campus horrebat exercitu: 3
diuisi in cornua equites, leues ante signa uelites, dispositae manipulatim cohortes et gradu pleno ferentes agmina quadratae legiones uniuersa late qua uisus agi poterat occuparant. Nondum se uirtus experiebatur; 4
iam disciplina uincebat. At postquam intra coniectum teli acies utraque promouit, et effusis hinc inde iaculorum sagittarumque nimbis res uenit ad capulos, milites pristinae uirtutis, Romani nominis, imperatorum denique memores causam publicam manu agere. Hostes uenditam operam, laceratam Italiam, spem in ferro reliquam cogitantes gladiatoria desperatione pugnare, nec gradu cedere sed in uestigio stare uel cadere.

At ubi impulsa acies fronsque laxata et fiducia in pedes uersa est, ire 36
praecipites aut globo fugere et se inuicem festinando tardare. Armati inermes, integri saucii, primi postremique misceri. Miles urguere eminus cominus, gladiis hastis, punctim caesim ferire. Alii poplitibus imminere, alii terga configere, aut quos cursu non poterant continari iaculis occupare. Arma tela, equi homines, uiua perempta, prona supinaque corpora 2
passim uel in aceruo iacere. Illi mutilis excisisque membris reliqua sui parte fugiebant, hi dolorem uulnerum sequebantur, isti mortes receptas in siluas et flumina differebant, illic postremum spiritum in admiratione nominis tui et sui ducis detestatione fundebant. Nullus finis caedendi insequendique, nisi subtraxisset aliquando uictoribus mors hostem et nox
diem. At quanto melius manus illa consuluit, quae submissis precabunda 3
uexillis petiit ueniam necessitatis, et terram in osculis premens calcanda uestigiis tuis corpora et arma proiecit! Quam tu non superbe ut uictam, non irate ut ream, non neglegenter ut parum necessariam praeteristi, sed blande liberaliterque tractatam iussisti esse Romanam. Iunguntur socia 4
agmina et sub uno capite diuersa rei publicae membra coalescunt. Ambo pari gaudio feruntur exercitus: hic opera sua gaudet, hic uenia, uterque uictoria.

Nec pia Haemona cunctantius, ubi te adfore nuntiatum, impulsis 37
effusa portis obuiam prouolauit et, ut est omne desiderium post spem

4 exercitu *H Cusp*, *om. X* 5 diuisi in cornua *Puteolanus*: diuis in cornu *M* 9 iaculorum sagittarumque *H Bert Cusp*: sagittarum *X* 10 nomini *H* 14 uersa *Puteolanus*: uersata *M* 17 poplitibus *Cusp*: popli (populi *X*) tibi *M* 18 continari *H* (*M*): contineri *X* (-nere *cw*): continuare *Bert* 19 tela equi *Liuineius*: tele qui *H*: tela qui *X* uiua *Cusp*: uicia *M* 22 admirationem *H* 26 petiit *Liuineius*: petit *M* in *del. Acidalius* 33 Hacinona *Bert*

impatientius, parum credens patere uenienti festinauit occursare uenturo.
2 Fingit quidem, ut scimus, timor gaudium, sed ita intimos mentis adfectus
proditor uultus enuntiat, ut in speculo frontium imago exstet animorum.
Velut illa ciuitas a longa obsidione respirans, quod eam tyrannus Alpibus
obiacentem tamquam belli limen attriuerat, tanta se et tam simplici ex-
3 sultatione iactabat ut, ni esset uera laetitia, nimia uideretur. Ferebant
se obuiae tripudiantium cateruae, cuncta cantu et crotalis personabant.
Hic tibi triumphum chorus, ille contra tyranno funebres nenias et car-
men exsequiale dicebat. Hic perpetuum uictis abitum, ille uictoribus
crebrum optabat aduentum. Iam quocumque tulisses gradum, sequi cir-
cumcursare praecedere, uias denique quibus ferebaris obstruere. Nullus
cuiquam sui tuiue respectus; blandam tibi faciebat iniuriam contumacia
4 gaudiorum. Quid ego referam pro moenibus suis festum liberae nobilitatis
occursum, conspicuos ueste niuea senatores, reuerendos municipali pur-
pura flamines, insignes apicibus sacerdotes? Quid portas uirentibus sertis
coronatas? Quid aulaeis undantes plateas accensisque funalibus auctum
diem? Quid effusam in publicum turbam domorum, gratulantes annis
senes, pueros tibi longam seruitutem uouentes, matres laetas uirginesque
securas? Nondum omne confeceras bellum, iam agebas triumphum.

38 Ibat interim Maximus ac te post terga respectans in modum amen-
tis attonitus auolabat. Nec ullum ille consilium ullamue rationem aut
denique spem, quae postrema homines deserit, sequebatur; quin ipsos
uiae implicabat errores et nunc dexter aut laeuus, nunc uestigiis suis
2 obuius incertum iter ancipiti ambage texebat. Quotiens sibi ipsum puta-
mus dixisse: 'Quo fugio? Bellumne temptabo?—ut quem uiribus totis
ferre non potui, parte sustineam? Alpes Cottias obserabo, quia Iuliae
profuerunt? Peto Africam, quam exhausi? Repeto Britanniam, quam
reliqui? Credo me Galliae?—sed inuisus sum. Hispaniae committo?—
3 sed notus sum. Quid ergo faciam inter arma et odia medius? A tergo
premor hostibus, a fronte criminibus. Si morerer, euaseram. Sed ecce
nec animum sequitur manus nec manum gladius; labitur ferrum, tremit
4 dextera, mens fatiscit. O quam difficile est miseris etiam perire!' Ergo ut
clausae cassibus ferae quaesito diu exitu desperatoque consistunt et prae
timore non fugiunt, ita ille ipso quo agitabatur metu adligatus in oppidum
semet Aquileiense praecipitat, non ut uitam resistendo defenderet, sed

2 et timor *Cusp* 3 frontium *p*: fontium *M Bert* extet *Liuineius*, existat *Aem. Baehrens*: extat *M* 6 ni esset *X*: inesset *H* 8 nenias *p*: uenias *M* 9 abitum *Puteolanus*: habitum *M* 10 quocumque *M*: quoquo *Bert* 12 contumacia gaudiorum *H Bert*, *om.* *X* 22 postremo *Bert* 26 obseruabo *Bert*

ne poenam frustrando differret. Quamquam quae poterat ulterior esse
dilatio?—cum ita uestigiis eius ac tergo ardens miles insisteret, ut paene
omnem quae est secuta pompam ultio festinata praeceperit.

Recte profecto germana illa pictorum poetarumque commenta Victo- 39
riam finxere pinnatam, quod hominum cum fortuna euntium non cursus
est sed uolatus. Ille ab ultimo Orientis sinu festinatis itineribus raptus 2
exercitus, tot nationibus relinquendis, tot fluminibus enatandis, tot scan-
dendis montibus fatigatus, in alio orbe et sub alio (paene dixerim) sole
positus, spatio lucis unius Illyrico continuauit Aquileiam. Nihil tamen 3
sibimet hoc nomine milites tui uindicant et, si quando mirantium cir-
culos contrahunt aut conuiuia nostra sermone producunt, operam om-
nem suam fine Alpium terminantes deberi sibi abnuunt illam celeritatem,
quod expertes laborum peruenisse se uiderint quo ire non senserant.
Negant immo se suis uectos esse corporibus sed, tamquam per aliquas
imagines somniorum ferrentur absentes, praebuisse gestantibus uentis
otiosorum ministeria membrorum. Nec fides anceps: nam si olim seueri 4
credidere maiores Castoras geminos albentibus equis et stellatis apicibus
insignes puluerem cruoremque Thessalicum aquis Tiberis abluentes et
nuntiasse uictoriam et imputasse militiam, cur non tuae publicaeque uin-
dictae confessam aliquam immortalis dei curam putemus adnisam?—nisi
forte maiorem diuini fauoris operam res Romana poscebat Macedonico
augenda regno quam tyrannico eximenda seruitio. Ego uero, si caeleste 5
studium pro dignitate causarum aestimandum sit, iure contenderim equi-
tes tuos Pegasis, talaribus pedites uectos ac suspensos fuisse. Neque enim
quia se diuina mortalibus dedignantur fateri, idcirco quae uisa non fuerint
dubitabimus facta, cum facta uideamus quae dubitauerimus esse facienda.

Anguste fortunam tuam, imperator, expendit, quisquis id de te tantum 40
quod fieri potest credit. An ego, cum ab Alpibus Iuliis otioso feriatoque
ferro non proelium fuisse uideam sed triumphum, dubitauerim illam
specialem quandam felicitatis tuae dixisse militiam? Scimus quidem, 2
imperator, ita te cuncta administrasse ut non possint se tibi imputare
successus; sed fatearis necesse est quantum te in bello tantum Fortunam
tuam egisse post bellum. Cui si uocem demus et iudicem, nonne prolixe
suam enumerabit operam et, ut uirtutibus tuis multa concedat, sibi aliqua
uindicabit? Et cur, quaeso, non demus ut accipiamus utriusque partis 3
adserta, cum sit quae uicerit tua? Audio Constantiam dicere: 'bellum

4 germana *M*: genuina *Bert* 7 scandendi *H* 18 cruoremque *w*: cruorem *M* 20 confessa mali quam *M*, *corr.* *w* adnisam *H Bert*: adnixam *X* 26 dubitabimus *w*: -uimus *M* 35 uindicauit *H*

atrox periculosumque suscepi'; memorare Patientiam: 'immensum iter,
tempus anni graue semper armata, saepe ieiuna toleraui'; tenere Pru-
dentiam: 'partita sum militem et multiplicaui arte terrorem'; adserere
Fortitudinem: 'bis conflixi cum hoste, bis uici'; omnes postremo clamare:
'quid tibi debemus, Fortuna, quam fecimus?' Sed si illa dicat: 'ego pro-
perationem militum iuui, ego fugam hostium praepediui, ego Maximum
4 in muros coegi et quem uos cogebatis mori uiuum domino reseruaui', non
uideo quod possit esse iudicium quin, cum ista pars imputet tyranni fugam,
illa custodiam, res publica, quae utrique pariter obnoxia est, ita utramque
coniungat ut fateatur semet uni uictoriam, alteri debere uindictam.

41 Sed nec tu debitam gratiam beneficii infitiator abiuras; nam etsi per
te confeceris quae uolebas, per Fortunam tamen plus adeptus es quam
2 uolebas. Agedum, si uidetur, praeteritas cogitationes tuas consule et uota
conueni. Num amplius sperauisti quam ut Maximus tibi nuntiaretur oc-
cisus, quam ut semiuiuum eius caput nondum clausis tota morte oculis ex
3 acie referretur, quam summum ut fugiens resistensue caperetur? Ceterum
quando quod factum est uel optasti, ut se tibi ipse seruaret, ut consciscere
sibimet interitum nollet et posset? Magno quidem (fateor) pectoribus hu-
manis atque adeo maximo lux amori, interitus horrori est, sed quatenus
aut ista optari potest aut ille uitari. At si ultima supra caput steterit hora et
uenerit dies numquam reuersurus ac se confessa mors fuerit, non timen-
4 tur extrema cum certa sunt. Hinc reorum usque ad damnationem metus,
postea attonitus stupor et ex desperatione securitas et ad locum supplicii
uoluntaria carnifice non trahente properatio. Vt de his taceam qui cum
fatis fortius paciscentes incertum exitum certo occupauerunt, ut nihil de
seruis loquar qui uerbera uitauere suspendio et motus heriles usque ad
5 praecipitia fugerunt, quis umquam ultra spem timuit? Quis idcirco semet
occidere noluit ut occideretur? Nisi uero uel leuior manus aliena quam
propria, uel foedior mors priuata quam publica, uel longior poena ferro
incumbere et corpore uulnus onerare et recipere interitum statim totum
quam supplicium diuidere, poplitem flectere, ceruicem extendere, plagam
exspectare fortasse non unam.

42 Et tamen quando ille secum ferro transigendum putabat? Non
potius ignem laminas crucem culleum et quidquid merebatur timebat?
Numquam profecto tam bene de sceleribus suis sensit, ut mortem potuerit
2 sperare qua periit. Si igitur nec praesumere ueniam reus nec sperare

2 saepe *H Bert*: semper *X* 16 summum *M Bert*: ad summum *w* 18 posset et nollet *W. Meyer* 26 uerbera *H*: uerba *X* (*corr. wp*) 27 precipia *X* (*corr. wp*) 30 uulnus *X*: uulcius *H* 31 quam ad *H* 32 expectare *H Bert Cusp, om. X* 33 quando *M*: quomodo *Liuineius*

fugam clausus nec mortem potuit timere moriturus, et certo extremorum
leuior uideri debuit uoluntarius quam coactus, honestior priuatus quam
publicus, postremo breuior occupatus quam exspectatus interitus, num
cui dubium est in eo quod non habuit rationem fuisse Fortunam? Illa,
illa tyranni consilia caecauit, illa et animum eius obtudit et gladium, illa
expeditam in uulnus manum percussit et tenuit. Nisi uero tu tuum, uene- 3
rabilis Gratiane, carnificem Diris comitatus ultricibus obsidebas, et irata
⟨ac⟩ minax umbra ob os eius oculosque fumantes infernis ignibus taedas
et crepitantia torto angue flagra quatiebas ne morti honestae uacaret,
ne regalem illum sacrosanctumque uestitum impio cruore pollueret, ne
cultus olim tuus ac deinceps fratrum futurus funestum sanguinem uel dum
uindicatur acciperet, ne postremo te manus ulcisceretur tyranni et deberes
Maximo uel suam mortem.

Et plane ita cuncta ciciderunt ut non seruata modo ultio sed ordinata **43**
uideatur. Nam unde, quaeso, tam repentina conuersio ut qui oppetere
timuerat interitum non timeret expetere et quem incluserat metus pro-
ferret audacia? Hic nulla iam reliqua festinandis rebus mora: actutum 2
fortissimi duces instruendo accinguntur triumpho, capiti diadema decuti-
tur, humeris uestis aufertur, pedibus ornatus euellitur, totus denique homo
aptatur ad meritum. Publice publicus spoliator exuitur, nectuntur manus 3
rapaces, nudantur crura fugitiuo, talis denique tuis offertur oculis qualem
offerri decebat uictori captum, domino seruum, imperatori tyrannum.
Nec tu illum, qua es clementia, in conspectum tuum uenire uoluisses, 4
ne oculos istos omnibus salutares homo funebris impiaret, nisi famam
confutare mendacii teque purgare eodem teste quo insimulatore uoluisses.
Habet uero, habet nescio quos internos mens scelerata carnifices, aut 5
ipsa sibi carnifex conscientia est, aut (quod magis credo) omni seuerius
quaestione est a te interrogari. Ad primam tuam uocem nefario pectori 6
excussa confessio est, nec cunctari saltem aut mussitare potuit quin con-
silium omne nudaret, se uidelicet fauoris tui obtendisse praetextum, quod
aliter non potuisset adlicere militum societatem nisi auctoramenti tui se
finxisset actorem.

5 illa (*1°*) *om. Bert* 6 perculsit *Liuineius* 7 Diris *Liuineius*, diris *p*, furiis *w*: durus *M* 8 ac *add. Aem. Baehrens, om. M* 10 sanctumque *Bert* nec ultus (uultus *X*) *M, corr. w* 16 et *M*: ut *Bert* 17 ac tutum *M, corr. w* 22 dicebat *H* 24 nec *X* funebris *Puteolanus*: funeris *M* 26 uero *w*, uires *Puteolanus*, ultores *Aem. Baehrens*: utros *an* utres *H, incertum*: utros *X* 29 musitare *X* 31 tui se *post* nisi *Bert* se *X*: se te *H* 32 finxissent *Bert* actorem *Aem. Baehrens*: auctorem *M Bert*

44 Et post hanc tu uocem non illum in crucem tolli, non culleo insui,
non discerpi in frusta iussisti? Non postremo illam tanti ream mendacii
linguam radicitus erui praecepisti cum eorum parte uitalium quorum
2 fuerat locuta commentum? Quin iam coeperas de eius morte dubitare
et deieceras oculos et uultum rubore suffuderas et cum misericordia
loquebaris. Sed bene est quod non omnia potes: tui te uindicant et
inuitum. Rapitur ergo ex oculis et, ⟨ne⟩ quid posset licere clementiae, inter
3 innumeras manus fertur ad mortem. Ecce iterum, imperator, auerteris, et
illam tyrannici exitus relationem grauaris. Iam, iam esto securus. Geram
4 clementiae tuae morem: quod noluisti uidere non audies. Huc, huc
totas, pii uates, doctarum noctium conferte curas, hoc omnibus litteris
linguisque celebrate, nec sitis de operum uestrorum perennitate solliciti.
5 Illa quam praestare historiis solebatis ab historia ueniet aeternitas. Vos
quoque quibus secunda sors cessit dare famam rebus, artifices, uulgata
illa ueterum fabularum argumenta despicite, Herculeos labores et Indicos
Liberi triumphos et anguipedum bella monstrorum. Haec potius, haec
gesta sollertes manus ducant; his fora, his templa decorentur; haec
ebore reddantur haec marmore, haec in coloribus uiuant, haec in aere
moueantur, haec gemmis augeant pretium.

45 Pertinet ad securitatem omnium saeculorum quod est factum uideri,
ut, si quis umquam nefaria uota conceperit, monimentis nostrorum tem-
porum recensitis per oculos hauriat innocentiam. Quisquis purpura
quandoque regali uestire humeros cogitabit, Maximus ei exutus occurrat.
2 Quisquis aurum gemmasque priuatis pedibus optabit, Maximus ei plantis
nudus appareat. Quisquis imponere capiti diadema meditabitur, auulsum
3 humeris Maximi caput et sine nomine corpus adspiciat. Scimus quidem
nihil umquam nouandum, cum Romanum semper imperium aut tuum
futurum sit aut tuorum; pertinet tamen ad geminam rei publicae secu-
4 ritatem quod fieri non potest etiam non timeri. Sed utcumque uirtutis
tuae opera curiosae posteritatis oculis artificum manus reddet, cum te
uel Alpium dorsa superantem uel flumina obiecta tranantem uel agmen
hostile triumphalibus uestigiis atterentem pictorum atque fictorum ad-
sequetur imitatio, clementia, imperator, tua quo caelo, quo pigmento,
quo aere auroue ducetur?—qua tu ipsius uictoriae uictor ita omnem cum
armis iram deposiuisti ut ceciderit nemo post bellum, certe nemo post

2 frustra *X* 7 ne *X1 c, om. H et (ut uidetur) X2* 11 litt. linguisque *H Bert*: ling. litterisque *X* 15 Indicos *H*: modicos *X* 18 aere *Schenkl*: aera *M* 22 recensitis *cwp*: -etis *M* 25 nudis *Bert* 29 et iam *M, corr. X1* utcumque *M*: ut cuique *Bert* 30 opera *Puteolanus*: operam *M* 32 atterrentem *X* 33 tua imperator *Bert* 35 deposuisti *inuitis numeris M*

Maximum. Paucis Maurorum hostium, quos secum uelut agmen infer- 5
num moriturus incluserat, et duobus an tribus furiosi gladiatoris lanistis
in belli piaculum caesis, reliquos omnis uenia complexa uelut quodam
materno sinu clausit. Nullius bona publicata, nullius multata libertas, 6
nullius praeterita dignitas imminuta. Nemo adfectus nota, nemo conuicio
aut denique castigatione perstrictus culpam capitis aurium saltem mole-
stia luit. Cuncti domibus suis, cuncti coniugibus ac liberis, cuncti denique
(quod est dulcius) innocentiae restituti sunt. Vide, imperator, quid hac 7
clementia consecutus sis: fecisti ut nemo sibi uictus te uictore uideatur.

Spectabas haec e tuis collibus, Roma, et septena arce sublimis celsior
gaudio ferebaris. Tu, quae experta Cinnanos furores et Marium post 46
exsilia crudelem et Sullam tua clade Felicem et Caesarem in mortuos
misericordem ad omne ciuilis motus classicum tremescebas; quae praeter 2
stragem militum utraque tibi parte pereuntium exstincta domi senatus
tui lumina, suffixa pilo consulum capita, Catones in mortem coactos
truncosque Cicerones et Pompeios fleueras insepultos; cui damna grauiora 3
scissus in partes ciuium furor quam portis imminens Poenus aut receptus
muris Gallus intulerat; cui Alliensi die Emathia funestior, Cannis Collina
feralior tam altas olim reliquerunt cicatrices ut grauius semper tuam
quam alienam experta uirtutem nihil tibi magis quam te timeres—uidisti 4
ciuile bellum hostium caede, militum pace, Italiae recuperatione, tua
libertate finitum; uidisti, inquam, finitum ciuile bellum cui decernere
posses triumphum.

Hactenus memet, imperator Auguste, praeteritas res tuas attrec- 47
tasse fas fuerit; at cum tempus admoneat meminisse praesentium, finem
sermoni facere maluerim quam in amplissimi ordinis munus inuadere.
Dabitur utcumque uenia piae temeritati, si usurpasse communia, non 2
occupasse uideamur aliena. Licuerit mihi, quae in barbaris gentibus
longinquisque prouinciis pro summa re fortiter feliciterque fecisti, et ad-
nuente numine tuo et senatu fauente dixisse. Ea uero quae Romae gesta 3
sunt, qualem te Vrbi dies primus inuexerit; quis in curia fueris, quis in
rostris; ut pompam praeeuntium ferculorum curru modo, modo ped-
ibus subsecutus alterno clarus incessu nunc de bellis, nunc de superbia
triumpharis; ut te omnibus principem, singulis exhibueris senatorem; ut

2 an *H*: aut *X* 3 omnes *w* 8 innocentiae *post* dulcius *H Bert, post* denique *X* 10 e *M*: et *Bert* 11 tu quae *Puteolanus*: tuque *M* 17 partes ciuium *X*: parte scium *H*: partes *Bert* 18 Halliensi *M* die Ematia *H*: die cinatia *X* (diccin- *X1*) 20 timeris *H* 25 admoneat *H*: admõ (*sc.* admodum) *X* 27 temeritati si *w*: -tatis *M* 30 *post* gesta sunt *add.* et geruntur ingeniis permittenda Romanis sunt *Cusp*

crebro ciuilique progressu non publica tantum opera lustraueris sed priu-
atas quoque aedes diuinis uestigiis consecraris, remota custodia militari
4 tutior publici amoris excubiis, horum haec linguis, horum, inquam, uoce
laudentur qui de communibus gaudiis et dignius utique quae maxima et
5 iustius poterunt praedicare quae propria sunt. O mea felix peregrinatio!
O bene suscepti et exhausti labores! Quibus ego intersum bonis, quibus
paror gaudiis! Quae reuersus urbibus Galliarum dispensabo miracula!
Quantis stupentium populis, quam multo circumdabor auditore, cum
dixero: 'Romam uidi, Theodosium uidi, et utrumque simul uidi; uidi
illum principis patrem, uidi illum principis uindicem, uidi illum principis
6 restitutorem!' Ad me longinquae conuenient ciuitates, a me gestarum
ordinem rerum stilus omnis accipiet, a me argumentum poetica, a me
fidem sumet historia. Compensabo tibi istam, imperator, iniuriam si,
cum de te ipse nil dixerim quod legendum sit, instruam qui legantur.

3 tutus *Bert* 8 multis *H* (*corr. h*) 14 Finitus Panegyricus Latini Pacati Drepani dictus d⟨omino⟩ n⟨ostro⟩ (de ñ *H; om. X, nisi* ij° *post* Theod. *in X1 positum eius uestigium est*) Theodosio in urbe eterna Roma *M*

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